CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged:—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

A 84541. Wt. 17445.

As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed :—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

*** Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

Government Publications

CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS AND STATE PAPERS,

ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

OF THE REIGN OF

ELIZABETH.

Gov. Doc. G.B. Pub. Gt. Britain. Public Record Office. Publications. I.G.b.2. Calendar of Researches in foreign archives [Spain.]

CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS AND STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO

ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

PRESERVED PRINCIPALLY IN THE

ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS.

Vol. III.

ELIZABETH.

1580—1586.

EDITED BY

MARTIN A. S. HUME, F.R.HIST.S.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY
UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

3868
A12/97

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE,
PRINTERS TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C.; or
JOHN MENZIES & Co., 12, HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH, and
90, WEST NILE STREET, GLASGOW; or
HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., LIMITED, 104, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1896.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

LONDON: Printed by EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE,
Her Majesty's Printers.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

CONTENTS.

	Page
PREFACE	i to lvi
CALENDAR	1 to 691
GENERAL INDEX	693 to 720
ERRATA	720

INTRODUCTION.

THE documents calendared in this third volume are drawn mainly from similar sources to those dealt with in the previous volumes, namely, the correspondence of the Spanish agents in England, and other papers relating directly to English affairs preserved in the Spanish Archives at Simancas.

The documents in the present volume against which no marginal reference is placed are contained in packets numbered 833 to 839 of the papers belonging to the Secretaria de Estado of the Archives in question; but it will be observed that a considerable number of the papers dealt with are derived directly from the National Archives in Paris. This arises from the fact that during the Peninsular war most of the documents in the Simancas Archives relating to France were abstracted by the orders of Napoleon and conveyed to Paris, where they still remain. As after the expulsion of Mendoza from England in January 1584 English affairs were managed from Paris by the same ambassador, the letters from the King to him during his residence in London were included by mistake in the papers taken to Paris. The correspondence relating to England written whilst Mendoza was ambassador in France are of course in the Paris Archives, and it has therefore been necessary to seek them there. The "Simancas papers" in Paris relating to Scottish history of the date covered by this volume, were edited by M. Teulet, in Spanish with a French summary, for the Bannantyne Club in 1851, and most of Mary Stuart's letters in the same Archives were printed in Prince Labanoff's collection. They have, however, been included in the present volume in order that the whole of the documents may be before the reader. As practically all of the correspondence was originally in cipher no distinctive type has been adopted to mark the fact.

The year 1580 opened full of anxiety for Elizabeth. Mendoza had carefully fostered her alarm at the ostentatious preparation of Philip's fleet, the Irish insurgents, she knew, were being actively supported by Spain and the Pope, the seminary priests were busy all over England, and the adherents of Mary Stuart were daily gathering courage and confidence. For the first time almost in her reign the Queen's own popularity had suffered an eclipse in consequence of the repulsion of her people at the projected marriage with the duke of Alençon. Her position was full of difficulties and dangers, which no person but herself could adequately appreciate; and it is now evident that the only policy by which she could be extricated was that of profound dissimulation with regard to her matrimonial intentions which she successfully adopted. Orange, unwavering in his object, the only inflexible element in the situation, was determined to attract once more to the national cause the Catholic Flemings and Walloons whom Parma's diplomacy had drawn to the Spanish side. Elizabeth, powerful supporter as she was with his Protestant Hollanders, was a hindrance rather than a help to him, so far as the Catholics were concerned; the archduke Mathias had turned out a broken reed, and, as the only means of saving his cause, Orange persisted in his intention to call in the Catholic French prince to assume the sovereignty of the States. Elizabeth had threatened and cajoled in vain, William of Nassau was as firm as a rock, and the English queen had to turn the difficulty she could not banish. A French domination of Flanders would have been far more injurious to English interests than the continuance there of the Spanish power; and Elizabeth had more than once declared that she would sacrifice her last shilling and her last Englishman to prevent it. It was therefore imperative for her to contrive that if Alençon went to Flanders at all, he should go under her patronage and influence, and with the support of the French

Huguenots. With this object her aim was to prevent a complete reconciliation between Henry III. and his brother, and between the former and the French Protestant princes; whilst, on the other, hand she could not afford to widen the breach so far as to drive the French king into the arms of Spain, which would have ruined the cause of Flemish liberty, and have united France, Spain, the Guises, and the League, in support of Mary Stuart's ceaseless intrigues to obtain the crown of England. Her obvious course therefore was to beguile Henry III. with the idea of his family aggrandisement, and perhaps eventual dynastic predominance, which might ensue from a marriage between his brother and the queen of England. It would have been moreover an advantage to him if he could thus peacefully have got rid of his turbulent heir presumptive, and kept the Huguenots busy out of France; and it suited him, and especially his mother, to keep up the pretence of a belief in the sincerity of the marriage negotiations, although at the time the present volume opens they were quite aware of the real purpose underlying them. The aged king of Portugal was on his death-bed, and Philip claimed the succession. The increase thus to accrue to the power of Spain could best be met by a closer understanding between England and France, and the rendering of Philip powerless in Portugal by causing a recrudescence of the troubles in Flanders. Alençon, for his part, had his own game to play. Orange and the Protestant States had given him clearly to understand that the duchy of Brabant and the sovereignty of Flanders would only be offered to him in consideration of the additional support he could bring to the national cause, and for the moment it appeared that he would be more likely to obtain such support from Elizabeth than from his brother. He was moreover dazzled with the idea of so brilliant a match as that suggested to him, was clearly outwitted by Elizabeth's feminine tactics, and was himself hoping against hope that she was really in earnest. In any case

it was important for him to convince the Hollanders that the queen of England would certainly marry him and aid him with all her power in Flanders, whilst he dared not appear too acquiescent in the matter of religion for fear of alienating the very men whom he was principally intended to conciliate, namely, the Catholic Flemings and Walloons.

It will thus be seen that the contending interests were many and complicated; but it has been necessary to define them broadly, in order that the allusions contained in the letters which commence the present volume may be the better understood.

At the end of November 1579 Simier, after much importunity, had been sent off to Alençon and the King with Elizabeth's amended draft conditions for the marriage, but at the last moment she characteristically insisted upon the insertion of a new clause which left her a loophole for escape. The articles were to remain in suspense for two months to enable the Queen to overcome her people's repugnance to the marriage; and, as an additional means of introducing obstacles to the conclusion of the match, she sent Sir Edward Stafford, with Simier, with instructions to say that still further amendment would be required in the articles before they could be finally accepted. The first letter in the present volume shows how these dubious tactics were received respectively by Henry III. and his brother. The King understood the object—as he wrote to his ambassador at the time—and could afford to appear accommodating. If, he said, his brother would agree, the English who had drafted the articles might amend them. He would consent in any case. Alençon dared not say thus much. He sent Stafford back with an eager letter, in the seal of which was embedded a fine emerald, pretending to believe that all was settled, and suggesting his speedy coming to England, in the hope, doubtless, that his personal presence might, as on his former visit, influence the Queen's judgment in his favour. The Prince had learnt o

Leicester's deadly feud with Simier, and of the Earl's and Walsingham's constant opposition to his suit. He therefore sought by every means to attract Leicester to his side. Leicester at first stood aloof, and refused all advances, which he described as "nothing but French chatter," until Stafford arrived. The earl then apparently thought the matter was settled, and hastened to make the best terms for himself (page 2) and his belief was apparently shared by Mendoza.

On page 4 of the present volume is an important letter from Philip's ambassador in Paris, Juan de Vargas Mejia, which opens out an important new element of intrigue directed by the Guises against Elizabeth's policy, their unfortunate cousin Mary Stuart being made their prime instrument to her own eventual destruction.

Beaton told Vargas that Guise was trying to prevent an agreement between Alençon and the Huguenots, and then confidentially came to the real object of his visit. He impressed upon the Spanish ambassador that Guise and himself (Beaton) had prevailed upon Mary Stuart "to "place herself, her son and her realm, in the hands and "under the protection of his catholic Majesty unre- "servedly; sending her son to Spain, if his Majesty "wishes, and having him married there entirely according "to his Majesty's pleasure." This meant, of course, the detachment of the Guises from French interests, and Vargas at once saw its importance. "Such," he says, "is the present condition of England, with signs of revolt "everywhere, the Queen in alarm, the Catholic party "numerous, the events occurring in Ireland, and the "distrust aroused by your Majesty's fleet, that I really "believe that if so much as a cat moved the whole affair "would crumble down in three days beyond repair. . . . . "If your Majesty had England and Scotland attached to "you, directly or indirectly, you might consider the "States of Flanders conquered, in which case you . . . . "could lay down the law for the whole world." Guise's adhesion made all the difference, because his influence

would prevent France from interfering, and thus the main power that had held Philip's ambition in check would be paralysed. Mary herself was unfortunately only too ready to join in any plot for the destruction of her rival. Beaton assured Vargas that she was determined not to leave her prison "except as queen of England, and he "assured me that her adherents and the Catholics were so "numerous in the country that, if they rose, it would be "easy even without assistance, but with the help of your "Majesty it would soon be over, without doubt" (page 13). These approaches through Beaton and Guise on behalf of Mary Stuart were seconded by the despatch of Fernihurst by D'Aubigny to Spain, and by the efforts of Englefield in Madrid; and Philip was eager, in his non-committal way, to accept the tempting offers made to him. He would, he said, lovingly welcome the king of Scots to Spain and treat him as his own son, and would help and assist the Queen when the time arrived (page 23), the arrangements for the capture and deportation of James being left in the hands of his mother, and the matter scrupulously kept secret from the French. The disgrace of Morton, however, made the plan unnecessary for a time, and the death of De Vargas in Paris in July 1580 suspended the negotiations, which were subsequently revived under more favourable auspices, as will be seen in the course of the correspondence. From this first suggestion of armed intervention in England by the aid of the Scots Catholics, until the full plan of the Armada was developed, the project of the invasion is traced step by step in the present correspondence more fully than elsewhere. No point is more curious to follow than the gradual alienation and elimination of the Guises from the plot, as James Stuart's right to the succession is pushed into the background by Allen and the English Catholics, and Philip's claim to the English Crown cautiously brought into the forefront.

Whilst the Scottish Catholics, the Guises, and the Spaniards, were busy with intrigues which, if successful,

would have made Great Britain an appanage of Spain, humiliating, and perhaps dismembering France, and crushing protestantism in the Netherlands, Mendoza, who was afterwards to become the arch plotter of them all, was principally concerned in London with the ever increasing power of England on the seas.

Rumours had reached England some months previously of Drake's devastations in the Pacific, and the Spaniards were now fully aware of the gigantic booty which had rewarded his boldness. Whither he had gone afterwards no man knew, and the long delay in his arrival in England was causing great anxiety as to his fate. Relief expeditions were fitted out to seek him in the Atlantic, and Mendoza had agents in the English western ports eagerly watching for his coming with the plundered treasures of the Spaniards. The ease with which the great captain had swept the seas, and the abject terror with which the privateers had inspired the Spanish merchantmen, had already swollen high the "terrible insolence" of the English seafarers, and their ultimate monopoly of the carrying trade is foretold by Mendoza in a letter to the King on 20th February 1580 (page 8). Philip could not entirely prohibit the export the teeming products of southern Spain and so ruin his country; but Mendoza begs him earnestly to render the trade capricious and precarious, in the hope that the English may therefore cease to build ships. "It (the Spanish trade) is the "principal source of their wealth and strength, which "consists mainly of the great number of their ships. "They are daily building more; but the moment the "Spanish trade fails them and they are not allowed to "ship goods in Spain they will stop building, as they "have no other trade so profitable, both on account of "the vast sums of specie they bring . . . . and the "richness of the merchandise they carry. This makes "them almost masters of commerce in other parts as "well, as they have the monopoly of the shipping, "whereby they profit by all the freights. . . . . The

"principal reason why they have grown so rich in the "last ten years being that they have had the carrying "trade of Spanish goods" (page 8). British enterprise, however, was not entirely confined either to plunder or to Spanish trade. Mendoza mentions (page 20) that the London merchants trading with Muscovy and Persia had fitted out "two small ships to try to discover a road to the "kingdom of Cathay by the northern coast of Muscovy, "the exact opposite of the voyage attempted last summer "by Frobisher in which he found so much difficulty. No "doubt this attempt will encounter similar obstacles, "as no passage has been found beyond the river Obi. "This is the river that Strabo Dionysius, the poet, "and Pliny believed ran out of the Caspian sea, "and according to all arguments of astrology and "cosmography, the sea there must be impassable in "consequence of the excessive cold, as much as 70 or "80 degrees, the nights lasting, as do the days, many "months" (page 20). On a subsequent page (365) Mendoza gives an extremely interesting account, furnished by an ingenious friend of his named Baron Gaspar Schomberg, of the English attempts to open up a trade with Persia and the East Indies by way of the White Sea, the Dwina, the Volga, and the Caspian, thus avoiding the Mediterranean and diverting the Eastern spice and drug trades from the Venetians. At the same time the Turkish and Levant trades were to be tapped through the Don, the sea of Azov, and the Black Sea. The Don and the Volga, we are told, were not more than a German league apart at one point where a depôt and means of transport where to be established pending the cutting of a canal. This same German baron describes to Mendoza (page 368) his invention of a revolving cannon with seven barrels, of which the recoil, apparently by a screw action, was to bring each barrel successively uppermost.

The long expected arrival of Drake at Plymouth with his booty took place in October 1580, almost at the same time as the landing in Ireland of the Papal forces

despatched from Spain to the aid of the insurgents; and during the rest of the time that Mendoza remained at Elizabeth's court, these two standing subjects of complaint were for ever being pitted one against the other, whilst the ambassador's relations with the Queen and her people became more and more acrimonious. As soon as Drake arrived Mendoza sought audience of the Queen to claim the restoration of the plunder, but he was told that until she had got to the bottom of the Spanish aid to the Irish insurgents she could not receive him. This was a good excuse to avoid his importunities until the treasures were landed and disposed of, although it is clear that some of the more timid or disinterested members of the Queen's Council were apprehensive at the magnitude of the injury done to Spain. Mendoza was warned by the Council that he was talking too freely about the matter, and "Leicester also sent a secretary of his to say that my "talk about Drake's robberies was causing much fear "amongst the merchants that your Majesty would declare "war about it, and this would oblige the Queen to send "all her ships to sea and raise foreign troops. In view "of present circumstances he would leave me to judge "whether it would be advantageous for your Majesty's "interests for the Queen to arm at this time, now that "the French were urging her to marry Alençon and bind "herself to them. He therefore thought that it would be "better to come to some arrangement about Drake. I "told him that until I had seen the Queen and conveyed "your Majesty's message to her, I had nothing to say "upon the matter of Drake; and as for the rest, I would "only say that, in my capacity of a simple soldier, whose "weapon was his arm rather than his tongue, I had done "my best to keep the Queen from provoking your "Majesty to lay hands upon her; and as for her marrying "Alençon and joining the French, that concerned me "little, as I was sure that both parties would understand "the importance of not offending so powerful a monarch "as your Majesty" (page 61). It was this hectoring

tone that Mendoza henceforward adopted towards the Queen and her Ministers, until his final expulsion from England; but a report from Captain Cabreta to Philip in the present volume (page 56) shows how powerless Spain really was at the time to resent English naval aggression. The King is told "At present the coasts are in such a condition "that it cannot be said that your Majesty's position at sea "is strong, since people presume at any time to offend "you with impunity. Be it understood that this arises "from the great lack of all sorts of marine requisites "and especially seamen and gunners." But, clamour as Cabreta might for ships of the "new invention" and for greater naval expenditure, Philip's hands were full of care, and his treasury empty of doubloons; and Mendoza could only chafe and storm about his master's strength, until the English merchants were panic stricken with fears of reprisals, and put pressure upon the Court to make some sort of restoration of the plunder. The Spanish merchants who had been robbed were also anxious to come to terms, by which they might get, at all events, some of their property back, and sent one of their number, a man named Zubiaur, to London to negotiate, the King himself being favourable to this mode of procedure. But Mendoza, haughty and jealous, would have no such knuckling down (page 73), and stood out for full and complete public reparation through him as ambassador; and in the end the Spaniards got nothing. Drake's successful return gave a great impetus to further expeditions from England. In his first announcement that the plunder had been landed (page 55). Mendoza says that "Drake had arranged "to return with six ships, and offers to adventurers for "every pound sterling subscribed to return them seven "within the year. This has so great an influence over "Englishmen that everybody wants to have a share in "the expedition." By January 1581 it was decided that Drake with ten ships should return to the Moluccas by way of the Cape of Good Hope; young Knollys

was bound for Brazil with six vessels, and then to try to get through the Straits of Magellan to join Drake in the Pacific; Humphrey Gilbert was to go and plunder Cuba, Santo Domingo, and the Spanish Main; and Frobisher was once more to search for a north-west passage to Cathay. "Doubtless," says Mendoza, "these people will meet with great obstacles in "the execution of their various designs, but the success "of Drake encourages them to make light of them all." Mendoza's one unceasing remedy for it was that every English ship encountered should be sent to the bottom and not a soul spared; but Spanish sailors were few and panic stricken, and Spanish ships were old and slow, so the swift privateers still swept the seas unmolested. Drake, moreover, had discovered by chance what the Spaniards did not yet know, namely, that Tierra del Fuego was an island, and that, whilst the Spanish war ships were waiting for him in the Straits of Magellan, he could get round the Horn. The news is conveyed by Mendoza to his master in an interesting letter dated 20th April 1582 (page 340). This discovery had been kept very secret, and was only learnt by Mendoza at great trouble and expense a year and a half after Drake's arrival. In the meanwhile Drake was naturally in high favour with his sovereign. "He is," says Mendoza, (page 74), "squandering more money than any man in "England, and, proportionately, all those who came with "him are doing the same. He gave to the Queen the "crown which I described in a former letter as having "been made here. She wore it on New Year's day. It "has in it five emeralds, three of them almost as long as "a little finger, and two round ones worth 20,000 crowns. "He has also given the Queen a diamond cross of the "value of 5,000 crowns as a New Year's gift. The Queen "shows him extraordinary favour and never fails to speak "to him when she goes out in public, conversing with "him for a long time. She says she will knight him on "the day she goes to see his ship. She has ordered the

"ship itself to be brought ashore, and placed in her "arsenal near Greenwich as a curiosity." All this time Mendoza was excluded from the Queen's presence and had to content himself with threats and violent language meant to frighten the merchants and indirectly to reach the ears of the Queen. He was offered a bribe of 50,000 crowns to moderate his tone, but replied that he would give much more than that to punish so great a thief as Drake. However much his threats might alarm the merchants, the Queen and her Ministers were too well aware of Philip's position to attach very much importance to them. Elizabeth repeated the policy she had successfully adopted when she had seized the Spanish treasure in English ports (*see* Volume II. of this Calendar) and demanded explanations and redress from Philip before entertaining the question of restoration. The papal forces in Ireland had by this time been ignominiously slaughtered at Smerwick. Fitzmaurice and Sanders were dead, the Irish Chiefs were falling out amongst themselves, and the rebellion was being crushed by Lord Grey's ferocity. Elizabeth was greatly shocked that her "good brother" the king of Spain should help rebels, seeing how vulnerable he was to attack on that side himself, and steadily refused to receive Mendoza until excuses or apologies were sent. Philip's hands were full in Portugal, where he was, with the aid of Alba, conquering his new kingdom; and Elizabeth well knew that he could not now spare a man nor a ducat to injure her. She and Catharine de Medici moreover were once again united in their opposition to Spain; and she was managing the Alençon marriage negotiations with more consummate address than ever. Mendoza relates (page 14) how Castelnau, the French ambassador, waited upon the Queen on the very day when the two months' delay expired and peremptorily requested an answer as to whether she would marry Alençon or not. When she began to fence, as usual, he threatened, much to her indignation, that the prince would publish her love letters in his own defence if she did not marry him. The Queen was much

disturbed at this and, as Mendoza relates, summoned the Archbishop of York and Cecil to advise her. "Here am "I," she said, "between Scylla and Charybdis. Alençon "agrees to all the conditions I sent him and is asking me "to tell him when I wish him to come and marry me." If I do not marry him, she continued in effect, I shall make him my enemy, and if I do I shall lose all the advantages of my present position. What shall I do? She could get no decided advice from the Archbishop, but upon pressing Cecil—who was probably as much mystified as everyone else—he replied that she should either marry Alençon or give him a decided answer declining him. This is exactly what she did not wish to do, and in a few tart words let Cecil know as much (page 15). Circumstances as usual aided her. On the day before the ambassador saw her, envoys arrived in London from La Noue, the great Huguenot chief in the service of the States, and from the Prince of Condé, asking her to aid Alençon in Flanders. This meant that, in despite of the Guises, Alençon and the Huguenots had come to terms, and, so long as Alençon was principally supported by Protestant forces, she had nothing to fear from his presence in Flanders. She seized the opportunity with avidity and promised all sorts of help, being perfectly sure that Alençon would not be unduly importunate about the marriage if he could hope for her co-operation without it. At the same time the pretence of marriage negotiations was kept up more actively than ever in order to save appearances and disarm the French Government. On the receipt of a letter from Alençon on 7th March, announcing that he only awaited her permission to send Marshal de Cossé to settle the final conditions, she took the very unusual course of visiting the French ambassador, and by every means sought to bring about an understanding with the French Government before she pledged herself too deeply with Alençon in the troubled affairs of Flanders. It was all very well to have Alençon and the Huguenots under her thumb, but she must make sure she did not drive Henry III. into the opposite camp.

This did not suit Alençon, who knew full well that, if Elizabeth could arrive at a cordial understanding with his brother, neither party need trouble very much about him or his plans, or risk a rupture with Spain by helping him. He therefore began to grow ardent again, and for the next few months he and Simier kept pouring out to the Queen their fervent protestations of affection, their heartrending entreaties, and threats of vengeance if the prince were jilted. To all these letters, says Mendoza, replies containing many sweet words but no decision were sent, and "in this way both parties are weaving a "Penelope's web simply to cover the designs I have "already explained to your Majesty" (page 31). But in May a terrible disaster happened to the Protestant cause in Flanders, which altered the position of affairs. La Noue was routed and taken prisoner by the Spaniards. Orange then gave Elizabeth to understand that, unless she married Alençon, and threw all her weight into the scale, the Flemish cause must collapse. Alençon, too, redoubled his importunity, and hinted that, if she did not help him, he would accept the offers of the States and enter Flanders independently of her. This would not have suited her at all, and a council was hastily held on the 5th June; requests being sent off at once to the King of France for a special embassy to be despatched to England. At the same time Stafford was sent to Alençon to obtain his co-operation. But he found the prince in the sulks. He knew that a formal embassy from his brother would be more likely to lead to an alliance than to his marriage on terms satisfactory to his ambition, and he only grudingly gave his consent to the embassy on condition that it should be empowered solely to negotiate his marriage and not a national alliance. When at last all was arranged to Alençon's satisfaction, and he informed the Queen that the embassy would soon leave for England, she again began to cool. There was no great hurry, she said, for the ambassadors to come unless the king of France made peace with the Huguenots and countenanced

Alençon s plans in Flanders. She was determined in any case not to be drawn single-handed into opposition to Spain. Thanks to her pressure, and the efforts of Alençon and his mother, the peace of Fleix between the King and the Huguenots and Henry of Navarre was signed in November, and the horizon of Alençon began to brighten somewhat. Tempting offers had been made to him from Spain if he would abandon his enterprise, and Elizabeth learnt this from Simier. This fact, and the conclusion of the peace of Fleix, at once smoothed over all difficulties, the embassy should now be cordially welcomed, and the Queen promised, as soon as conditions were settled, to give Alençon 200,000 crowns of Drake's plunder, as well as subsidising Hans Casimir and his mercenaries to cross the frontier and co-operate with him. But it was not easy to settle with Henry III. the personality and powers of the embassy. Cobham was trying his hardest in Paris to lure the King first into a rupture with Spain on the pretext partly of Catharine de Medici's claim to the Portuguese crown. But Henry III. and his mother were wary, and would make no move until Elizabeth did so. During the long drawn out negotiations with regard to the preliminaries of the embassy, Alençon himself sent an embassy to England to look after his interests. The principal ambassador was Clausse de Marchaumont, who for a considerable period afterwards was a prominent person in the English court, deep in the Queen's confidence. Much piquant information is given in the present letters as to his proceedings with the Queen in forwarding his young master's lovemaking, and this should be read side by side with his extraordinary correspondence in the Hatfield Papers (Vol. 3, Hist. MSS. Com.), especially the series he signs with the pseudonym "Moine." Alençon's frequent references in his letters to the Queen (Hatfield Papers) to her "bele jartiere" is explained in a letter from Mendoza to the King (page 101) as follows:—"Marchaumont also sent by De Mery a "purple and gold garter belonging to the Queen, which

"slipped down and was trailing as she entered Drake's "ship. Marchaumont stooped and picked it up and "the Queen asked for it, promising him that he "should have it back when she reached home as she "had nothing else with which to keep her stocking up. "Marchaumont returned it, and she put it on before "him, presenting him with it when she got back to "Westminster." Mendoza gives a curious piece of information about the knighting of Drake on the occasion of the Queen's visit to the "Pelican" at Deptford, on page 95. "On the 4th instant the Queen went to a "place a mile from Greenwich to see Drake's ship, "where a grand banquet was given to her, finer than "has ever been seen in England since the time of King "Henry. She knighted Drake, telling him that there "she had a gilded sword to strike off his head. She "handed the sword to Marchaumont, telling him she "authorised him to perform the ceremony for her, which "he did. Drake, therefore, has the title of 'Sir,' . . . "and he gave her a large silver coffer and a frog made "of diamonds, distributing 1,200 crowns amongst the "Queen's officers." It is impossible to follow step by step within the limits of this Introduction the ever-changing aspects of the marriage negotiations; but by reference to the letters in the present volume it will be seen that Mendoza, keenly alive to the importance of the matter, kept his master fully informed of every movement. The pompous embassy from Henry III. which came in April 1581, and of whose splendid reception Mendoza gives an account, was considered by Philip and De Granvelle to portend rather a national alliance than a marriage, and this was clearly the Queen's aim (page 110). Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender, was now a fugitive in France, and active negotiations were being carried on by his adherents both with Elizabeth and Catharine de Medici for aid to restore him to the Portuguese throne. An alliance, therefore, between England and France would have been a terrible blow to

Philip, who was already hardly pressed enough; and Mendoza in London was working ceaselessly and secretly to arouse public feeling in England against the French; and especially against the Alençon match. Whilst Elizabeth was fencing with the French special embassy with a view to bringing about an alliance, and pledging Henry III. to war with Spain, without burdening herself with a husband, the French King and his mother were exhausting every means, threats, entreaties, and cajoleries, to dissuade Alençon from his intended entrance into Flanders. On the issue of a proclamation by Henry III. ordering that all levies in France for the service of his brother should be dispersed by force of arms, Mendoza reports (5th June 1581, page 126) that Alençon suddenly embarked at Dieppe and appeared secretly in England, where he was recognised by the son of Sir James Crofts, who was in the pay of Spain, and Mendoza was informed of his arrival. This fresh escapade of Alençon deeply chagrined the French ambassadors, who plainly saw, and said, that the Queen was playing with them and begged leave to depart. Not a word is said in their correspondence about Alençon's alleged visit on this occasion; and, so far as I have been able to ascertain, the present Calendar is the only authority for it, excepting some enigmatical references in the letters of "Moine" in the Hatfield Papers.

During the presence of the French envoys in London hints had been given to Mendoza to induce him to request an audience; but he was cautious and feigned illness, seeing that the Queen's object was to get better terms from the French by making out that the Spaniards were courting her. At length, on the 4th June 1581, an event happened which forced his hand. Some time before, two Hollanders had approached Mendoza in London with a proposal to betray Flushing. The ambassador jumped at the bait and parted with a considerable sum of money to them, besides giving them important information. The whole affair was a trick, and the Spanish force from Gravelines which was to co-operate with the Hollanders

was entrapped and sacrificed. One of the Hollanders had left his son with Mendoza as a hostage, and at nine o'clock at night on the 4th June, in the ambassador's absence, his house was forcibly entered by London constables, accompanied by a secretary to the prince of Orange, and the boy taken away. Mendoza arrived just in time to prevent bloodshed, and was told that the constables were acting under the authority of the Council. Mendoza, thinking this a good opportunity for obtaining an audience on favourable terms with a new grievance, began to bluster and threatened to return to Spain at once unless full reparation were made for the violation of his domicile. Elizabeth exerted all her feminine arts of flattery and cajolery to defer such an interview until the French embassy had left, and in the end had her way (page 133). At length she received the ambassador in private audience in a gallery overlooking the river at Whitehall. A full account of the interview is given by Mendoza to the King in his letter of 24th June (page 134). Lightly brushing aside the Queen's complaints about Ireland, Mendoza claimed immediate redress for the violation of his ambassadorial privileges. Elizabeth promised strict inquiry into the matter, and then again reverted to the Spanish aid sent to the insurgent Irish. She pretended to have been informed that Mendoza wished to see her for the purpose of offering an apology, notwithstanding the persistent assurance of the ambassador that the affair concerned the Pope alone. "It is impossible," he wrote, "to express to your Majesty the insincerity "with which she and her Ministers proceed. In "addition to repeating to me the very opposite of "the message she had sent me, she contradicts me "every moment in my version of the negotiations. ". . . If I had not shown spirit, which is the thing that "moves the Queen and her Ministers most, I have no "doubt, such is their insolence, that I should never have "been able to get conference with them. This alone "has enabled me to hold my own with them until now."

It is clear that Mendoza got the worst of the interview, as although the Queen was compliant on the unimportant matter of the abducted boy, she had assumed the position of the injured party about Ireland, and left the ambassador no chance of making a formal reclamation about Drake's plunder. But soon afterwards a much more serious grievance against Elizabeth was found. Rumours of all sorts had been afloat as to the movements of Don Antonio for many months past. First he was said to be in Barbary, then in the Azores, some of which islands were in his favour, afterwards he was reported to be in France, in Brazil, and elsewhere. But the Queen's physician, Dr. Lopez, was very busy and important, at the end of June 1581, running backwards and forwards to Dover; and Mendoza's spies soon learnt that a party of Portuguese had landed, amongst whom was a certain man "under "the middle height, with a thin face, and very dark, his "hair and beard somewhat grey and his eyes green." This man Mendoza at once guessed was Don Antonio himself, and before even he had time to verify his suspicions, he demanded audience of the Queen to complain of her giving asylum to the Pretender. He was peremptorily refused by Sussex; and, as he says (page 140), "was determined to have no more pros and "cons with third persons, because I see that their method "is simply to talk nonsense and then repudiate what they "say, throwing the blame upon the messengers." He therefore wrote a haughty letter to the Queen direct, threatening to leave England unless he was accorded immediate audience. After some apparent hesitation the Queen received him next day, and, before he could say a word, again began to complain about Ireland. She succeeded in getting up a wrangle upon this subject, and in answer to some haughty vapouring from Mendoza, "She screamed "out louder than before at this, saying that I was to "blame for everything that had happened, and I smilingly "told her that she was speaking as a lady; those of her sex "usually displaying most annoyance at things that were

"done in their interest." She fenced and quibbled about Don Antonio. She did not know, she said, whether he was in England or not, "but she would not arrest or surrender anyone to be killed." Had not Philip, she asked, sheltered the earl of Westmoreland and other rebels of hers? Besides, according to the old treaties, a formal written application must be made for the surrender of a rebel. So Mendoza had to retire discomforted, and a similar result attended his numerous other attempts in the same direction. Don Antonio lodged with the ex-Lord Mayor at Stepney, and as he had plenty of jewels of great value was soon busy borrowing money upon them, and fitting out expeditions for the Azores. Elizabeth blew hot and cold upon him, as the exigencies of the moment demanded. If he were to succeed she wished him to be beholden to her and not to the French, but at the same time she was willing for Catharine de Medici to find most of the money and incur most of the responsibility for his attempts. The dealings of the Queen and her Ministers, especially Leicester, with poor Don Antonio and his jewels, as disclosed in the present Calendar, certainly present them in anything but a favourable or magnanimous light. Philip himself wrote to the Queen, and again and again instructed Mendoza to press before anything for the expulsion or surrender of the Pretender, but all to no purpose; Don Antonio was sheltered and caressed so long as it suited the Queen, and he had money to spend.

It was evident to the Queen in July 1581 that she could hardly lure the French King into hostility to Spain unless she previously married Alençon; which, for all her love-lorn professions, she had no intention of doing. Her Protestant subjects were deeply moved and distrustful at the idea of it, and Mendoza gives particulars of the increased severity used to the Catholics for the purpose of re-assuring their opponents at this juncture. "They have "now," he says, "begun to persecute the Catholics worse "than ever before, both by condemning them to the 20*l.* "fine if they do not attend church every month, and by

"imprisoning them closely. The clergymen they succeed "in capturing are treated with a variety of terrible "tortures; amongst others is one torment which people "in Spain imagine will be that worked by Antichrist, "as the most dreadfully cruel of them all. This is to "drive iron spikes between the nails and the quick, and "two clergymen in the Tower have been tortured in this "way, one of them being Campion of the Company of "Jesus. I am assured that, when they would not confess "under this torture, the nails of their fingers and toes "were turned back, all of which they suffered with great "patience."

At the same time Walsingham was sent to France to endeavour once more to draw the King into an alliance against Spain without the Queen's marriage with his brother, and he took with him a large sum of money to bribe French ministers, and as a sop to Alençon to enable the latter to enter Flanders and relieve Cambrai. In the meanwhile Don Antonio was ostentatiously aided in his hostile preparations, and Mendoza was treated with marked disrespect and audience denied him, the object evidently being to impress the king of France with the Queen's readiness to break with Spain (page 156). Walsingham failed utterly in France, and found Alençon more violent and intractable than ever (page 159). He did not believe, he said, that the Queen had sent him such a message about the marriage, and would again come to England to see her. She was much disturbed at this, and as usual railed at Leicester and Walsingham as the cause of her troubles. Some of the stories of her violence, to Walsingham especially, related in this Calendar, are almost incredible. Knave and puritan seem to have been common terms of opprobrium she applied to him when she was put out, and on one occasion referred to (page 573) she threw a slipper at him and hit him on the face, not, says the writer, an extraordinary thing for her to do. At length, in the middle of August, Alençon decided to force the hands of the Queen and his brother, and crossed the

frontier of Flanders with 12,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. The position was changed in a moment. Henry III. was afraid of being compromised and drew back. Elizabeth feared that the Catholics and the Guises after all might be at the bottom of the movement, withheld her open support, and only sent grudging and secret money aid. The Protestant States, seeing her hesitation, themselves held aloof. Alençon had no money. His troops melted away, and he entered France again early in September. Despairing of getting aid from the Queen by other means, he again came to England at the beginning of November, and a more vivid description of the extraordinary proceedings of the Queen and her lover during his visit is given by Mendoza than is to be found elsewhere. Few men were better informed than the Spanish ambassador, for, although the Queen would not receive him, he had spies everywhere, and more than one privy councillor was in his pay. The Queen's aim, he says, was to avoid offending Alençon, and "to pledge him so deeply in the "affairs of the Netherlands as to drive his brother into "a rupture with your Majesty, which is her great object, "whilst she keeps her hands free and can stand by "looking on at the war." Through all the intricate and shifting phases of the negotiations detailed minutely in the present Calendar, the Queen's object, thus well summarized by Mendoza, never changed. Alençon's hopes and fears waxed and waned day by day. Privately the Queen pledged herself to him to his heart's content, but would have nothing said publicly. At length the scandal of this trifling became too much for Henry III. and his mother, who let Elizabeth know that she could not draw them into a war with Spain unless she declared herself first and married Alençon. Either because she was driven into a corner, or once more her passion overcame her, she unhesitatingly replied to the French ambassador, "You may write this to the King: that the "duke of Alençon shall be my husband, and at the "same moment she turned to Alençon and kissed him on

" the mouth, drawing a ring from her hand and giving " it to him as a pledge. Alençon gave her a ring of his " in return, and shortly afterwards the Queen summoned " the ladies and gentlemen from the presence chamber " to the gallery, repeating to them in a loud voice, in " Alençon's presence, what she had previously said" (page 226). Leicester and Hatton were in dismay, but the Queen was playing her own deep game, which they could not fathom. By taking the extraordinary course she did at this juncture she secured three points in her favour —first, further delay without offending the king of France; secondly, she bound Alençon personally to her, come what might, and, most important of all, she sowed the germs of discord between him and his brother; which enabled her to hold the balance and manage both of them. The expedient was a desperate one, but it succeeded. For the rest of Alençon's life Elizabeth posed as being willing and anxious to marry him if only the King would be reasonable and consent to the terms demanded by the English Parliament. Henceforward, with the exception of one occasion, when Catharine de Medici turned the tables upon her (page 261), she remained mistress of the situation, and Alençon was a helpless puppet in her hands, and bitterly resentful of his brother (page 269). The Queen's strenuous attempts to join France with her in her hostility to Spain were naturally met by Mendoza's intrigues with the English and Scots Catholics. The former had appealed to Philip, through his ambassador, in April, to secure the appointment of an English cardinal (page 97), and a sympathetic reply had been sent to them; but to satisfy the Protestants, who feared the Queen's marriage with Alençon, the religious persecutions in England had been recommenced with terrible severity, and the Catholic party were now completely cowed. Campion and his fellow priests were executed with heartrending cruelty (page 231), most of the active Catholic nobles were in exile, and it was clear that no Catholic rising in England was possible without armed aid from Spain (page 169). But in Scotland

matters were entirely different. Notwithstanding all Elizabeth's and Randolph's efforts, Morton had been sacrificed, and the star of D'Aubigny (Lennox) was still in the ascendant. It is true that, being half a Frenchman, D'Aubigny was at first looked upon with some suspicion by the Spaniards, but, as he was presumably a Catholic, Mendoza thought he might be approached on purely religious grounds. He therefore began operations through the brothers Tresham and other leading English Catholics (page 169). "I pointed out to them," he says, "that in view of the present position of neighbouring "countries, and of the Netherlands, the first step to be taken "was to bring Scotland to submit to the Holy See. This I "said would cause this Queen more anxiety than anything "else." The hint was taken, and six English Catholic lords met and swore to devote themselves to the task indicated. They sent a priest (Creighton) to Scotland to sound James and D'Aubigny, and promised that when the king of Scots submitted to the Pope they would raise the English north country and demand the restoration of the Catholic church in England, proclaim James heir to the crown, and release his mother. The lords assured Mendoza that they were "Spanish and Catholic at heart, and did not "wish to have anything to do with France" (page 170). Creighton was well received by Lennox, Huntly, Caithness, Seton, and the other Scottish nobles, who promised that priests and friars should be welcomed in Scotland to preach the faith, "on condition that they brought money "for their own maintenance" (page 194). Father Persons was secretly in London when the priest returned, and at once went to Rheims to settle with Allen who the new missionaries were to be. Henceforward Mendoza in London was the centre of the Catholic propaganda in Scotland, professing purely religious objects to those associated with him, but openly discussing in his letters to the king of Spain the political aims which underlay them. Nothing is more curious indeed than the frequent resigned but contemptuous reference to the unpractical

ineptitude as conspirators of the priests whom he was forced to make his instruments. This was late in the autumn of 1581, but as early as April of that year, before the execution of Morton, Mary Stuart had opened up negotiations with a similar object with Tassis, the new Spanish minister, in France. "Things," she said (through Beaton), "were never better disposed in "Scotland than now to return to their ancient condition ". . . . . so that English affairs could be dealt with "subsequently. The King, her son, was quite determined "to return to the Catholic religion, and much inclined to "an open rupture with the queen of England." She begged for armed aid from Philip, to be landed first in Ireland and then to go to Scotland when summoned, after the signing of a treaty of alliance between Spain and Scotland (page 98). The Queen again renewed her approaches to the Spaniards late in the year, begging for a definite answer; but apparently being distrustful of the intermediaries, and having heard of Mendoza's efforts through the priests in Scotland, she wrote to him early in November (page 215), informing him of her resolution "to follow as far as I can in the conduct of my affairs "the wishes of my good brother the king of Spain," and saying that she had acceded to the recommendations of the French king, and had decided to associate her son with herself in her sovereignty. In the meanwhile events were advancing apace in Scotland. Father Persons and five or six Jesuit colleagues were busy there, and the young King himself told them "that though for certain reasons "it was advisable for him to appear publicly in favour "of the French, he . . . . in his heart would rather be "Spanish." Mendoza at the same time was warning Philip that on no account must the French, or even Beaton, learn that the new Catholic revival in Scotland was being fomented by a Spanish minister (page 236). This is one of many instances in the correspondence of the secret character of Philip's diplomacy, one minister rarely having an inkling of what was being done by

another. Mendoza's jealousy and domineering spirit are evident in his letters, and, as will be seen, he succeeded later in centering in his hands the whole of the intrigues in favour of Mary Stuart, whose great confidant he became. By order of Philip, Mendoza had written asking Queen Mary to co-operate in the conversion of her son and his country, and on the 14th January 1582 she wrote a long and important letter to him (page 257), in which she says she has had her son carefully approached but the "poor child" is so surrounded by heretics that she had only been able to obtain the assurance that he would listen to the priests she sent him. She had ordered Beaton to go thither "to lay the foundation of a "re-establishment of religion in that poor realm, now so "corrupted," but she does not appear to be very sanguine of success. The real object of the letter however was to repeat her confidence in Philip, and to declare her intention to bind her son entirely to him in future. But she complains she has not yet received any definite pledges from the Spanish king, whom she prays to grant some gifts and pensions to the principal persons around James. "The greater part of them may be won over "in this way, and I have certain assurance that the "duke of Lennox himself may be made instrumental in "this, as he is only seeking his personal aggrandisement." In the same letter she gives a long account of her interviews with Beal, sent by Elizabeth to discuss Scotch matters with her, and to discover, if possible, what negotiations she was carrying on with France or Spain. It is clear, in fact, that the English were aware that something was going on through D'Aubigny in Scotland; and during Alençon's stay in England Mendoza had artfully put Cecil off the scent by hinting that Mary was plotting something with the French. This seems to have caused some alarm, and led Cecil to make advances, which came to nothing, towards a reconciliation with Spain (pages 213 and 249).

So secret had been Mendoza's action that when Father

Holt was sent to London by the Scottish Catholic nobles, early in February 1582, the Treshams being in prison, he was directed to an English priest who, greatly to his surprise and alarm, took him to Mendoza. Up to that time not even the jesuits themselves (with the exception of Persons, and perhaps Creighton) knew that he was the moving spirit in the affair (page 291). Holt's message was an extremely important one. It was to present four courses of action to which the Scottish nobles were pledged and to beg for guidance thereupon. First, they intended to seek the conversion of the King by persuasion and preaching; secondly, if the queen of Scots would allow it, "so to manage matters in the country that if the King "be not converted he should be forced to open his eyes "and hear the truth; but they will not put their hands "to this without her express order . . . . and always "with proper respect and reverence for the royal dignity; "thirdly, that if the queen of Scotland should consider "it necessary to carry the matter through by whatever "means, since the salvation of the Prince is involved in "addition to his worldly grandeur, they would transport "him out of the kingdom to a place that she might "indicate, in order that he might be converted to the "Catholic Church. The fourth expedient is that if the "queen of Scotland should be determined to convert the "kingdom, as a last resource they would depose the King "until she arrived, unless he would consent to be a "Catholic." To enable them to take action they requested that a force of 2,000 troops, preferably Spaniards, but to prevent jealousy of the French, perhaps Italians under Spanish and Papal auspices, should be sent from Friesland to Eyemouth. These proposals of the Scots Catholics were secretly conveyed in a softened form to Mary by Mendoza. "I avoid," he says, "detailing the proposals to transport "her son, or depose him, which might possibly cause her "motherly tenderness to shrink from them." At the same time he wrote by Holt to the Scots Catholics, for the first time, as he says, disclosing himself, assuring them of

Spanish support, and to Philip he strongly recommended the sending of troops to Scotland, "with the support of "whom the Scots might encounter her (Elizabeth) . . . "and the whole of the English north country would be "disturbed, the Catholics there being in a majority, and "the opportunity would be taken by Catholics in other "parts of the country, to rise when they knew that they "had on their side the forces of a more powerful prince "than the king of Scotland" (page 294). Philip was at Badajoz on the Portuguese frontier at the time, and affairs in Madrid were being managed by the aged Cardinal de Granvelle who sent to the King notes and recommendations on all letters received. On page 309 it will be seen that he warmly seconds Mendoza's recommendations. "The "affair," he says, "is so important both for the sake of "religion and to bridle England, that no other can equal "it, because by keeping the queen of England busy we "shall be ensured against her helping Alençon or daring "to obstruct us in any other way." For her part Mary Stuart was just as emphatic in her approval of the proposals, urging that all should be kept secret until the foreigners were landed; but it is evident that her view ranged far beyond the conversion, or even the sovereignty of Scotland, for she writes to Mendoza (page 314): "In "the event of the Scots having aid at their backs and "this Queen attempting action against them, which might "cause the English Catholics to rise, it would be necessary "to have the latter part of the business arranged before-"hand, but in such a way that they should not understand "what is intended and should be told nothing until "everything was ripe and the matter ready to burst "forth." To this end and to obtain information at Court Mendoza suggests (page 315) that the powerful house of Howard should be gained by the payment of a large bribe to its most influential member Lord Henry Howard. This was done, and Lord Henry became henceforward the principal Spanish spy at Elizabeth's Court.

Lennox himself, now all powerful in Scotland, sent

Creighton in March to Tassis in Paris with a letter of adhesion to the plan (page 317) in which he says that he is informed that the Pope and the king of Spain wish to make use of him in their design to restore the Catholic religion and release the queen of Scotland. "In the belief that "this enterprise is undertaken for the advantage of the "Queen and her son, and that the latter will be confirmed "and maintained on his throne by his mother's consent, I "am prepared to employ my life and estate in the carrying "out of the same, on condition that I am supplied with "all the things set forth in a statement taken by the "bearer." He also says that as the affair cannot be effected without his going to France, he holds himself in readiness to go as soon as a favourable reply is received. On the same day, Lennox wrote to Queen Mary in a somewhat similar strain mentioning that the Jesuits had told him that he was to be the head of the army, the foreign troops were to be 15,000 in number, and that he (Lennox) was to go to France to raise French infantry (page 333). Up to this point Tassis, the Spanish ambassador in France, had been a stranger to the matter which had been entirely managed by Mendoza, and when Creighton handed him Lennox's conditions, and said that the duke of Guise had been consulted, Tassis stated the whole matter to the King as a new business (page 373). At the same time the Jesuit fathers, who had found it difficult to communicate with Mendoza across the Scotch border, had conceived the brilliant ideas of sending two of their number to Rouen, where they thought Mendoza could go over and see them, and of despatching Persons and Creighton to the Pope and Philip respectively. The whole project was thus thrown into confusion; and both Mary and Mendoza were full of scorn and annoyance at the muddle caused by the ineptitude of the priests (pages 322 and 331). It was especially annoying to the Queen that her name should have been introduced into the matter. "You may inform "these jesuits that I will on no account allow that

"anything concerning this matter shall be done in my "name." Creighton, moreover, had no authority whatever to promise 15,000 or any number of men, and the idea of Lennox's leaving Scotland, above all to raise French troops with the idea that he was to be allowed to command the foreign force, was on the face of it absurd from a Spanish point of view. Philip was alarmed, too, at the large number of persons who had thus been informed of the project, and wrote to Tassis deprecating over zeal, and directing that no fresh steps should be taken until further instructions were sent. Instead of the modest support at first requested by the Scottish Catholic lords, Lennox now demanded 20,000 foreign troops paid for 18 months, a large quantity of war material, a subsidy in money to pay Scottish troops, 20,000 crowns for fortifications, the command of the army for himself, and a guarantee against personal loss if the attempt should fail (page 371).

The inclusion of Guise in the project also soon began to produce its result. He considered that he should take a prominent part, and travelled to Paris to meet Tassis secretly at Beaton's house. He was full of far-reaching but ill-digested plans, but his main desire, evidently, was to prevent Spanish troops from being sent to Scotland, to avoid, as he says, the jealousy of the French. His idea was that a large mixed force should be sent from Italy to Scotland by the Pope, whilst he, Guise, made a descent with Frenchmen on to the coast of Sussex (page 378). Lennox's inflated demands and Guise's crude ideas, however, were submitted to the keen scrutiny of Granvelle, when Father Persons arrived in Madrid and conferred with Sir Francis Englefield. In a memorandum to the King (4th July 1582, page 382) Granvelle lays down clearly the course to be followed, which in the main is naturally that wisely planned by Mendoza and Mary, of whom he says, "She must have some very "intelligent person near her who writes her letters, and "it is impossible to lay down with greater clearness the

"lines upon which the affair should be conducted, the "support that will be necessary, and the kind of forces "required." Granvelle proposes that the Pope be asked to find most of the money, but that he should not be told yet "about the plans repecting England, so as not to "come down upon him too heavily at once, as we may "hope that, as soon as Scotland is in arms, and the "Queen can guide it in her way, as she says, England "of its own accord may rise to shake off the tyranny that "oppresses it."

Whatever may have been in Philip's secret mind at the time, it is worthy of note that up to this period Cardinal de Granvelle, at all events, had no ulterior plans for the political subjugation of Great Britain by Spain, or of the assertion of Philip's right to the English crown. Speaking of the fear of the Scots that the landing of a large foreign force might be a danger to their liberties, he says: "This "is not what his Majesty wants, nor do I approve of it, but "that we should loyally help the king of Scotland and his "mother to maintain their rights, and, by promoting "armed disturbance, keep the queen of England and the "French busy at small cost to ourselves in comparison with "what she would have to spend, and so enable us to settle "our own affairs better. If it had no other result than "this it should suffice, but very much more so when we "consider that it may lead to the re-establishment of "the Catholic religion in those parts. It is evident that, "when we strike there, the Irish Catholics will pluck up "courage . . . . and it is very advantageous that "the matter should be taken in hand by the duke of "Guise, as it will ensure us from French obstruction. "*Since we cannot hope to hold the island for ourselves,* "Guise will not try to hand it over to the king of France "to the detriment of his near kinswoman" (page 383). He also speaks of the probability of the queen of England's coming to terms with Spain, on being secured in the throne during her life, and the re-establishment of the old alliance between the two countries. Thus far

then, the aims of Spain were legitimate and honest under the circumstances. We shall see in the course of the correspondence how, mainly through the jealousy between the English and Scottish Catholics, more selfish counsels gradually prevailed.

The first note of this is struck in the memorandum of Granvelle just quoted, where he says that Englefield is very distrustful of the archbishop of Glasgow, with whom he has ceased to correspond, and he would be sorry that he (Beaton) should be made privy to this business, which . . . . he would immediately divulge to the French (page 384).

Mary and Mendoza promptly perceived the confusion into which the affair was drifting, and the former laid the whole of the blame upon Tassis. The principal merit and praise are due, she says, entirely to Mendoza, in whom in future alone she will confide. She knew nothing whatever, she asserts, of Persons' and Creighton's proceedings until Beaton wrote to her, and "I can assure "you, that the taking of Tassis into council was not done "at my instance. I gave no instructions to my "ambassador to do this, and my cousin Guise . . . . "was ill pleased with his first conference with him and ". . . . . will not address himself to him again "unless he is obliged to do so" (page 392). Her hopes were high if only the aid were promptly sent, and she had consequently resolved not to enter into any sort of agreement with Elizabeth. She had instructed Lennox to stay in Scotland, but money must be sent to him at once to equip the fortresses.

All this negotiation did not, of course, escape the spies of Elizabeth, who said that "she would oppose much "more cunningly than they think the carrying out of "their design." This was not very difficult, for Lennox was a poor specimen of a conspirator, and the earl of Angus with the protestant nobles on the border were quite willing to avenge the murdered Morton and gain the upper hand for themselves at the expense of the

English Queen. The very threat of violence towards himself says Mendoza, reduced him (Lennox) to a terrible state of fear. "His position, indeed, is so wretched that it is "reducing him to a deplorable condition . . . . . "How anxious she (Mary) is to keep him there will be "seen by her words . . . . . that if it be necessary "for the succour to be delayed 'the fact must be hidden "from him,' and I must write and entertain him, as "indeed I have done" (page 396). But no "entertaining" could put spirit into the wretched Lennox, and by the end of August he was a fugitive at Dumbarton and the King in the hands of the protestant lords.

Mendoza's activity in this matter had not escaped the notice of Elizabeth; and the relations of the ambassador with the Court became more and more strained. He was, as he said, quite isolated, none dared to speak to him, and even the children in the streets hooted and stoned him (page 397). He was suffering from cataract, and almost blind, and begged Philip again and again to allow him to retire from his unpleasant post. His last important audience of the Queen had been in October 1581, at Richmond, and he gives an interesting account of it on page 186. He complained bitterly of the countenance she and her people gave to the Portuguese pretender, and of her support of Alençon in Flanders. The Queen was defiant and Mendoza hinted that cannons would bring her to reason. "She told me that I need not think to "threaten or frighten her, for if I did she would put me "in a place where I could not say a word. In future, I "could communicate my business to the Council and be "satisfied with remaining in the country, as she had no "ambassador in Spain." Mendoza rather tardily tried to appease her by flattery, referring to her as "a lady so "beautiful that even lions would crouch before her. She "is so vain and flighty that her anger was at once "soothed at hearing this."

But she once more opened her budget of complaints and would listen to nothing about Drake until ex-

planations were sent by Philip with regard to Ireland. "She had," she said, "been first offended, and should be the first to receive satisfaction." But she sighed heavily as Mendoza left her, and said half audibly in Italian, "Would to God that each one had his own and was at peace." Mendoza laid most of the blame upon Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, to whom he attributes a fixed policy of making his stay in England impossible (page 193), and he consequently kept aloof from the Court, in order to give them as little chance to insult him as possible. He suggested to the King that his successor should be sent not ostensibly to replace him, but on a special mission respecting Drake's piracy, with joint powers, so that Mendoza might retire at any moment he thought opportune, and leave his successor in possession. Mary Stuart, however, begged earnestly that he should remain, and Philip was in no hurry to withdraw him; and so matters drifted, Mendoza in the meanwhile being informed of everything that went on through his many spies, and particularly by Sir James Croft and Lord Henry Howard, and continuing his protests and reclamations against Don Antonio's letters of marque and the ceaseless depredations of the privateers on Spanish shipping.

After an immense amount of trouble and anxiety the Queen had succeeded in getting rid of her too importunate suitor early in February 1582. She had fooled him to the top of his bent, had showered endearments, money, and promises upon him, swore solemnly to marry him in six weeks, accompanied him to Canterbury, and tore herself away from "her husband" at last in a simulated agony of tears—anything to get him across the sea without marrying him. She had insisted upon Leicester going to Antwerp with him, but the favourite felt not over safe away from the Queen and in the power of this rival lover, so he escaped at the first opportunity and slipped over to England again, bringing the news that Alençon had been ceremoniously crowned duke of Brabant. Elizabeth affected to be shocked and annoyed at the news, and had

a great quarrel, real or pretended, with Leicester about it. She told him that he had only gone to Flanders for his own ostentation, and had no business to be present at the investure of Alençon and so to pledge her. "She used "the most scandalous words to him and ended by saying "that he was a traitor, as was all his stock, and that "it was a planned thing between him and Orange" (page 311). Leicester sought to minimise the matter by flattering the Queen and ridiculing Alençon, whom he had left, he said, like an old hulk run ashore on a sand bank, and that the oath of allegiance was nothing but a joke and a mockery (page 310). Marchaumont complained to the Queen that his master should thus he made a laughing stock, whereupon "she swore that no such ceremony had "been performed, and that the States would not think of "doing such a thing until they had informed her," which, says Mendoza, "is all nonsense." Henry III. also repudiated his brother's action as strongly as did the English Queen, and perhaps more sincerely. Both of them were anxious to see how Philip would take it, and Elizabeth seized the opportunity of the late Portuguese minister desiring to take leave (his functions having ceased on the death of the Cardinal-King) to admit Mendoza once more to her presence to introduce him. The interview took place on the 24th February 1582, soon after Alençon's arrival in Flanders, and it is probable that the Queen had already received news of Alençon's investure, although Leicester himself did not arrive until the 26th. In any case his intention of assuming the sovereignty of the States was already public. The Queen received Mendoza coldly, but was anxious to prove to him her impartiality in the matter of Portugal, and Mendoza gave her some particulars of the aid given to Don Antonio in England. Up to this point her manner had been at least polite, but she suddenly changed and harshly told him that this was no time to deal with such matters. Mendoza says that Hatton (who had treated him with marked rudeness when he entered the presence chamber) was standing behind him, and that

a sign made by him was probably the reason of the Queen's change of tone. We may be permitted to surmise, however, that when she found that the old Portuguese grievance—in which she was sure of the support of France—was to be the chief cause of complaint, she could afford to be rude. Doubtless her principal fear for the moment was how Philip would regard Alençon's assumption, under her patronage, of the sovereignty of a part of his patrimonial dominions, in which matter if war with Spain had resulted she would have probably found herself alone.

Elizabeth's anxiety in the matter was redoubled a month after this by the reception of the news in the evening of the 20th March that Orange had been shot on the 18th by a Spanish youth. The wound was not mortal, although it was for a long time believed to be so, and the Prince's terrible sufferings are dwelt upon in detail and with great unction by Mendoza, who gives a fuller account of the surgical aspect of the case than I have seen elsewhere. In the first moment of panic it was believed that the affair had been prompted by the treachery of Alençon and the French, and doubtless a wholesale slaughter of the latter would have taken place, but that the wounded prince emphatically repudiated the idea, and said that he was quite sure that the attack had been ordered by Philip (page 328). There is nothing in the correspondence to prove the complicity of Mendoza; but only the day after the reception of the news in London Pedro de Zubiaur, who had just returned from Flanders, and another Spanish merchant, were arrested as they entered the ambassador's house, on the charge that they were his instruments in the attempt (page 320); and Leicester openly declared that the murder had been planned by Mendoza, whom the assassin had, he said, visited a month before. Mendoza was bitterly indignant but powerless, constantly expecting his expulsion, but determined not to provoke it whilst he had the Scotch plot in hand. Whether Mendoza was directly implicated in this attempt upon Orange it is

difficult to decide, but he evidently approved of it, and says that the Prince's prolonged sufferings may be looked upon as a judgment of God, who, he says, "was pleased "to delay the end in order to punish him with more "terrible sufferings than were ever undergone by man" (page 334). Mary Stuart, too, "praised God for this, "seeing the advantage which may accrue to His Church "and to the King, my brother (Philip), who is now its "principal protector" (page 342).

When Philip heard the news of the "Raid of Ruthven," and the flight of Lennox, he saw that the Scotch enterprise was hopeless for a time. Guise was to be conciliated by every means, but it is clear that Philip wished to confine his (Guise's) attention principally to France. He was told how dangerous it would be for him to leave France with his enemies the Huguenots in possession, and was emphatically assured of Spanish support in his own ambitious designs against Alençon and the Bearnais (page 402). Guise was pleased and flattered at so much deference being paid to him, but he could hardly be expected to look upon Scotch affairs entirely from Philip's point of view. The fall of Lennox was rightly ascribed to English intrigue and La Mothe Fénélon was sent to England and Scotland with instructions to warn Elizabeth that the French would aid James VI. if she interfered in Scotland, and to remonstrate with the Scottish Protestant lords for keeping their King in durance. It is probable that the real purpose of La Mothe's mission was to use Scotch affairs as another lever to bring Elizabeth to the marriage with Alençon; but with La Mothe was associated young De Maineville, who took separate instructions from the Guises to revive the plot for a landing of foreign troops in Scotland. Beaton in Paris was equally eager to keep the matter afoot with Tassis, and Fontenay was sent by Mary to Madrid to urge for armed aid in Scotland. But the conspiracy was already too well known to please Philip. Elizabeth and Ruthven, too, were well warned. Fontenay was therefore stopped at Paris for a time by Tassis,

and it is plain from Philip's letters that after Lennox's feeble surrender of power he had lost faith in the enterprise, and only kept up an appearance of negotiation in order to maintain his hold upon the Guises, and to prevent their undertaking anything except under his patronage.

When Lennox arrived in London on his way to France he secretly sent his Secretary to give Mendoza an account of affairs in Scotland and his version of the "Raid of Ruthven." He also acquainted him with the plans he had formed for his own return with James' connivance, and for an invasion of Scotland by foreign troops (page 438). Mendoza, however, like his master, was now distrustful of success, and treated the matter coolly; and Lennox went to France, where he died in a few months. Mendoza punctually sent to the queen of Scots an account of all that Lennox had told him, and evidently exhibited jealousy that he had been kept in ignorance of the recent negotiations between Guise and Tassis in Paris. Mary in her reply (page 446) complains just as bitterly that she herself has been told nothing, and throws the whole of the blame upon Beaton, of whom she expresses deep distrust. She was distrustful also of Tassis, and for the future decided to carry on the plot exclusively through Morgan and Mendoza, whom she asked Philip to transfer to Paris. Mendoza, for his part, was eager to get away from his unpleasant post in London, and was ceaselessly begging Idiaquez to move the King to withdraw him. He was rapidly going blind of cataract, and was suffering from the effects of the mysterious malady which we now call influenza. Shunned and suspected by the English, and, as usual, kept in the dark as to Philip's designs, he ceased for a short time to be principal pivot upon which turned the plans against England. De Maineville was busy in Scotland making friends and ingratiating himself with James, whose extraordinary duplicity was even thus early the wonder of both the political parties who were competing for his favour (page 455). De Maineville's reports to Guise were not favourable to immediate action in Scotland,

and on the 4th May Guise informed Tassis that he had made arrangements to begin operations with the English Catholics. The Queen was first to be murdered and the country raised, but in order to be well prepared beforehand Philip and the Pope must provide him (Guise) at once with 100,000 crowns (pages 464, 475, and 479). A similar message was at the same time sent to the Nuncio in France for his Holiness.

Guise's intrigues were, of course, not ignored in France and England, and the result of the knowledge is seen in the almost simultaneous negotiations opened by Elizabeth, through Beal, at the instance of the French ambassador, for the release of Mary Stuart, on terms which would have disabled her for future harm. Mary asked for Mendoza's opinion on the proposal. He was shocked at the idea, and wrote, as he says, "with all possible artifice"—certainly with great circumlocution—to persuade her to remain where she was. To his master he gives his real reason. "Nothing could be more injurious to your "Majesty's interests and to the hopes of converting this "island, than that the French should get their fingers "into the matter through the queen of Scotland, and "turn it to their own ends" (page 465). Philip in reply to this asked him whether his objection applied also to the association of the duke of Guise in the affair, he being a Frenchman. To this an interesting reply was sent (page 492), saying that if Guise depended, as he would, entirely upon Spanish support and being a kinsman of Mary, there was no objection to him, but above all Mary must be kept in England. Elizabeth, he says, must be deposed or rendered impotent, which can best be effected whilst the queen of Scotland is in the country.

When Lennox had died and De Maineville had returned to France, Guise saw the present impossibility of effecting the Scotch enterprise by force of arms. Beaton's nephew was sent to Scotland with Spanish and Papal money to bribe some of the nobles, "who "are all very venal and may be gained easily by money,"

and renewed attempts were to be made to convert James; but Guise's principal plan now turned to a regular invasion of England. His plans however, as usual, were vague and inchoate (page 482), and again too many people were made privy to them. Father Allen and the English Catholic exiles were in deadly earnest, and thought that "all this talk and intricacy were mere buckler play." They could not forget, moreover, their national jealousy of the French and Scots, and "they (the English) "suspected a tendency on the part of the Scots to claim a "controlling influence in the new empire, and, as the Scots "are naturally inclined to the French, they would rather "see the affair carried through with but few Spaniards, "whilst the English hate this idea, as their country "is the principal one . . . and should not lose its "predominance." This tendency of the English Catholics to cling to the Spaniards alone was eagerly seized by Philip's Ministers, and from this time forward French co-operation even under the auspices of the Guises, was gradually eliminated from the plans of invasion, so far as the English exiles could influence them. The English Jesuits had a plan of their own in competition with that of the Guises; the English north country was to be raised simultaneously with the landing of a Spanish force in Yorkshire, accompanied by the exiled Catholic nobles under Westmoreland and Dacre, with Allen as Nuncio and bishop of Durham. There was also an extreme Catholic party even in Scotland, led by Lord Seton, who distrusted Henry III. as a King who could not maintain catholicism in his own country, and they made a direct appeal to Philip for aid (page 488).

In the meanwhile, in accordance with an arrangement made with De Maineville before he left Scotland, James had cleverly thrown himself into Falkland, extricated himself from the guardianship of the Protestant lords, and taken the reins of government into his own hands. That he was fully cognisant of Guise's plans, and approved of them, is shown by some characteristic letters from him

to the Duke on pages 502 and 517, and a still more extraordinary communication of his to the Pope (page 518). Guise appears finally to have adopted a combination of the plans of the English exiles and his own, and sent a priest named Melino to Rome and Madrid with particulars thereof (page 504). The Spanish forces were to land at Fouldrey, Dalton-in-Furness, Lancashire, simultaneously with the raising of the whole of the north of England, and the Scots Catholics on the borders were to join them. Guise himself was to cross the channel with 4,000 or 6,000 men and land in the south of England, and in August 1583 Charles Paget was sent by Guise to England in disguise to ascertain what forces would join him there, and where he could land. One passage particularly in Guise's instructions to Paget is marked by Philip with a note of exclamation and warning, which shows what was then passing in the King's mind. "Assure them "(*i.e.*, the English Catholics), on the faith and honour "of Hercules (*i.e.*, Guise), that the enterprise is being "undertaken with no other object or intention than to "re-establish the Catholic religion in England, *and to* "*place the queen of Scotland peacefully on the throne* "*of England*, which rightly belongs to her. When this is "effected the foreigners will immediately retire from the "country, and if any one attempts to frustrate this "intention Hercules *promises that he and his forces will* "*join the people of the country* to compel the foreigners to "withdraw" (page 806). No wonder, when Philip heard particulars of Guise's plans, he again found that they were not sufficiently matured, and deprecated undue precipitation. He was annoyed, moreover, at the priest Melino having obtained a promise from the Pope to contribute a certain amount to the enterprise. Philip had no idea of allowing any more priestly meddling with his diplomacy, and no doubt had already in his mind the vast projects of the conquest and domination of England on his own account, which he afterwards developed, and for which he expected the Pope would pay. In the meanwhile matters

were coming to a crisis with Mendoza in England. His letters for the autumn of 1583 are unfortunately missing, but, on the 26th November 1583, he wrote to the King in a way that proves his deep complicity with Throgmorton's plot. When Charles Paget had come to England from Guise, Francis Throgmorton had been the person through whom he had communicated, and Mendoza was of course informed by Guise and Morgan in Paris of everything that was being arranged. Walsingham, as we now know, had spies everywhere, and patiently awaited the moment to deliver his blow. When it fell in November and Throgmorton was in prison all fingers were pointed at Mendoza as the moving spirit of the plot, and at last a good pretext existed for ignominiously expelling him from England. At first he hoped once more to weather the storm. "Fresh gentlemen," he says, "are being seized every day and the Catholics are quite "cowed. One paper only was found on Throgmorton, "containing a list of the principal ports in England and "particulars with regard to them and the chief gentlemen "and Catholics dwelling therein. For this they at once "carried him to the Tower, and it is feared that his life "is in danger, although he informed me by a cipher "note, written on a playing card and thrown out of the "window, that he denies that the document is in his hand-"writing, the caligraphy being disguised. He told them "that some person had thrown it into his house for the "purpose of injuring him, and assures me that he will "endure a thousand deaths rather than accuse anyone, "which message he begs me to convey to his Catholic "friends with whom I was in communication. I have "written to the lady in prison, encouraging her and "begging her not to grieve over the matter to the "detriment of her health, but the business, it may be "feared, may imperil her life if the negotiations in "France are entirely discovered" (page 510). Tassis in Paris was even less sanguine; and, notwithstanding the assurance of the English exiles that the arrests in England

had no connection with their plans, he feared what the rack might wring out of the prisoners. And with reason; for Mendoza's activity with the conspirators, and his letters to Queen Mary, were soon proved to the satisfaction of the English Council. On the 19th January 1584 a formal summons for him to attend the Privy Council was delivered to him by Beal, and he was informed that, as his intrigues with Guise, Queen Mary, Northumberland, and Throgmorton were now known, he must leave the country within fifteen days. Mendoza shifted and prevaricated in vain, and, when he saw they were in earnest, assumed a haughty tone, and said he would only be too glad to leave when he had received his master's instructions to do so. They replied that he must not wait for this, but must leave at once, "explaining their past acts with impertinences that I dare not repeat to your Majesty." When they told him he ought to be thankful that the Queen had not punished him, his patience gave way, and the haughty Castilian temper broke out. "As I have "apparently failed to please the Queen," he said, "as a "minister of peace, she would in future force me to try "to satisfy her in war." And he was as good as his word. For the rest of his active life, until blind and broken, the brilliant soldier, diplomatist, and historian was shrouded in the monk's gabardine, Elizabeth and her country had no enemy so bitter, persistent, and rancorous as Bernardino de Mendoza.

The larger plans for the invasion and final subjugation of Great Britain were now developing in the slow mind of Philip, but he must do it in his own time and his own way. There must be no more wide-spread ramifications, no more of Guise's vague management or of priestly blundering, the secret of how, when, and where, all the springs of action, must centre in one cell in the Escorial, and to that point all channels of intelligence must be blindly directed. Facts, information, pledges, were all that Philip demanded, whilst he communicated as little as possible in return. Mendoza was transferred to Paris,

and the whole English "enterprise," so far as it was to be managed in England and France, was handed over to him. Before Tassis left for his new post in Flanders, however, he wrote to the King an important memorandum (page 521) strongly advocating the views of the English Catholics that the invasion should be made in the north of England in conjunction with a subsidised rising of Catholics there, in contradistinction to Guise's newly revived plan for a landing first in Scotland, now that hopes were again entertained of James' conversion. But Philip had evidently by this time made up his mind to keep the management of matters in his own hands and to have no more of Guise's meddling. The latter was to be flattered and made much of, but that was all. When the Pope received the appeal of James VI. and Guise for help (page 518) he naturally referred it to Philip saying that he (the Pope) would contribute to the enterprise the sum he had promised in the previous autumn to Guise's envoy Melino. But this did not at all suit Philip's new ideas. The Pope was told that it would be unwise for Guise to leave France, and in any case his going to England with so small a force as he could command would probably end in disaster. "I am not asking his Holiness to do "impossibilities, but if anything is to be effected he must "contribute very largely, and must find ways and means "through his holy zeal to do much more than anyone "has yet imagined." The "enterprise of England," in fact, although slowly advancing, was yet distant in Philip's mind, and much had to be laboriously settled before it could be actively undertaken. Time, as he knew, was working in his favour. The English Catholics were daily growing more suspicious of a Scottish domination of England under French auspices, and were drifting closer to the Spanish side. Allen and the jesuits were already saying that they "wanted no other patron than your Majesty" (page 526), and in an intercepted letter from one of Mendoza's spies in England, enclosing an urgent appeal from Mary Stuart that the enterprise should be

carried through without delay, the writer in a few pregnant words places before Philip the position, over which, doubtless, he had often pondered. "If she (Mary) "perish, as is to be feared, it cannot fail to bring some "scandal and reproach upon your Majesty, *because as* "*your Majesty after her is the nearest Catholic heir of the* "*blood royal of England,* some false suspicion might "naturally be aroused at your having abandoned the "good Queen to be ruined by her heretical rivals in order "to open the door to your Majesty's own advantage" (page 530). As this idea of Philip's own claim to the crown gradually developed, the interference of the French in the affair became more and more dreaded. The French ministers in Paris approached Mendoza in June 1585 with a proposal that France should join in any action that was contemplated against England; but Philip saw "much artifice behind it "all. They would like by this means to free them- "selves from pressure and embark us upon a business "which they who suggest it would afterwards prevent" (page 539). Philip's one remedy for all such approaches was to seek information and pledges from those who made them, and this course was generally effectual. Guise at the same time was constantly warned that he had quite enough to do in France, and "that he would never be "safe until he had first dispersed his rivals and broken "the Huguenots." Philip's aim clearly was that he should by civil war in France paralyse Henry III. and the Huguenots from interfering in favour of Elizabeth, and render Guise himself powerless to promote the interests in England of his cousin James Stuart. The Vatican especially was the arena of struggle between the two parties with regard to Great Britain. The new Pope Sixtus V. had been raised to the throne by a series of extraordinary intrigues, which ended at last in a compromise. He found his treasury empty and his revenues anticipated, robbery and anarchy rife in the eternal city itself, and the college of Cardinals a nest of corruption.

His master-hand soon subdued all to his wise guidance, but during these first years of his papacy the Cardinals who surrounded him ceaselessly pushed the interests of their respective patrons. Medici, d'Este, Gonzaga, Rusticucci, Santorio, and others, were the mouthpieces of the French interest, which sought an arrangement with Elizabeth and James, and desired, above all, to exclude Spanish influence from Great Britain; Cardinal Sanzio led the party of the Guises, whilst the Secretary of State, Cardinal Caraffa, with Sirleto, Como, and, of course, Allen, were in favour of Philip. Every move of Sanzio to urge that the Pope should consent to no undertaking that did not include Guise; or of d'Este counselling his Holiness to strive first for the conversion of James by moral pressure, was at once counteracted by Philip's ambassador Olivares or by one of the Spanish cardinals. Sixtus himself leant more to the side of moderation, and had no wish to render Spain politically predominant, but was ambitious, as he said, to signalise his papacy by some great enterprise in favour of the faith. A good specimen of the manner in which he was cajoled by Olivares to bear a great share of the expense of the invasion of England, whilst leaving Philip a free hand, will be found in the important despatch to the King on page 560. No point was missed by the facile diplomatist; the name of religion was invoked all through as being Philip's sole motive, inconvenient questions were pushed into the background or left indefinite, with the certainty that Caraffa would subsequently define them in a sense favourable to Spain, and above all, the Pope was deceived about Philip's own designs upon the crown of England. "His Holiness is quite convinced that your "Majesty is not thinking of the succession of the crown "of England for yourself, and told Cardinal d'Este so, as "I relate further on. I did not say anything to the "contrary. He is very far from thinking that your "Majesty has any views for yourself, and when the "matter is broached to him he will be much surprised.

"However deeply he is pledged to abide by your "Majesty's opinion, I quite expect he will raise some "difficulty," (page 563). It was only after persistent chaffering, and with much misgiving, that Sixtus at last pledged himself to Olivares to contribute one million crowns to the Armada, leaving Philip untrammelled with inconvenient conditions. This was the main point for which the King had been waiting, and now the preparations for the Armada were undertaken in earnest. Mendoza's principal function in Paris was to keep up a constant stream of intelligence from England. The false Portuguese who surrounded Don Antonio sent news to their friends in Spanish pay in France; the English exiles who lived in Paris and elsewhere on Philip's bounty were unceasing in providing information about England; Morgan in the Bastile was still able to keep up an active correspondence, fatal as it turned out, with queen Mary; pretended Flemish Protestants, and Spanish agents in the French embassy in London often sent secret notes to Mendoza. But Philip was insatiable for information about Drake, Raleigh, Grenville, and Cavendish, and drove his ambassador to the verge of desperation, at times when every port was watched by Walsingham's spies, and when, as one of his informants says, "not even a strange "fly can enter an English seaport without its being "noticed." Charles Arundell, who had fled with Lord Paget to France on the arrest of Throgmorton, came to Tassis before the latter left Paris, and suggested that he could bribe the new English ambassador, Sir Edward Stafford. When Philip was informed of this he expressed his incredulity and the matter dropped, but after Mendoza was well established in his post Arundell, who had already given him several items of information, proposed again to buy over Stafford, and the bargain was effected. Thenceforward, whilst Stafford remained ambassador in France, such English diplomacy as passed through him was no secret from Mendoza and his master.

But Mendoza was burning to revenge himself for the

personal indignities he had suffered at the hands of Elizabeth and her ministers, and the transmission of endless information failed to satisfy his active rancour. He became in Paris, as he was in London, the centre of all plots against the Queen, and, as he more than once explains, he had no misgiving about it now, for Leicester was at war against Spain in Flanders with the Queen's troops, and Elizabeth had assumed the protection of Philip's patrimonial dominions. She was consequently at open hostility with his master, and he might fairly seek her destruction.

On the 12th of May 1586 he wrote with his own hand to Idiaquez, the King's secretary, that a person (Ballard) had been sent to him from England to advise him that four courtiers had sworn to kill the Queen, either by poison or steel, and to beg for Philip's countenance and support after the deed was done. Not another living soul but Mendoza was to know of it (page 579). This was the first word of the Babington plot, and Mendoza gave to the priest, Ballard, who brought the message, only a diplomatic and general answer until the plans were more advanced. So the matter remained for two months. In the meanwhile at the end of June, Mendoza received the important letter from Mary Stuart (page 581), which is already known to historical students. The unhappy woman was hastening to her doom. She had been for eighteen months almost shut off from communication with her friends, but at last Morgan had again devised a means of conveying letters, and the first use she had made of it was to entrust William Paget with a mission. She proposed that Philip should take her entirely under his protection, and she would by will disinherit her son (of whose conversion she saw but little hope), and leave her rights to the crown of England to Philip, "considering "the public welfare of the Church before the private "aggrandisement of my posterity." On the day that this letter was deciphered Mendoza had undergone an operation for cataract, but blind and ill as he was, he

dictated a letter which was sent off post haste to the King, in which he did not fail to attribute to his own efforts the important resolution at which the Queen had arrived (page 586).

Philip and the English Catholics were thus getting their own way in all things, whilst Guise, Beaton, and the Scottish Catholics were taking a subordinate place in the scheme. This of course did not please them, and they made another attempt to take the lead, which was within an ace of being successful, and nearly changed the whole plan of the Armada. On the 16th July 1586 Guise wrote to Mendoza (page 589) saying that for a long time he had been laying the foundation of an enterprise, to which at last he had brought the Scottish Catholic lords to agree. Beaton was charged to tell Mendoza what this scheme was. Huntly, Morton, and Claude Hamilton had sent a Catholic gentleman named Robert Bruce to France with three signed blank sheets of letter paper which Guise was to fill up over the signatures with letters to Philip, appealing to him to come to the aid of the Scottish Catholics. Bruce was then to go with the letters and a recommendation from Guise to Madrid, and to present to the King the demands and conditions of the Scottish nobles. A copy of Bruce's instructions sent to Mendoza will be found on page 590, where it will be seen that the nobles undertake to restore catholicism, release James and his mother, compel the former to become a Catholic, and bind himself to Spain. But the most tempting offer was "to deliver into his Majesty's hands "at once, or when his Majesty thinks fit, one or two good "ports in Scotland near the English border, to be used "against the queen of England." In return for all this they only asked for 6,000 foreign troops paid for a year to enable them to withstand the queen of England, and 150,000 crowns to equip Scottish soldiers. For secrecy and safety Bruce went to Spain by a circuitous route without passing through Paris, and does not appear to have arrived in Madrid until September. In the

meanwhile the Babington plot was ripening in England. Mendoza's vague but sympathetic message to the conspirators in May had encouraged them to sound the principal Catholics in the country, and already the plot had spread its ramifications all over England. Gifford arrived in Paris in August, and gave Mendoza full particulars of the whole business. The information was sent to the King (page 603), and by it and the accompanying statement we may see that the conspiracy was far more widespread and dangerous even than has usually been acknowledged. There was hardly a Catholic gentleman, or even a "schismatic," who was not more or less implicated; and Philip's curt autograph notes on the document demonstrate characteristically his distrust and disbelief in the success of a plot known to so many persons—and above all to those who were not strict Catholics. It is true that Gifford told Mendoza that only six courtiers, with Babington, and two of the principal leaders, were privy to the intended murder of the Queen, but Philip expresses his disbelief of this. Mendoza, however, for once, allowed his hatred of Elizabeth to overcome his prudence, and wrote a strong letter to the conspirators, approving of their plan "as "one worthy of spirits so Catholic, and of the ancient "valour of Englishmen" (page 606). "If they succeeded "in killing the Queen," he said, "they should have the "assistance they required from the Netherlands, and the "assurance that your Majesty would succour them." Mendoza went even beyond this, and urged them to seize Don Antonio and his adherents, to capture the Queen's ships, and to kill Cecil, Walsingham, Hunsdon, Knollys, and Beal. Even Philip, who cannot be accused of undue scrupulousness as to the sacrifice of life, remarked in a marginal note that it did not matter about killing Cecil, "as he is very old . . . . . and has done no harm."

Philip's reply is very characteristic (page 614). The affair is so much "in God's service that it certainly "deserves to be supported, and we must hope that our

"Lord will prosper it, unless our sins are an impediment "thereto." He for his part will do all that is asked of him, as soon as "the principal execution" is effected. Above all *that* should be done swiftly. "They are cutting "their own throats if they delay or fail, and you will "therefore urge despatch and caution, upon which all "depends." Philip very rarely reproved his agents, but, in this case, he blamed Mendoza for his outspoken letters to the conspirators, and evidently feared the effect of such widespread knowledge of the plot. He went to the length of keeping it even from Parma, by sending to Mendoza two letters for the Prince, one to instruct him to prepare the forces to be sent to England, but without telling him their destination, and the other to be sent after the Queen's murder, giving him final orders. The King's letter was written on the 6th September, but before Mendoza received it the bubble had burst, and Walsingham's heavy hand, long poised, had pounced upon the conspirators. The priest, Ballard, who had first gone to Mendoza in May, had confessed on the rack what had passed at their interview. All the unfortunate Mary's letters had been intercepted and copied, and what Walsingham called, "the most deeply rooted conspiracy which had been formed in her Majesty's time" was detected and defeated. In Mendoza's letter to the King of 10th September (page 623) on this subject he rather enigmatically refers to Raleigh as one of the six courtiers who had sworn to assassinate the Queen. On the face of it this would appear incredible, but it is certain that early in the following year offers of service were made to Philip by Raleigh, particulars of which will be included in the next volume of this Calendar. In the same letter Mendoza says, "I am of opinion that the queen of "Scotland must be well acquainted with the whole "affair, to judge from the contents of a letter which she "has written to me" (pages 624 and 629). If the letter referred to by Mendoza was that of 27th July (page 596) or of 2nd August (598), there does not appear

to be any warrant in either of them for the assertion that Mary was actually cognisant of the intention to assassinate Elizabeth. That she was fully aware, and was the guiding spirit of, the "enterprise" of England is, of course, undoubted, and her correspondence with Babington, Morgan's letter of 29th June (Hatfield MSS.), and Nau's declarations, seem to prove that she must have had a very strong suspicion, at least, of the design against the person of the Queen. Her own solemn and persistent denial of such knowledge, and the absence of direct proof of it, would certainly tend to show that her profound diplomacy and caution, of which many instances are given in this Calendar, caused her to avoid any positive statement to or by her, of Babington's intentions in this respect. On the discovery of the plot Mendoza at once concluded that Mary's life was in danger, and this fear was also felt in the French Court. Instructions were therefore sent to the French ambassador to take such steps as he considered necessary in Mary's favour. The already much-talked of Spanish naval preparations, the approval given by Mendoza to Babington's plot, and the recent arrival of Drake with the spoils of the West Indies, had made Henry III. fearful that Elizabeth could not avoid war with Spain, and he was chary of pledging himself too deeply to her. The English Catholic exiles in Paris were therefore secretly warned by Villeroy to disappear for a time to avoid arrest at the instance of Stafford, who himself doubtless gave prior information of his instructions in this respect.

The repeated failures of Catholic conspiracies in England had now made Philip distrustful of effecting the "enterprise" except with overwhelming forces of his own. When, therefore, Robert Bruce submitted to him the proposals of the Scottish lords he was full of vague sympathy, and sent the envoy back to Paris "with fair words" in plenty, but with the suggestion, which he knew was impracticable, that the Pope should find the money. He was not anxious, moreover, for Guise's co-operation outside of France, although it was less to be dreaded

than formerly, now that James was disinherited by his mother, and was a confirmed "heretic." At the same time the Scottish offer of two safe ports near the English border was a tempting one, and not to be cast aside hastily, so Parma and Mendoza were instructed to report to him fully as to the advantages of the scheme, whilst Bruce, Guise, and the Scottish nobles were "to be kept in hand." In accordance with these instructions, Mendoza wrote, on the 15th October 1586, to Parma strongly urging that the offers of the Scots should be sympathetically entertained in order that they might afford a diversion in Philip's favour when he invaded England, but that their strength should be ascertained by a series of inquiries to clear up doubtful points before definite pledges were given to them. Cautious Parma would not, however, go even so far as this until he knew what were Philip's intentions with regard to England. He thought the plan would fail unless it were part of a concerted scheme of invasion. He would appear to have been somewhat resentful at his having been kept in the dark as to Philip's ultimate plans (page 664), and this feeling may possibly in part account for his extraordinary behaviour when the Armada at last appeared. Parma's cool irresponsiveness had more than once been objected to by Mendoza, and his reply on this occasion was almost vehemently combated in an extremely sagacious State Paper written to the King on 24th December (page 681). By inquiry from Bruce, on his return to Paris, Mendoza had satisfied all his doubts, and was now hotly in favour of the scheme. His arguments in favour of the invasion of England being undertaken through Scotland, read by our knowledge of the disaster of the Armada, sound almost prophetic. "It is of advantage to the English "that they should rather be attacked by a force which "needs great sea fleets for its transport and maintenance, "both on account of the immense sums of money which "must be spent on such an expedition, and the great

"quantity of material and time necessary, as well as "the many opportunities which occur during the delay "and preparation for impeding the progress of such "armaments. They are also subject to much greater "disasters than are land armies, for in most cases the "mere death of the leader is sufficient to frustrate their "design . . . . and, in the event of the loss of a "great fleet, the owner sees himself bereft at one blow "of forces, ships, and guns, for they are things hard to "replace." It is plain now that, all through this able document, the old soldier—the last of the disciples of Alba, as he calls himself—was right in his appreciations, and that Philip made a fatal mistake in not following his advice.

But whilst all this was being discussed, the fate of Mary Stuart was trembling in the balance. After the execution of Babington and his accomplices (of which some curious detail is given on page 641), Sir Edward Stafford stated to Henry III. the heads of the indictment against Mary, and the King begged him to use his influence in her favour. But shortly afterwards Henry Wotton was sent on a special mission, as Mendoza says, to alienate French sympathy from Mary by showing how entirely she was wedded to the Spaniards, and that she had by her will left the crown of England to Philip. Wotton took with him also the draft of Mary's letter to Mendoza indicating Philip as her successor, and a letter from her to Babington, with such other compromising papers as were likely to incense the French against her. In reply, Henry said that he would send his Minister Bellièvre to England to address Elizabeth on the subject, but neither Mendoza nor his master believed for a moment that Henry and his mother really desired to save Mary, or that Elizabeth meant to sacrifice her, but that Bellièvre was to use the pretext in order to put pressure upon the English Queen to reconcile Henry of Navarre and Condé with the King, whilst Elizabeth's supposed design was

ostensibly to sell Mary Stuart's life to the French in exchange for favourable terms of alliance against Spain (pages 660 and 680), and the lukewarm tone of Bellièvre's address to the Queen tends strongly to show that the Spaniards were right (page 691). Up to the date when this volume closes, indeed the general opinion out of England seems to have been that Mary's life at least would not be forfeited. That such was not the opinion in England is seen in the letter of the Portuguese spy, Vega (page 676); and long afterwards, when the unhappy Queen was in her grave, Mendoza received her touching letter, dated 23rd November, written after her condemnation to death, by which it is clear that she herself had no hope that her life would be spared (page 663). Surely a letter more sad or more beautiful than this has rarely been penned. Whatever the crimes of the unhappy woman may have been, the noble resignation, the queenly dignity, the plaintive gratitude which the letter expresses, go far to explain the secret of the extraordinary fascination she exercised upon those who came in contact with her. She clearly regarded herself as a martyr for the Church and faith she clung to so steadfastly. With the fear of immediate death before her eyes, with the sounds, as she thought, of the erection of her death scaffold in the next room ringing in her ears, she denounced as a "great falsehood" the assertion of her accusers that she had plotted their Queen's death, "For I have never attempted "such a thing, but have left it in the hands of God and "the Church to order in this island matters concerning "religion."

Thus closes the year 1586, with Mary Stuart waiting hourly for her death, with the French and Scottish envoys trying to buy her life as cheaply as possible, whilst Elizabeth sought to sell it at the highest price she could get for it; with the Spanish dockyards already busy with the preparations for the great Armada, whilst the armed privateers, which were to defeat it, were cowing Spanish

commerce on every sea. The recluse of the Escorial was still for ever asking for information—more information, more reports,—securing himself absolutely, on paper, whilst other men, and above all women, were acting with the energy, agility, and decision, which had already damaged, but eventually were to ruin, him and his cause for ever.

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS,

SPANISH.

ELIZABETH.
1580—1586.

1580.

13 Jan. **1.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 28th ultimo. On the previous day the Queen had sent to the French ambassador to come and see her, as she had received three dispatches from Stafford, enclosing letters from the King of France, his mother, and Alençon. The latter told her that he was making ready for his departure, and would come as she pleased, either with or without a company, and either before or after the signing of the capitulations. He said he was very sorry they had cut off the hands of the men concerned with the book,* and he would indeed be glad if he could remedy it, even at the cost of two fingers of his own hand; but as that was now impossible, he entreated her to pardon the men and award them some recompense, so that they might understand that they owed their lives and her favour to his intercession. He was equally grieved to learn that she was not showing so much favour as formerly to the earl of Leicester; and also that Simier had not carried out his (Alençon's) instructions in making friends with the Earl, whom, if he (Alençon) came to England he would regard as a comrade and a brother. He entreated her not to bear ill-will to Leicester and the other councillors who had opposed the match, as they no doubt did so, as they thought, in her interests. He said he had now his mother's blessing and his brother's permission for the marriage; and the King's letters were to a similar effect, adding, however, that if it was necessary to alter any of the conditions they (*i.e.*, the English) who had drafted them, might do so. This greatly gratified the Queen and she loaded the ambassador with caresses. On the 1st instant Stafford arrived here, having been sent by Alençon with a letter to the Queen, in the sealing-wax of which was embedded an emerald worth 400 crowns. The purport of it was to confirm, with many fine words, the letters previously sent; and Stafford said that Alençon would soon be here; two persons of

---

* This was Stubbs' book "The discovery of a gaping gulf." *See* Note, p. 700, Vol. II.

y 84541. 400.—1/95. Wt. 17445.

1580.

rank, however, would precede him. Alençon gave him a chain of a 1,000 crowns and as much more in jewels and buttons. The Queen sent a post to Alençon on the night Stafford arrived, and told the latter to make ready for his speedy return to France.

The French ambassador had high words with Leicester the other day about his trying to persuade him to confess to the Queen that he was married, as Simier and he, the ambassador, had assured her.* This is one of the grievances that Leicester has against him, and the ambassador in his desire to be reconciled with him sent word by a confidant of his to say that he, Leicester, might see by what Alençon wrote, the good offices which he, the ambassador, had effected, and that the French were as friendly with him as ever. Leicester replied that he knew all about it, and that it was nothing but French chatter. When Alençon came to marry the Queen, he said, he would be obliged to treat him as his master. He said besides, that he wanted to have no more to do with Frenchmen and would never trust them again. At this time Stafford arrived, and on his coming Leicester no doubt repented of what he had said, seeing the business settled; and sent for the man who had brought him the message and told him that if he had not already seen the ambassador he was not to repeat his answer; but, as if on his own account, was to recommend the ambassador to write to France, urging the great importance of gaining Leicester over if the marriage was to be carried through. He has also caused the same thing to be written to M. de la Mothe,† who was formerly French ambassador here, for him to represent the same in France. One of these letters has fallen into my hands, and I send it to your Majesty. I am told the ambassador has written to the same effect. Amongst the other indications that the marriage is settled, although both parties are holding off, not the least is that Leicester is making warm efforts in the direction I have mentioned.

An English captain whom these folks have with the Prince of Condé has arrived with letters from him to the Queen, addressed to Leicester and Walsingham, whom he has seen. They tell him they will dispatch him shortly and that he will take a present to Condé. They have ordered three captains to raise six hundred Englishmen, four hundred of whom have already slipped across to Flanders, as the rest of them will do. These are the men I told your Majesty had been promised to Condé to help his entry into the Netherlands.

Leicester has a ship ready to sail on a voyage for plunder on the

* Some months previous to the date of this letter, Leicester had seen that the Alençon match, which he had pretended to favour, was assuming too serious an aspect under the guidance of Alençon's agent, Simier, who had entirely captured the good graces of Elizabeth. Two attempts were made, almost certainly at the instance of Leicester, to murder Simier; and the latter, determined at one blow to avenge himself, and remove from the road the permanent obstacle to the Queen's marriage with his master. Secure in his possession of the Queen's favour, he did what no other person had dared to do, namely, tell her Majesty of the private marriage of the earl of Leicester with the Countess of Essex. Castelnau de la Mauvissière, the French ambassador, had aided Simier in the revelation.

† La Mothe Fénélon.

1580.

route to the Indies. It will leave in ten days and they have collected the most experienced English sailors for the voyage. Although I understand the main object to be robbery if opportunity offers, the design also is to aid Drake if they can come across him, and strengthen him with their vessel, as Leicester and his party are those who are behind Drake.* With a similar object, three ships of 100, 80, and 70 tons, are being fitted out in Plymouth, in the name of John Hawkins, the pretence being that they are taking merchandise to the coast of Brazil. In fact some goods are being shipped in them; and this is to the direct prejudice of the crown of Portugal, although the treaty for three years which expired in November has not been confirmed. This treaty did not distinctly prohibit trade in this direction nor with Barbary, the English having simply undertaken not to go either to Mina or the coast of Brazil.—London, 13th January 1580.

13 Jan. **2.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After writing the enclosed I sent to ask audience of the Queen to give her an account of certain robberies that had been committed by pirates. She sent to say that, although she wished that affairs necessitated her seeing me more frequently, she would be glad if I would go at once, in order that I might enjoy an entertainment they had prepared for her. This was one of those which are customary here, in which bears are baited by dogs. As it was rather a novelty for her to give me audience so quickly, I suspected she wanted to hear something from me about the French business, she having received a packet from France the previous day. She asked me if it was true, as was said, that your Majesty's Italian fleet had seized Genoa. I replied that I had no knowledge of such a thing, but if your Majesty had done so it would be for the purpose of restoring it to the Genoese, whose liberty and commonweal you would thus defend and prevent their being assailed by others. After this she could only talk about the great forces which she heard on all hands that your Majesty was raising. She said that she had just heard that 6,000 Spaniards had been ordered to be levied, as well as a large additional number of high-decked vessels, and that this would be the greatest fleet ever collected by a Christian prince. After many other things she said with great emphasis "Ut quid tot sumptus"? I replied, "Nemo movit nisi cui pater revelarut." Whereupon she said that I had been something more than a light cavalry-man.† She said that, although many people told her that the fleet was

* Drake had sailed on his first voyage round the world more than a year before the date of this letter. As related in the last volume of the Calendar, Winter had returned from the Straits of Magellan with one of his ships bringing bad news of the expedition, and great apprehension for its safety existed in London, notwithstanding rumours which were already arriving of the great depredations which had been committed by it on the Spaniards in South America.

† Mendoza, previous to his appointment as ambassador, had greatly distinguished himself in the Netherlands as captain of a squadron of light horse. Mr. Froude seeks to explain the above allusion by saying that Mendoza was master of the horse to Philip, which is incorrect.

1580.

to come to England and Ireland, which she did not believe; even if it did, it would doubtless be sent by your Majesty in a brotherly spirit, and she would receive it in the same way. I replied that I could say no more than I had done on that point as I had no part in the revelation. I can see that she was alarmed about affairs in Ireland, whence she has news that Desmond is daily becoming stronger and has most of the principal people on his side.—London, 13th January 1580.

13 Feb. 3. JUAN DE VARGAS MEJIA to the KING.

Paris Archives,* (late) B 51.56.

On the 11th I went to visit the Scots ambassador to hear anything that M. de Guise might have told him about Flanders. He told me that he (Guise) was engaged in what he considered one of the most important matters possible, namely, by secret means to prevent the agreement between the duke of Alençon, Bearn, Condé, and the Huguenots. He was keeping his cousins the duke of Aumale and the marquis of Elbœuf near Alençon for this purpose, and if he succeeded, as he hoped, he thought he should have done great service to God and your Majesty, as the Queen of England and Orange were trying all their devilish arts to bring them together and attach them to themselves. I thanked him (Beaton) and asked him to thank M. de Guise and urge him to continue in a task so worthy of him, as I was sure he would prefer the cause of God, with which your Majesty's interests were bound up, to all other things. In the course of the conversation the ambassador said, "I wanted to have seen you before but deferred "doing so, in the expectation that M. de Guise would see you first; "it having been agreed between us that he should secretly visit "you in disguise and alone one of these nights, and speak with "you at length. I was anxious for you to hear from him personally "what he wished to convey to you, so that you might not think it "came from me. But since we are together I will not conceal it "from you, only asking you to keep it to yourself, as my friend; "since my head depends upon it, as you will see when you have "heard what I have to say. When M de Guise speaks to you "about it, do not let him suspect that you have heard a word. I "take this course because I recognise your straightforwardness and "your attachment to the cause of God and the interests of my "mistress; and seeing the important bearing this matter may have "on the affairs of Flanders. For more than a year past I have "tried by every means to induce her (the queen of Scotland) to "adopt a course which I thought would be most beneficial to both "causes; and, to make a long story short, I will now confine "myself to showing you the words she herself writes to me. She "instructs me to inform you that she has determined to place "herself, her son and her realm, in the hands and under the "protection of his catholic Majesty unreservedly; sending her son "to Spain, if his Majesty wishes, and having him married there

* The numbering of the Simancas papers in the Paris Archives has recently been changed, but documents in future will be distinguishable either under the old or the new references.

1580.

" entirely according to his Majesty's pleasure. She orders me to ' convey this decision to the duke of Guise, her kinsman and " confidant. He (the duke of Guise) took the matter in hand and " said he wished to be the first person to propose it to you." I thanked him (Beaton) and promised secrecy, and said I would go whither M. de Guise wished, in disguise, to save him trouble, if he would send me word. I did not carry the matter further or ask any questions, in order not to appear curious and arouse suspicion. He told me that means were offered for his mistress to escape from prison, but she refused them as her aim was to leave her prison queen of England and not otherwise, even though it cost her life. I asked him whether the Queen could dispose of her son to send him to Spain or elsewhere. He said yes; but not very emphatically.

As the matter is of so much importance I have thought well to inform your Majesty at once, in order that you may have it maturely considered. Such is the present condition of England, with signs of revolt everywhere, the Queen in alarm, the catholic party and the friends of the Queen of Scotland numerous, the events occurring in Ireland, and the distrust aroused by your Majesty's fleet, that I really believe that if so much as a cat moved the whole affair would crumble down in three days beyond repair. They know it perfectly well themselves, and hence their fear. If to all this be added a rising of Scots; or the queen of Scotland's party in England were to make an arrangement with her, your Majesty's fleet helping them as soon as it is free from Portugal, with the added advantage which the possession of that country gives your Majesty, it seems as if the affair might be openly undertaken, in despite of all they might do; even if they attempted resistance, which probably they would not do, as it would soon be over. If your Majesty had England and Scotland attached to you, directly or indirectly, you might consider the States of Flanders conquered, in which case you would be a monarch who could lay down the law for the whole world. In order to keep these people (the French) from interfering, it is of the greatest importance that M. de Guise be concerned in the affair. His close connection with the queen of Scotland would enable him and his house to keep them in check, and perchance they (the Guises) might find an opportunity of seizing for themselves various territories of this Crown, which would thus be weakened in a way that no fear might be felt of it. The injury and inconvenience caused by the constant suspicion of their (the French) power and machinations would then disappear, and your forces be free to remedy evils everywhere and fight the infidels and other sects and seditions. So far as I understand the queen of Scotland, from my knowledge of her actions and from having seen her here, I consider her a woman of valour and deeply offended with these people, upon whom, woman-like, she wishes to be revenged. From what I could gather from the Ambassador, her view is to marry her son to one of the infantas, and, on his conversion, to make him king of England and Scotland, whilst she will marry whom she pleases; having no doubt thought of the prince of Parma. I know that this match has

1580.

been broached, and your Majesty's English pensioners with the army are talking about it, perhaps to please the Prince. The English ambassador here says that letters have been intercepted dealing with the matter at great length.

I forgot to say that some time ago Balfour of Burleigh, a Scotsman whom I have mentioned several times, and who now lives here, wished to see me and propose under certain conditions to induce all the Scotsmen in Flanders to retire, and perhaps at the same time to do your Majesty some signal service. We commenced negotiations when he arrived here, and as a mark of confidence and to learn what there was in the proposal, I secretly mentioned it to the ambassador who is an honest trustworthy man. He advised me to listen to Balfour who, he said, was clever and was able to be of service, if he liked, especially in the way indicated. Balfour has not yet opened the matter to me but has told the ambassador that he wishes to do so, and when the interview I have just described with the ambassador took place, the latter said, "I have "communicated to my mistress the proposal which Balfour wished "to make; and I may tell you privately that she writes approving "of it. Balfour will now speak to you about it, and I will see "that he carries the matter forward. You and I will then consider "how it can be arranged." The matter so remains, and I venture to point out to your Majesty that, as so much advantage might be obtained from it, it would be worth while to have it carefully considered and a decision sent to me, so that if the proposal is to be accepted, the parties may be treated in a way which will encourage others; and if not, they may be diverted in such a manner as shall prevent them from feeling aggrieved or repent of having opened out to me.—Paris, 13 February 1580.

B.M. MSS. Add. 28702. No date.

4. Document Endorsed: "Reply ordered by Cardinal de Granvelle to be given in writing to Englefield."

His Majesty desires nothing better than to see the queen of Scotland free, and together with her son, safe and contented; with the Catholic religion restored both in Scotland and England; and they will find his Majesty as well-disposed as ever he has been.

Matters are now much changed from the position in which they were when it was proposed to rescue the King from the hands of Morton and bring him to Spain or elsewhere, that he might be brought up in the Catholic faith, which is the principal point, as without assurance of this no step should be taken about his marriage.

Now the King has Morton under arrest, whilst he is free to govern his kingdom himself, and with the aid of d'Aubigny to stand against those, who from within or without, should attempt to obstruct him.

Things being in this condition, it would be very bad advice for the King to leave his country, as it would discourage those who are on his side, and have recently declared themselves, whilst his opponents would gather fresh courage; and the King's friends, finding themselves in peril, might join with their enemies, and so exclude the King from his realm for good.

1580.

His Majesty will be glad to learn the present position of affairs in Scotland, what the King thinks of doing, what facilities he has to sustain himself and go forward, what course he intends to pursue with Morton, what aid he expects from France, and from whom there, who are his adherents in his own country, and who his opponents, what is their strength, what troops has the King, and what fortified places ?*

20 Feb. **5.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In reply to your Majesty's question as to whether Drake gave any sureties here before he sailed, there is a law which was made here to exonerate these pirates, the effect of which is that they have to give sureties before sailing, not to injure anyone excepting those who are the declared enemies of this Crown. It is, however, a dead letter, and when any attempt by a private person is made in due form to enforce it, it is found impossible to do so. In one case an Englishman on his way from Spain with merchandise, stole 150 crowns worth of fish from one of your Majesty's subjects belonging to Corunna, who sent a power here to demand restitution. The people came to me to make the claim on the sureties who had been given by the Englishman in the port, but they were not worth a crown and nothing could be got, the names themselves being false. Those who sail for the purpose of robbery do not give sureties at all as they are generally under the protection of the principal courtiers, as, for instance, Drake, who was fitted out by Leicester and his friends.

For months past I have had men secretly staying in some of the western ports, where it is expected that Drake will first arrive if he comes hither, in order that I may have instant news of his coming. I have not been able to do more than this, because his principals, as soon as they had the news I mentioned about his capture, ordered the justices of the ports to aid him in getting off safely. When I speak to the Queen about it and to her ministers, which I have only done yet in general terms, as your Majesty ordered, it will be well, if your Majesty approves, to threaten that, if they do not make entire restitution and punish the pirates, your Majesty will issue letters of marque for the owners to recover their property, taking possession of English property wherever they may find it. This is what they fear most, and the

* In the B.M. MSS. Add. 28702, as a pendant to the above memorandum, there is a note from the King's secretary at Badajoz on the Portuguese frontier where the King then was, to Cardinal de Granvelle at Madrid, dated 2nd June 1580, advising the arrival of Fernihurst there and enclosing for the consideration of the Cardinal and Sir Francis Englefield the papers brought by him. The King desires the answer to be sent soon so that he may get rid of the Scotch envoy, whom, says the Secretary, they had some difficulty in understanding "as he only talked broad Scotch, without any other manner of tongue; a fine thing indeed for a place like Badajoz!" In another note from the Secretary to De Granvelle dated 17th June the former says that Fernihurst's pretensions are very great but that the King will certainly have to grant either pensions or a subsidy. See also the preceding letter which details the approaches made by Beaton to the Spanish ambassador in Paris with a similar object to that of Fernihurst's mission.

1580.

merchants themselves make the greatest outcry over it, saying that, because two or three of the principal courtiers send ships out to plunder in this way, their property must be thus imperilled and the country ruined. This makes them more anxious to condemn it and to give me information, when they know of any of the plunder being concealed.

They are apprehensive about Drake's return as the voyage is long and he must be short of ships. They think that if he do not arrive within two months they must give him up as lost. Those ships which I wrote were fitting out for St. Vincent on the coast of Brazil, are now ready to sail.—London, 20th February 1580.

20 Feb. **6.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The English merchants here some time ago received the ships which were dispatched from Spain for them at the end of December and beginning of January, and at the same time had letters from their agents in Madrid saying that your Majesty had not yet given them a reply about the loading of the ships. This has swollen their pride more than ever, and they declare, with terrible insolence, that your Majesty has granted them no favour, and that you have been forced by pure necessity to give them the permission, as there are not ships in Spain to carry the merchandise. As it is so important to your Majesty's service that they should be oppressed and powerless to carry out their evil intentions, I cannot help telling your Majesty what I think about the matter, in view of events here, humbly beseeching your Majesty to pardon my great boldness which is only prompted by my ardent zeal.

The trade with Spain is of the greatest importance to the English, as I set forth in the report I sent on the 25th September, it being the principal source of their wealth and strength, which consists mainly in the great number of their ships. They are daily building more; but the moment the Spanish trade fails them and they are not allowed to ship goods in Spain they will stop building, as they have no other trade so profitable, both on account of the vast sums of specie they bring, which they can get from no other place, and the richness of the merchandise which they carry. This makes them almost the masters of commerce in other parts as well, as they have the monopoly of the shipping, whereby they profit by all the freights. Although for many reasons it is unadvisable to entirely prohibit them from shipping goods at this time, it will be very advantageous for your Majesty to order that the edict should be re-published, that they may see the favour and boon that your Majesty gave them, and be made to understand that in future the edict will be carried out and that special license will have to be given to ship goods in any place in the manner decided by your Majesty. This is most important in Andalusia, as they would suffer more from being prevented from shipping goods there than elsewhere, on account of the great cargoes of oil, wines, and fruits, which are sent from there, and of which vast quantities are consumed in England, and in consequence of the shortness of

1580.

the number of ships in that province to carry their produce, owing to the fertility of the country and the inaptitude of the inhabitants for a seafaring life; a sterile soil being generally the only reason why men overcome their dread of so dangerous a trade. In this way, if special license is given as a favour in each case, and in order that the crops in Andalusia and elsewhere may have an outlet, the English will be kept in suspense and will take care not to offend your Majesty, as they are most anxious not to lose this benefit, in which the whole country is concerned. They will therefore not attempt to interfere with your forces on the Indian voyage and elsewhere, whilst, at the same time, they will not care to build new ships for the trade which they see will only be temporary and uncertain, they having to beg for license each separate time. The great part of their strength will thus be consumed when the trade comes to an end, and this they fear so much that they cannot conceal it. They confess that it will utterly ruin this country, the principal reason why they have grown so rich in the last ten years being that they have had the carrying trade of Spanish goods. It will be difficult to stop it except by the means now suggested, or by God's punishing them with a civil intestine war, such as they richly deserve.—London, 20th February 1580.

20 Feb. **7.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In addition to the preparations ordered to be made by the Queen, detailed in my former letters, she has given instructions for ten more of her ships to put to sea in company with the first seven. She has also commanded the city of London to raise 4,000 foot-soldiers, which the towns here usually do on the sovereign's demand, the towns paying for their equipment and wage until they arrive at the place where they are to be employed or shipped; after which they are maintained by the sovereign.

She has also ordered a general muster of the militia throughout the country, as is customary here. There will be about 80,000 or 90,000 infantry on the rolls altogether, so that when an alarm is sounded in any part of the country and the beacon fires are lit as a signal, they can collect 25,000 at any given point within 12 hours to prevent a landing; the rest of the force following them later, as may be ordered. Most of the men are armed with bows, and the rest with weapons of all sorts, in the use of which, however, they are not very expert.

The insurgents in Ireland keep bravely afoot, and although the English are sorely beset by them and are daily beseeching the Queen to send them succour of all kinds, nothing has been sent but victuals, as the Council think it will be unwise just now, to give an appearance of importance to the rising. They fear it might result in disturbance here, in conjunction with the coming of the Spanish fleet. They therefore are putting the matter off until a more convenient season, saying that they cannot carry on a campaign now, as most of the Englishmen who take the field there in the

1580.

winter die, whilst the Irish are such changeable people that no trust can be placed in them, although it is now generally affirmed that the earl of Desmond is acting in a way that will cause the Queen much trouble.

The earl of Shrewsbury who is guarding the queen of Scots is very ill, and this Queen has sent Middlemore, a gentleman of her Privy Chamber, a great heretic, and badly disposed towards the queen of Scots, to take charge of her until further orders.

The Portuguese ambassador has been discussing with the Queen the business about which he came, namely the extension of the treaty by which the English are not to trade with the Mina* nor with Barbary. She answered him that she would appoint the ministers with whom he was to negotiate, but I am told that she has not yet done so, and is delaying the matter with the object of keeping it pending until the declaration about the Portuguese succession is made. They think that if the Portuguese unanimously accept your Majesty's right, she will be able to get greater concessions than before; whilst, if the contrary happens, the Portuguese in order to obtain her help will consent to any terms.

Four days ago the Queen sent for Davison, who used to be her representative in Antwerp, and asked him why the States did not pay her the money she had lent them, the time having expired. He replied that the war and their needs prevented them from doing so, whereupon she told him that he was a knave, and that others like him had persuaded her into this, and had got her to help rebels; she said she did not know how she was going to get out of it, even with the loss of her money.

Nothing more has been heard about the English trade with the land of the Turk since the departure of the many vessels which I mentioned, and amongst them one that was to go to the isle of Chios, whence an Englishman from her was to go and negotiate.

Stafford came from France five days since, it is believed with a decided resolution about the marriage. This has caused the matter to be discussed more lukewarmly than before; Parliament having been prorogued until April as soon as Stafford arrived.—London, 20th February 1580.

20 Feb. **8.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In accordance with the orders contained in your Majesty's letter of 29th December I saw the Queen on the 12th instant. I found her so much alarmed about the fleet, no doubt accused by her own evil conscience, that she descended from the dais in the privy-chamber and came forward six paces to meet me. Before I could say a word she asked me whether I came as a herald to declare war upon her; to which I replied that it was she, apparently, who was going to war with all the world; seeing the great number of men and ships she was raising. She said that was in order that

* The Mina, now called Elmina, was the principal Portuguese station in West Africa.

1580.

she might not be thought neglectful, and she would never make war upon your Majesty unless you began it first; which she could not by any means believe you would do, nor that you would employ your fleet against her, seeing your close neighbourhood with Barbary and your having a continual war with the infidel on your hands, and having rebel subjects to punish elsewhere, without disturbing one who was a sister to you. She had, as such, always done her best for the tranquillity of the Netherlands, and to prevent the French from getting a footing there. I dwelt upon this subject, and pressed it home seeing her so timid; saying that, so far as her own goodwill was concerned, I believed that the course she indicated had been adopted, but that her ministers had not carried it out. On the contrary, the rebels had received great and constant aid and support from this country, with no other result to it than the waste of its wealth and power, and in disregard of the alliance with your Majesty, the only thanks she got from the rebels being, as she saw, the usual ones of bringing danger and strife upon herself through them. Moreover, I said, your Majesty's subjects were being daily plundered here by Englishmen; and my constant requests to her and her ministers for restitution and redress were without result, besides which ships sailed from this country to rob on the route to the Indies. She asked me whether I knew of any such ships having returned, to which I replied that I did not, as I was sure they were dealt with there as they deserved, namely, by being sent to the bottom. But if by any lucky chance one of them should come back, I could not persuade myself that it would be necessary for me to urge her to punish them. It was, indeed, most advisable in her own interests that it should be done in exemplary fashion, as the affair was so shameful and pernicious, and might produce much evil to her. On your Majesty's side very different treatment was meted out to her; for not only did she owe her life and her crown to you, but she had never yet seen a Spanish sword unsheathed against her; whereas I myself had often had to fight against subjects of hers who were with your Majesty's rebel subjects, notwithstanding the kindness shown to them throughout your Majesty's dominions. I pointed out, too, the great favour you had recently done them (the English) in allowing them, for once, freely to load their ships; on account of her having assured them that they should do so, although the cargo they loaded belonged to your Majesty's subjects, and brought great profit to the English, the freight alone bringing them 50,000 crowns. She replied that she valued the privilege highly, as did the ships which had arrived, and she thanked me for my good offices in the matter.

She kept me talking for almost three hours, one of her principal subjects of conversation being her surprise at the secrecy your Majesty had maintained regarding the designs of the fleet, such, she said, as had rarely been seen; as in most cases from the nature of the preparations, and other indications, the objects of such armaments are understood. In order to keep her in suspense, and divert her from the plans they are trying to persuade her to adopt, by which the French, with her aid, may enter

1580.

Flanders, I tried to increase her alarm by ambiguous and significant words; and said that it was no wonder that attempts to discover the secret had failed, since you had the infidels as constant enemies, as well as the rebels; besides which many others had offended you. Your Majesty's fleet was so powerful that anyone could understand that it was equal to many enterprises, either united or separated into two or three divisions, this being the reason why its object had not been fathomed. When she saw she could get nothing out of me by these means, she began caressing me with her witcheries and said surely by some indications I had been able to judge what the destination of the fleet was to be. I replied that she well knew that kings treated their ministers as the stomach treats the members of the human body; that is to say, only giving to each one so much nourishment as might be necessary for the proper performance of its own functions; but if your Majesty had not, as I had told her, decided to lock the secret in your own breast, I should have no difficulty in understanding the object of so great an enterprise as this. This frightened her more than before, and she was very amiable. It is important that those who may represent your Majesty here should bear this in mind, as when she is in this mood she gives audience freely, and her disposition towards affairs and that of her ministers can be better understood in personal conversation with her; besides which she speaks to her ministers differently when she is well informed. If, on the other hand, she is not inclined to deal personally with the representative here, she refers to the Council the decision as to the day of audience; which they delay until they can discover something about the matter he has in hand, and they can then advise the Queen, who is thus forearmed.—London, 20th February 1580.

21 Feb. 9. JUAN DE VARGAS MEJIA to the KING.

Paris Archives (late) B 51 . 67.

The Scotsman Balfour of Burleigh came to see me on the 20th, and after beating about the bush for a long time trying to come to the point respecting which I wrote in my last, he began to profess his great desire to be useful to your Majesty if an opportunity were offered for him to do so which should redound also to the benefit of his own mistress, who was so much attached to you that any service done to you she would consider as done to herself. He stuck to this point with an infinity of words, saying that his deeds would prove him, and so on, but without coming to particulars. As I knew perfectly well what he was driving at, and thought it made all the difference in the world whether the matter was first broached by him or by me, I replied simply thanking him and saying I would let your Majesty know.* I closed with him by saying that his prudence and knowledge of the state of affairs were so great that they would doubtless suggest to him how he could put

* In the King's hand: "He acted well with Balfour in first trying to get to the bottom of the business and keeping him in hand by promises of due reward."

1580.

his goodwill into practice; and I begged him to speak openly to me, and I would convey his proposals to your Majesty, from whom he might be sure of receiving a worthy recompense for any service he performed.

At this point the Scots ambassador entered, and he waited over two hours for Balfour to go and leave us alone. At last he was obliged to tell him in his own language and he went. When we were rid of him the ambassador said he had not come before in consequence of its being Carnival time, and he wished Balfour to speak to me first. He had promised to do so three days before, and he, the ambassador, did not want to meet him. I told him M. de Guise's message about his credence, and he said he had now given him a full account of the whole matter with my reply. He then opened out on the proposal he had to make, which in effect is identical with that which I have informed your Majesty his mistress had written to him to tell me, for your Majesty's information, namely, that after mature consideration she had decided to place herself, her son and her realm, under your Majesty's protection entirely, well knowing that she was serving our Lord in doing so, as it would result in the salvation of the whole country and its conversion to our holy faith, together with England; which would lead to the submission of Flanders and the universal good of Christendom. She was determined thus to avoid her son's remaining as he is, in the hands of those people who wish to marry him to a daughter of Denmark, for which purpose a Danish ambassador is now in Scotland, or to some other lady of the queen of England's choosing, such as a daughter of Orange. I again tried to ascertain whether, if your Majesty approved, they could be sure of putting the Prince into your hands, and he answered me now more confidently that they had means of doing so. He earnestly begged me for God's sake to let no one know of this business, as I could see how much depended upon secrecy both to his mistress and himself. He said that up to the present, not a living soul knew of it but M. de Guise, himself, and I. Above all he prayed me that M. de Saint Goard* should not get the least scent of it, as he sells himself, and they look upon him here as a person deep in the confidence of your Majesty's court. If he knew of it the whole project would be ruined. He besought me most urgently, since his mistress had so firmly and voluntarily made the offer, and was in sore need of consolation, that an answer should be sent to her as soon as possible, as was indeed also rendered necessary by the nature of the business itself. He repeated what he said the other day that his mistress did not intend to leave where she is, except as queen of England, and he assured me that her adherents and the Catholics were so numerous in the country that, if they rose, it would be easy even without assistance, but with the help of your Majesty it would soon be over, without any doubt. He again pointed out to me the anxiety and suspense caused to the English ambassador, and all England, by your Majesty's

* The French ambassador in Madrid.

1580.

fleet; and the great things that might be done in Ireland, and how desirable it was to keep up their alarm. He also mentioned the inclination shown by many of the gentlemen of his own nation to serve your Majesty (especially by Lord Hamilton) in either of the two enterprises, and the large number of followers they could bring.

With regard to Balfour of Burleigh, he tells me that he (Beaton) communicated with his mistress Balfour's proposals, without the knowledge of the latter, and she writes approving of them and instructing him to carry the matter forward warmly and dexterously; keeping her informed, but not allowing her name to be mentioned in the matter, so that in the case of disaster she shall not be compromised in any way. We arranged that he should tell Balfour to speak frankly to me, and, if he thinks necessary to sound his Scots again, that he should take a trip thither (*i.e.* to Flanders).—Paris, 21st February 1580.

28 Feb. **10.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since I wrote to your Majesty on the 20th, the French ambassador has had audience, and pressed the Queen greatly, on behalf of Alençon, for a decided answer as to whether she would marry him or not. She replied that it was not a matter that could be concluded in such a hurry, and she could not avoid taking the opinion of her Council and her subjects. There was much talk between them about it, which ended in the ambassador telling her that if she did not marry him, Alençon would be obliged to publish her letters to him in order to exonerate himself for having come to England, and that people might know that he had not come through his own lightiness, but on the assurance contained in the letter she had written him. She replied that she was surprised that Alençon should think of treating any lady in this way, much less a Queen. She was extremely angry and embarrassed at the conversation.

After this, being alone in her chamber with Cecil and the archbishop of York, whom she considers a clever man, she said: "My Lord, here I am between Scylla and Charybdis. Alençon has "agreed to all the terms I sent him, and he is asking me to tell "him when I wish him to come and marry me. If I do not marry "him, I do not know whether he will remain friendly with me; "and if I do, I shall not be able to govern the country with the "freedom and security that I have hitherto enjoyed. What shall "I do?" He answered that they would all be pleased with whatever she decided; whereupon the Queen turned to Cecil and said, "What do you think about it? you have not been to the Council these three days past." He replied that if it were her pleasure to marry she should do so, as no harm could come to the country thereby. Alençon having agreed to all the conditions as they were submitted to him; but if she did not intend to marry she ought to undeceive Alençon at once. She replied, "That is not "the opinion of the rest of the Council, but that I should keep him

1580.

"in correspondence." Cecil answered that he had always heard that they who tricked princes tricked themselves. "How can I "tell," she said, "the feeling of the king of Spain towards me; and "whether it is meet for me to let go my hold on France?" So far as I can understand, the prorogation of Parliament immediately on Stafford's arrival here was done in order that it might serve for an excuse, if it were needful, to delay matters and to enable the negotiations to be postponed until its re-assembly. Alençon's pressing for an answer now, doubtless is owing to the idea that if she do not marry him, he can force her to help him in his plans in the Netherlands, in order to avoid an entire rupture between her and the French. This is apparently one of his designs, as the day before the ambassador saw the Queen two gentlemen came from Condé and La Noue* to ask for aid.

The States of the Union have sent to the Queen through Orange, to request permission to engage 1,500 Englishmen, and they have been told that the colonels and captains have already been appointed but the men cannot be sent until the States say what assurance will be given for their pay, and name the places in which they are to be quartered, to avoid their being treated as on former occasions. I am told the Queen is manœuvring for these Englishmen, if they go, to be placed in some important fortresses, so that she may have a better security for the money she has sent to the States, which she will endeavour to recover by all possible means. She is particularly pressing about the amount she sent when Casimir came. That was, as I wrote at the time, when Cobham and Walsingham were sent to the States and delivered the money and alum to them, saying that the Queen required more security than they had given her, which consisted of bills accepted by the States with the consent of the councillors of Antwerp. The States thereupon brought out some of the silver which they had taken from the churches and lodged in the mint to be coined, together with a quantity of jewels obtained from the same places. These were placed before Cobham and Walsingham in a coffer, the total value being estimated at 130,000 crowns. The coffer was locked with three keys which remained in the hands of the States, and this coffer was brought with the rest here to England, where it now is. The Queen has sent for the keys as she says she requires payment and wishes to see the security. The States have sent the keys by a special messenger, saying that when she desires to pay herself from the contents of these coffers she must accept the valuation of them which was made for the States. The 4,000 infantry I mentioned in my last, as having been ordered to be raised by the city of London, are being got together with great diligence, as also are the ships. As time is necessary to fit out all the Queen's ships, she has ordered eleven of her vessels to sail accompanied by eleven armed merchantmen. They will sail in the middle of next month, Lord Howard

* François de la Noue—*Bras de fer*—the famous Huguenot commander, formerly Governor of Rochelle, had accepted the invitation of the States-General of the Netherlands to become Adjutant-General of their armies.

1580.

being admiral, and will take in them the 4,000 London troops and a part of those which are being raised in Kent.—London, 28th February 1580.

12 March. **11.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 28th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty, and on the 7th instant, there arrived here a gentleman of Alençon's named Captain Bruc, and his coming has again given rise to a great deal of gossip about the marriage, he having brought letters for the Queen in which Alençon says, with many fine words, that he only awaited the reply to be sent by this man to dispatch hither Marshal de Cossé. The Queen told him to rest here for a few days when she would give him the answer. On the 10th instant, in the morning whilst she was in her barge on the river accompanied by two or three lords and ladies, she visited the ambassador at his house and was talking with him for an hour in the presence of Alençon's gentleman. On the same night the ambassador hurriedly sent off a courier. It was considered a great innovation for the Queen to go to his house, and it is looked upon by some as a sure indication that the marriage will take place; besides which Walsingham and others who opposed it are now declaring that it is necessary, in order to avoid troubles which otherwise might befall them as a consequence of disagreement with France at this time. So far as I can ascertain, this is the reason why they are carrying on the affair, as they are in fear of your Majesty's fleet and of Alençon's desire, which I have already mentioned, to take advantage of the position to force the Queen into helping him in the Netherlands, as the Ghent people are making great efforts to get him to come to their assistance.

This gentleman brought letters from Alençon to the Earl of Sussex, Leicester, Cecil, and Hatton, captain of the guard, the purport of which is to say, in general terms, that if the marriage is not to be effected by the unanimous consent of the Council he would not be satisfied. The letter to Leicester is the most emphatic on this point and is written by Alençon himself. Leicester sent to the ambassador saying that for his part, he would forward the business, though neither the king of France nor his brother has sent him anything, although they knew that he was selling his possessions in order to pay his debts, in consequence of his having spent so much in serving them.

The preparations of which I wrote your Majesty have now for the most part ceased, as I understand, from the fear of some disturbance in the country as a result of raising so many troops, the people in general not being in favour of the marriage. The Catholics have helped in this direction, as it was said that the preparations were all owing to the fear of our fleet, and that it would be the best opportunity for the Catholics to rise. This the Government thought best to prevent, and consequently published that there was now no need for armament, since the king of Portugal had died and the duchess of Braganza had been crowned Queen, and your Majesty would therefore be obliged to employ your fleet there. This was not only

1580.

said by the Ministers, but was also publicly repeated by the Queen herself to a Portuguese as she was coming out of chapel, in order that he might repeat it to the Portuguese ambassador. The latter, however, is so sensible, clever, and well-disposed towards your Majesty, that he answered that although they might write this to the Queen, he did not believe it.

They are fitting out with great diligence four ships to send to Ireland, whence the news comes to the Queen that some of the rebel soldiers had been paid with money that had come in a small vessel from Spain; and that Dr. Sanders affirmed that 3,000 Spaniards and Italians were being sent to their aid by your Majesty in the name of the Pope. For this reason they are sending the ships under Captain Winter, Lord Howard remaining with the rest of the fleet, which is being fitted out, but with less haste.

This Queen, as I wrote to your Majesty, being suspicious of Scotch affairs, now that D'Aubigny* is in such good repute, was desirous of obtaining possession of the King's person, and I sent to tell his mother of this. D'Aubigny, however, taking advantage of the raising of so many troops here, persuaded the heads of the Council there to make ready; and that the King, as he was now growing up, should visit his fortresses. They agreed to this and carried him to the castle of Dumbarton where he now is with D'Aubigny. This is one of the strongest places of the country, and vessels can come up to the walls of the fortress. The Queen is much annoyed at this move and at Morton's not being so favourable to her as he used to be. She told the treasurer, with whom she was discussing the matter, that he, the King, would be a Scotsman after all. He replied that it was her own fault for not having got the King into her hands before, to which she answered with a great sigh that it would have been better. She has news from France that the Queen-mother is trying to arrange a marriage between him and her grand-daughter, the daughter of the duke de Lorraine.

Captain Santa Cilia has again asked me to beg your Majesty to pardon him, and is so pressing upon the matter that I see clearly that he now desires to serve your Majesty as a good vassal should, and submit to the Roman Church. I therefore humbly beseech your Majesty to extend to him your usual clemency and allow him to end his days in his own country, Majorca, and fulfil his duty as a former ecclesiastic.—London, 12th March 1580.

23 March. **12.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 12th announcing the arrival of a gentleman from Alençon, and the dispatch of a courier by the Queen as soon as she had seen him, which courier bore an autograph letter from her, but no decided answer. When Captain Bruc begged her to dispatch him she replied that she could not do so until the return of the courier she had sent. The latter brought her a letter from Alençon himself, who wrote at the same time to the French ambassador telling him not to treat of the marriage with any one

* Esmé Stewart D'Aubigny, Duke of Lennox cousin of James VI.

1580.

but the Queen alone; and when it was necessary to communicate anything to her Ministers, he wished it to be done through Velutelli, a Lucchese resident here, who has always served the French. When the ambassador learnt of the return of the Queen's courier, he went to tell her of the instructions he had received, and begged her to dispatch Captain Bruc. She told him that, judging from Alençon's letter, he did not appear to have understood hers, which she said was probably caused by his having lost the cipher which she had given him. The ambassador replied that there was no need for any cipher in the business; all they wanted was simply yes or no.

On the 20th she dispatched Bruc, to whom she gave a chain of 200 crowns, with one letter only to Alençon, which she had written and sealed with her own hand, in order that no one should see it. From this it may be inferred with confidence that there was nothing in it but a desire to keep the matter open with gallantries of this sort. It is to be supposed that she would not dare to decide definitely about the marriage without the concurrence of the Council, nor about the aid Alençon wants in Flanders, since aid could only be sent in men or money, and the affair must be carried out by her Ministers, with whom she must discuss it. The French have set their minds on this, of which I have every day more evidence; besides which Leicester emphatically assured a confidant of his that this was the case. I took the opportunity of Leicester's being ill to visit him, and see how the land lay, and drew him out by saying that his enemies were pushing forward the affair of the marriage only to spite him. He replied that he knew that very well, by the position in which it now is, and that the French were continuing it in the interests of the Flanders business. The French ambassador, he said, had told him the previous day that this was no time for a personage like him to be ill; he ought rather to be on his way with 10,000 Englishmen to aid Alençon in dominating Flanders. He said that he would advise the Queen not to forget her alliance with your Majesty, and I gave him many thanks and fair words, although I knew full well, from what had passed, that it had only been his artfulness which had made him tell me about the intentions of the French. They have sent hither the son of La Noue, pretending that he had been driven to England by contrary winds; although he told Protestants here that this was what his father told him to say, and to give out that he did not wish to see the Queen until she sent for him. He was with her for three hours before he left, but I am told that he took nothing back with him but hopes, wherewith he had to be satisfied. Leicester and Walsingham loaded him with presents and caresses.*

The Portuguese ambassador has received a letter from the five Governors ordering him to inform the Queen of the King's death, and that they had consequently taken charge of the Government.

* Odet de la Noue, Sieur de Teligny, La Noue's eldest son. He was then only 18 years old.

1580.

She gave him a private audience, to which he entered by a secret door, in order that people might think that he was begging her for help, and this was at once publicly stated.

The rebels in Ireland have been making some very successful raids and have much damaged the English. The Queen is informed that the earl of Westmoreland who served your Majesty in Flanders, had arrived in the island and had joined the rebels; and that Ormond, who is one of the greatest men in Ireland, was not to be trusted, although he had not declared himself against her. They are quite right in this, as I am assured by Englishmen that he has sent word to them that if they make any movement or foreigners arrive in Ireland they may be certain that he will rise with the rest.

With regard to the message which I mentioned had been sent from here to the rebel States and Orange, about the 1,500 Englishmen they wish to engage, Orange has replied that he would undertake to pay the wages and give them quarters in very good places, but the Council have decided that it will not be advisable to send these men together at this time and openly offend your Majesty; whereas if they go over separately the rebels will at once send them to the front and will not place them in any important fortress as they are short of foreign soldiers. The consequence has been that the Captains have been ordered to suspend recruiting. For the last week I have been informed that the Queen receives four or five times a day, and at night, a man who is brought in by secret doors, his face being covered by a taffety. I have not been able to find out to what country he belongs, nor what he comes about, only that he has been in close conference with Cecil and other Councillors, and I suspect therefore that it must be some business connected with Scotland, the Queen being much alarmed at the King's visit to Dumbarton.

The arrest of the ships ordered by the Queen has now been raised, on condition that they may go anywhere excepting to Spain or Portugal. The London merchants are much grieved at this, both on account of the prohibition itself, and because they had paid for licenses for five ships, four or five hundred crowns each, and the ships have sailed only half loaded. The Queen has since received such great complaints from all the other ports, saying that the trade of this country will be ruined if they are prevented from going to Spain, that she has given so many licenses that it is almost equal to raising the prohibition. This is another proof of how important it is to the English to carry on this trade, and that they should be allowed to load merchandise in Spain, inasmuch as their having been prevented for a month from doing so in the slackest time in the year has caused them to raise this outcry with regard to the damage they suffer thereby.—London, 23rd March 1580.

23 March. **13.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The ship I mentioned in mine of the 12th of January Leicester had fitted out to search for Drake, and plunder on the way to the

1580.

Indies, was driven by contrary winds into a port in Ireland in possession of the insurgents, and the earl of Desmond has seized the ship and ill-treated the crew. Leicester is much grieved at this as the ship was well fitted.

The London merchants trading with Muscovy and Persia have fitted out two small ships to try and discover a road to the kingdom of Cathay by the northern coast of Muscovy, the exact opposite of the voyage attempted last summer by Frobisher, in which he found so much difficulty. No doubt this attempt will encounter similar obstacles, as no passage has been found in that direction beyond the River Obi. This is the river that Strabo, Dionysius, the poet, and Pliny believed ran out of the Caspian Sea, and according to all arguments of astrology and cosmography, the sea there must be impassable in consequence of the excessive cold, as much as 70 or 80 degrees, the nights lasting, as do the days, for many months.—London, 23rd March 1580.

23 March. **14.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since writing to your Majesty I have seen the Queen to inform her of the happy delivery of our Queen, whereat she exhibited the pleasure which is felt by all your subjects. She asked me what I heard about Portuguese affairs, and I told her that the late King, having before his death caused your Majesty's right to be declared in the Cortes, the nobles and clergy being of the same opinion, the matter was clear, and there was nothing more to say about it; although some portion of the populace and some Lisbon people were against you. She asked me whether there would be any appeal to arms, and I replied that as your Majesty's right was undoubted and had been acknowledged by the Government, not much force would be necessary. All her Ministers are sorry for this, and will not on any account admit that the Portuguese crown will be added to your Majesty's possessions. I therefore spoke to her in the sense I have indicated.

She told me that they had brought three men prisoners from Ireland who had arrived in the last ship, and who asserted that your Majesty would send aid to the rebels under cover of the Pope's name, and also that he had sent bulls to Ireland, which she had in her possession, declaring her schismatic, and ordering them not to recognise her as their sovereign. She had complained of this to the king of France, and would send a person specially to your Majesty with the same object. In the meanwhile she begged me in God's name (this was the expression she used) to write to your Majesty about it. I replied that I recognised the Pope as the vicar of Christ on earth and the head of the Catholic Church, in support of which I would lose a hundred thousand lives, if I had them, but that with regard to other actions he might perform as a temporal prince, I had no concern therewith. As Don Bernardino, however, I might say that inasmuch as all the ministers of her realm were constantly dwelling on the tyranny of the Pope, and those coloured pictures entitled "The Three Tyrants of the World"

1580.

with portraits of the Pope, Nero, and the Turk, were publicly sold, she need not be surprised if attempts were made to enlighten them, and bring her country back to its former condition by means of the admonitions of the Church. She began to storm at this, saying that if the Pope or your Majesty sent any help to Ireland she would let out at Flanders, and get the French to enter at the same time. I replied that, having her interests at heart, I warned her that if your Majesty did extend your arm to make war upon her it would be with such a heavy hand that she would not have time to breathe, even in her present position, much less to do anything in Flanders. She was much upset at this, and I pointed out to her how important it is for her to maintain her alliance with your Majesty and not help the rebels. She has done so in every way, and has even advanced money against your Majesty's own jewels, which were found in Brussels and were brought hither. I told her this, and also that she was dealing with Alençon, who, it was publicly known, was trying to aid the States, on condition of their accepting him as sovereign.

She confessed that the jewels were in her possession but said she had taken them to prevent them from falling into worse hands; and with regard to all the rest she was just as weak in her excuses. With respect to Alençon; she said she had written to him to take care not to undertake any evil enterprise at the persuasion of no matter whom, and gave me to understand that if he entered Flanders it would mean an entire breach between the French and your Majesty. I replied that if they do attempt it I hoped to God that they would come back as well trounced as I had seen them on other occasions.

After this she asked me what had become of your Majesty's fleet. I answered that it had been sent to Gibraltar and Port St. Mary, whereupon she said, "Well, now that it is through the Straits, it behoves us to be ready," and referred to the preparations she had made. I have approved of these preparations in general terms, as I had done to her Ministers, thus plucking the antidote from the poison, which I thought was the best thing to do under the circumstances. I was moved to this by the consideration that if your Majesty sends the fleet to Flanders or hither, the warning of the militia will be no obstacle to success, as they are all at home, and will not budge until the foreigners have actually appeared. The ships she has prepared are insufficient to resist a quarter of your Majesty's powerful fleet and are of no use for Flemish affairs, because the rebels having all the ports, any help sent from here is easily carried by coasting vessels in safety, the voyage being so short. So that all these preparations are useless excepting for vain show, and to demonstrate to the world how weak are her resources, even with a supreme effort, and at the vast expense she has been at, especially in the ships, which have cost her so much. This will probably be the greatest of all reasons why neither the rebels or the French will see anything of them. If they do get the help of any of them, it will be for a much less sum than they have cost her, she having now no need for them. Both the rebels and the

1580.

French are trying this on, as ships are what they need most for the invasion of the States, and not troops, if they had money to pay for them.

One of the advantages of her having armed out of fear of your Majesty is the encouragement which this has inspired in the insurgents in Ireland to persevere, and the hope it has infused in the Catholics here, whom the Queen greatly fears. This has caused her recently to revoke the commission given to her bishops to ascertain who were Catholics. She told them with her own mouth that they were a set of scamps for they were oppressing the Catholics more than she desired.

She and her councillors are thus in dire confusion, as they admit to each other that they do not know in whom to confide, having offended your Majesty, in aiding the rebels, and affronted the King of France in so many ways. When some of them told her she might be sure that the fleet was coming to Ireland or hither, the Queen replied that whilst your Majesty maintained a minister in her Court she could not believe that you would break with her.—London, 23rd March 1580.

23 March. **15.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After sealing the enclosed letter, I heard that the man who went in and out of the Queen's chamber with a taffety over his face was a Scotsman of the House of Hamilton, who had offered to place the King in the hands of this Queen, he having been bought over in Scotland for the purpose. He has now come for the reward they promised him, and it is pretended that the four ships that sailed, ostensibly for Ireland, have really left with this design. They take with them a small craft with oars which can be of no use in Ireland. Although I do not believe that the ships have really gone on this errand, I am certain that the Scotsman has offered to deliver the King, and I have advised the Queen, his mother, of it. I have also taken steps that the French ambassador shall hear of it through his friends, because if I were to tell him myself it would only result in putting me on bad terms with the Queen, as in accordance with his usual attitude towards me he would be sure to tell her, in order to serve French ends, that I had conveyed it to him so as to prevent mother and son from both falling into the hands of these folks. As this ambassador will not do much to prevent it, I have written to Juan de Vargas to tell the Scotch ambassador in Paris, and it is to be supposed that greater efforts will be made to prevent it when the king of France is informed of the project.—London, 23rd March 1580.

28 March. Paris Archives (late) B 51 . 69. **16.** Secretary Idiaquez to Juan de Vargas Mejia.

With regard to the negotiations with the Scots ambassador on his mistress' behalf respecting the departure of his King from Scotland, you may tell him assuredly that his Majesty is as well affected towards his mistress' affairs as ever, and will help and support her with all affection. He will also lovingly receive and

1580.

welcome the King either in Spain (which would be best) or any other part of his dominions, and treat him as his own son. In order, however, that all this may be successfully carried through, it will be necessary for the Queen to consider well the means she will employ, and that the King's departure should be cleverly and rapidly managed. You may assure him of absolute secrecy on our side, and that neither St. Goard, nor any man in the world, shall hear of it. This is all his Majesty can do in the matter at present, but he will help and assist the Queen when the time arrives. If the affair gets wind prematurely, it will be ruined and rendered impossible. In the meanwhile you will encourage them to continue in their project, and keep his Majesty well posted; taking care that the business is based on a sound foundation, and that nothing is done lightly.—Madrid, (?) 28th March 1580.

7 April. Paris Archives (late) B 51 . 192.

17. JUAN DE VARGAS MEJIA to the KING.

I have seen the Scots ambassador, and told him what Don Bernardino de Mendoza had written to me.* He thanked me, and said that the Hamilton who has been in London and has seen the Queen is a brother of the one here, and had crossed the Border when his brother came hither. He (the ambassador) is well aware that he has been tempted several times by the queen of England to deliver the King into her hands, but that he had always refused. It is believed that the Queen had sent for him again to press him on the same subject, and as he was a fugitive from his country he could not refuse to go; but they are quite confident he will do nothing of the kind. The ambassador has letters from Scotland dated 8th ultimo reporting that when the prince was at Lisleburgh, one day before Shrovetide, in full council, he told the earl of Morton that he had been informed that he (Morton) was going to attempt to poison him or deliver him to the queen of England. Morton knelt before him and declared that he was a good and loyal subject, and prayed him not to believe such a calumny which had been invented by his enemies in order to ruin him. He prayed the King to tell him who had made the accusation, and to have a full investigation made so that the guilty might be punished. The prince at once replied that those who had said it were the earl of Argyll and M. D'Aubigny, who were present, whereupon Morton replied, "Would to God that there were no more truth in their "plots to deliver your Majesty to the French than in the accusations "they bring against me of wishing to surrender you to the queen "of England." Shortly afterwards the Prince summoned all the nobles to meet on the 22nd or 23rd ultimo at Stirling, and especially Morton and his friends. The King himself had suddenly gone to Stirling, whereupon Morton and his followers had retired to one of his castles on the English border, and it was expected that he would not go to the meeting.—Paris, 7th April 1580.

* About an alleged plot of Claude Hamilton's to seize or murder the king of Scotland at the instance of Queen Elizabeth. *See* letter No. 15 on preceding page.

1580.

9 April. **18.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 30th I wrote to your Majesty, and on the 4th instant the Portuguese ambassador saw the Queen, and delivered a letter from the governors. I am told that the man who translated it into English said it was a credence for the ambassador, and also said that if necessary, they, the governors, would appeal to her for help to defend the liberties of their country jointly, if your Majesty tried to deprive them of them by forbidding them to nominate the successor to the throne. They wrote to France in the same way, and some of the councillors here say that the king of France therefore ordered the stoppage of all ships in his ports. The Queen has given fresh instructions that no vessels are to leave here for Spain, and the licenses are withheld from those which have not sailed; but I do not see any appearance of an intention of sending aid to Portugal, although they say they will do so, wishing to prompt the Portuguese to act in a way which shall make your Majesty employ your forces against them. They have published this to-day, saying that they have news that your Majesty had ordered 50 galleys to enter the river at Lisbon and an army to go overland.

The Queen has advice from Ireland that the insurgents are constantly increasing in numbers, and as soon as they arrive at any place which acknowledges her they burn it. The Englishmen she has there are urgently begging for reinforcements of men and all other things, for they are short even of stores.—London, 9th April 1580.

17 April. **19.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my last writing to your Majesty, the French ambassador, in addition to his ordinary despatches, received a packet in great haste with a letter for the Queen. The substance of it was to say that, although it was most important to both nations to prevent the aggrandisement of your Majesty, and that Portugal should not be added to your dominions, it was especially important to her as he, the king of France, was sure that as soon as your fleet had finished in Portugal it would come hither or to Ireland. He assured her that this was so, and that the fleet had been raised for this purpose. He urged her therefore to be beforehand in breaking with your Majesty, and not to give any chance for Spanish soldiers to set foot in this island, as in such case she could hardly defend herself, nor could he help her. If, on the other hand, she would join with him and declare war at once, he would have the means of cutting your Majesty's claws in union with her, so that you should not even be able to get Portugal. This was contained in the letter in these very terms, and it continued that if she did not accept the suggestion and at once declare herself an enemy to your Majesty, he would not do so. The Queen was referred to the ambassador for particulars, and the latter had orders from the King to broach the subject first to Cecil alone. This he did on the 14th, and afterwards saw the Queen. He delivered some grand speeches and harangues

1580.

to her urging the business upon her, to which she replied with very fair words, and afterwards discussed it with Leicester. She ordered the matter to be kept secret, as she desired that no one but himself and Cecil should hear of it. She said that she had no reason for breaking with your Majesty before the king of France, and even if what the latter said was true, she had sufficient forces to protect her country. It was nevertheless an important proposal which must be deeply considered. Although, as I have written frequently to your Majesty, the matter has often been discussed, the French have never pressed it so earnestly before, and it may be suspected that much will depend upon the negotiations which the envoy Giraldo* is to discuss with them and the offers he makes from the Portuguese, as I know that letters come from him in the Queen's packets and not through Antonio de Castillo, the resident ambassador here. I gather from this that he is working to the same ends. I also have heard that a Portuguese had arrived at Rouen by sea, and had gone to Paris shortly before the arrival of the king of France's letter here. Thinking that it is important that your Majesty should know this, I send a special courier with the news.

Leicester is deeply offended with the French and has taken an opportunity of sending a message to me saying that, since his enemies, in order to ruin him, had embraced the French cause, which he formerly favoured, he would in future be on the side of your Majesty, both to revenge himself upon them and upon the French, who not only had failed to thank him for his services of the last twenty years, but had sided with his enemies to ruin and totally undo him. He asked me to let your Majesty know his intention and he would prove by his acts that he would serve you in every way. As it is advantageous at this time to have him in hand and learn whether his offers are sincere, as well as to keep myself informed through him of the French and Portuguese intrigues, I answered him that I had foreseen for months past that a great and generous spirit like his could not for very long brook the way in which the French were treating him, but I told him that to write clearly to your Majesty what he said might be productive of more harm than good, and might appear mere fickleness, as the change was so sudden. I said I told him this, prompted by the affection I bore him, and that I had better merely signify to your Majesty that he was much more favourably disposed towards your interests than formerly. The business could thus be initiated and would gain solidity as time went on, with the gradual change of the appreciation in which he had formerly been held. I said that I did not want to chop words with him like the French, and he was delighted at this, accepting my advice with many thanks. Your Majesty will order me whether I am to go any further with him. Although I think it would be hard to make sure of him entirely, it is most important just now; because, besides my anxiety for information about the French and Portuguese plans, I really think I see signs

* Giraldo, who had formerly been the Portuguese Minister in England, was now accredited to the king of France and was inclined to oppose the accession of Philip to the Portuguese throne.

1580.

of sincerity, as he professed himself willing if I wished, to declare himself openly against the French. I told him that it would be better not to do so but to temporise with them as before.

The negotiations for the Queen's marriage still go on although more slowly. She is advised that M. de Vray, Alençon's secretary, is coming with letters for her, he having left after the arrival of the Queen-mother in Anjou. Amongst other things, they say that the object of his coming is to mollify Leicester, for which this man is thought to be the best instrument, as he was here with Simier, and being a great Protestant, he advised Leicester that Simier and Castelnau were acting falsely towards him and trying to injure him.

News comes from Scotland that Morton had rejoined the Hamiltons, who were formerly his deadly enemies; and that there had been a plot to kill D'Aubigny, who had raised troops for his protection and for the defence of Dumbarton.—London, 17th April 1580.

20 April. Paris Archives, [late] B. 51. 185.

20. JUAN DE VARGAS MEJIA to the KING.

I have little to say to your Majesty in this letter, except with regard to the queen of Scotland and her son. I went to see her ambassador as soon as I received your Majesty's letter of 28th March, and gave him the message contained therein, which he was anxiously awaiting. He was naturally grateful for it, because as he is very warm in the business, it was just such a reply as he could have desired. I said this to him, and told him that now the rest lay with them, and he must consider deeply the methods by which the affair may be successfully carried through secretly and promptly, seeing the danger which may attend it. He undertook the task and assured me that he would cipher his letters with his own hands, as the Queen would do with hers and the matter would not go beyond them.

He asked me confidentially, as if satisfied with the position, whether he should give an account to the duke of Guise. I replied that he was a better judge than I on that point, and knew Guise better than I did, and how much trust could be placed in him. To speak frankly, however, if it were my own case and I were he, I should take care not to give an account of such a matter to any living man until I had communicated with my Queen and had her express commands to do so. He was extremely pleased at this advice; which he said he would follow implicitly. So far as can be judged, the matter is really on a solid foundation and has been maturely considered with every intention of carrying it out. Whether circumstances change, or the project is possible of execution, can only be proved by events.

Balfour of Burleigh has not spoken plainly yet, although the ambassador was to tell him to do so. He is a keen cautious man, who has the means and power to get the Scots to retire from Flanders, especially the larger body under his kinsman Colonel Balfour. The ambassador is a more straightforward man, who deals quite confidentially and frankly with me; and

1580.

he tells me that Balfour is shy of visiting me, in order not to arouse suspicion, and to enable him the better to perform the service in question. The ambassador has told him that the Queen approves of it, although seeing the calamity she is in, she does not wish her name to be mentioned. Balfour has agreed to go to Flanders to arrange the matter personally, and, if he succeeds, to return hither and give an account of how and when it is to be executed, and at the same time formulate his own claims. I understand these to be that, if the affair is successful, your Majesty will grant an allowance in Scotland to the Colonel and his soldiers, whilst they serve the Queen, either there or against England or Ireland, as they may be ordered. As regards the other Colonel, whose name is Stuart, and the men under him, he is a friend of the ambassador's, and is more influenced by him than by anyone else. We have therefore agreed that he shall be sounded by hints to the same effect, and I am to be informed of the result; it being understood that not only are they to be urged to retire, but also to do some notable service at the same time. I can say no more about it than this, but will continue to report all that occurs.

As your Majesty said some months ago that you approved of the information I sent about Lord Hamilton, and on the first opportunity would send a credit for the sum of money your Majesty had granted him for his present requirements, I have done my best to keep him in hand without telling him anything, but he is pressing me very much, and I see that he is in sore need. I understand he has recently sent some Scots of his house with a letter to your Majesty. Your Majesty will order for the best. In the meanwhile I am putting him off with the fairest words I can find.—Paris, 20th April 1580.

30 April. **21.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The Queen has received a letter from Francisco Giraldo, Portuguese ambassador in France, setting forth the many occasions upon which Portugal has supported and aided this Crown, and pointing out the poor return she is making for it at this time when her help is needed, in consequence of your Majesty's attempt to usurp the throne. He says that the king of France has shown a much better disposition towards them, and has given them all they wanted, namely, artillery and munitions. When the Queen read the letter she said, as did her Councillors, that Giraldo was not strong enough to have written such a letter himself, and it was doubtless prompted by the French, Giraldo having acted at their dictation rather than at that of the Governors. She therefore decided not to answer the letter, and Leicester, who at the same time received another letter from Giraldo asking for his support, will act in the same way.

The Queen summoned me on the 6th and told me that she had received a letter from the Governors of Portugal, informing her that they were quite agreed, since the death of the King, to give

1580.

the Crown to the person who was the rightful heir to it; and if any force was brought to bear upon them they would defend themselves. With this end they asked for her aid and support in consideration of the friendship between the countries. Answer was sent that the Queen rejoiced to know that they were agreed to proclaim as their king the rightful claimant, and she did not believe that any prince would try to use violence, especially your Majesty, who was so sincere a lover of justice and so benign and christian a prince. She said she wished to convey this to your Majesty through me, and as Giraldo was very busy in France, and she believed the king of France was writing to your Majesty on the matter, she thought it well that she also should not neglect it, and asked me to favour her by writing as soon as possible. I promised her to do so, although, I said, by the information I received, I learnt that nearly all the Portuguese were unanimous in acclaiming your Majesty as King.

She afterwards told me that, when the four ships she had sent to Ireland arrived with the battery of artillery, the English had taken a redoubt or small fort, in which were some rebels and fifteen Spaniards, who said that they had gone thither at your Majesty's orders. They had all been killed but the leader, whose name was Julian, who had been ordered to be brought hither. She did not know what she had done to deserve that your Majesty should support her rebel subjects. I replied that, even if fifteen Spaniards were there, there was no reason to suppose that so small a number had been sent by your Majesty's orders. I told her to cast her eyes on the Netherlands, where there were whole regiments of Englishmen who had been serving the rebels for the last three years, sacking towns which owed allegiance to your Majesty. I said that if this were not remedied, and the alliance with your Majesty respected, she would not only see fifteen Spaniards, but many thousands of them, and so near, too, that she would not have time to repent of what she had done. To this, and other things of the same sort, she only answered by saying that she was being threatened on all sides by your Majesty's fleet.

The prince of Bearn and Condé recently sent a gentleman to the Queen to give an account of the reasons why they were moved to take up arms, the king of France having broken his word and the peace by trying to betray Condé. They begged her not to let the idea that she needed the king of France and his brother as a protection against your Majesty, force her into marrying Alençon, as the best thing for her was to remain free, she having men and resources which were more powerful than those of the king of France. She replied with many thanks and promises to them of her usual friendship. Two days after this gentleman had left she herself dispatched another envoy to them.

Alençon's secretary, who I wrote was expected here, has not arrived, and the marriage negotiations are being rapidly forgotten. The Queen has news from France that a marriage was spoken of between Alençon and the sister of the prince of Bearn.—London, 30th April 1580.

1580.

16 May. **22.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447. 3.

Your letters of 28th February and 23rd March received. Many thanks for the diligence you display in my service. You did well in forwarding the writing and discourse translated into Spanish, that we may see here what it contains.

It will be advisable for you to continue to keep yourself well informed with regard to preparations in England; the troops that are raised and embarked; what munitions are provided, how many ships there are, and for how long a time the latter are provisioned. You will discover all you can; and also, if possible, the objects in view, and report to us here. You will also keep us advised as to how the Irish are going on.

You have acted prudently in your recent audiences with the Queen. It will not be harmful for her to be alarmed at our fleet and you are doing well in fostering this fear.

Captain Augustine Clerk, an Englishman with a well-armed ship, has entered the port of Bayona in Galicia; and having regard to the letters from you he produces, and the patent he bears from M. de la Motte, I think of availing myself of his services in Pedro de Valdez's fleet there. We learn from this captain that they were intending in England to send a number of ships to Portugal under pretence of trading, but that they would carry arms, &c., as ballast, and crews of double strength. They think that after they have sold their merchandise they will be sure to be seized, and this will give them a good excuse for serving us, as it will appear as if they were compelled. Investigate this, and if you find it true, take the necessary steps with the Queen to stop it; but do not declare the author.—Merida, 16th May 1580.

16 May. **23.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 5.

In addition to the letters from you acknowledged in the other despatch, nine others have been received, four of 20th February, four of 23rd March, and one of 9th April, all of which will be answered here.

You did very well in taking the action you did with the Queen when you saw she was afraid of our fleet; and it was prudent to have taken the opportunity of protesting against the help being sent from England to my rebels in Flanders, and the sailing of ships to plunder on the voyage to the Indies. I approve of your action. Perhaps your having fostered her fears will cause the English to be more moderate.

The measures you have adopted to obtain news of Drake as soon as he arrives are good, and so also are those for having him proceeded against. Take care they do not conceal his arrival; so that you may try to obtain restitution of the plunder, or at least protest against the outrage.

The raising of the embargo on the English ships here and allowing them to ship Spanish merchandise, was in consequence of the great injury and loss which would have been incurred in Andalucia if they were unable there to export their crops this year; and also to

1580.

enable you to make the most of the concession with the Queen, as if it had been granted by your influence. The reason why the Queen's letter was not answered, as was requested by the Englishmen who had the business in hand, was in order that we might be untrammelled as to our future action. I have ordered your proposal that a general prohibition should be re-enacted, whilst special permits could be granted, to be considered; and in due time will advise you of the decision.

You did well in frustrating the intention you heard of, to deliver the king of Scotland into the hands of the queen of England, by communicating with the Scots ambassador in Paris through Juan de Vargas.

It will be well to keep us informed of the result of the attempt to reach Cathay by the northern parts, although, as you say, it seems a difficult enterprise.

We note what you say about the letter of the Governors of Portugal to the Queen, sent through their ambassador, and the wish entertained in England that we should be at war here. You had better inquire very carefully and thoroughly whether any aid be sent from England to them (*i.e.*, the Portuguese), and be very vigilant in this matter; so that, in case of need, you may take steps to show the Queen how important it will be for her not to allow the English to help the Portuguese against me, either directly or indirectly, and that otherwise she will compel me to resent it in good earnest, no matter under what pretext or disguise it be done.

Thanks for reports about Ireland, Scotland, and Flanders, which please continue to send.—Merida, 16th May 1580.

16 May. Paris Archives, K 1448. 6. **24.** The KING to JUAN DE VARGAS MEJIA.

The steps you took with the Scotch ambassador about his king and queen were very advisable, as also was your advice to him, not to mention it to anyone without instructions from his queen.

The plan for withdrawing the Scots from Flanders is of the highest importance, and you will do your best to forward it, by the means you mention. Report what is done.

You will have heard from Juan de Idiaquez that it was not considered advisable to grant Lord Hamilton a pension, but only to entertain him with present gifts of money. For this purpose a credit for 1,000 crowns is now sent you, and you can give it to him in one or more instalments, as you think best, keeping him in hand the meanwhile with fair words and making what use of him you can.—Merida, 16th May 1580.

21 May. **25.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

What your Majesty directed me to convey to the queen of Scotland has been signified to her with the caution which your Majesty enjoins. In consequence of the need for secrecy, and the danger which she might incur, I delayed communicating with her until she provided means for my doing so. She has sent and asked me

1580.

to inform your Majesty that she has done, and will do, all she can to bring her son to submit to the Catholic church, to which she herself will be faithful whilst she lives. She also begs me to reiterate her sincere and constant attachment to your Majesty's interests, and also her efforts to bring her son to the same feeling. Alençon's secretary,* whom I mentioned as being expected here, came on the 3rd, with a cypher letter for the Queen in Alençon's own hand, which letter she deciphered herself, and at first allowed no one else see it. The substance of it was to say, with many fine words, that, although much pressure was being exerted to prevent him from marrying her, he would stand at nothing to attain an object he so greatly desired. He therefore begged her to say whether she would allow commissioners to be sent to her to settle the conditions. The bearer and the French ambassador addressed her to the same effect. With the letter there came another from the King, especially referring to the efforts being made by the Pope to prevent the marriage. He highly praises Alençon and points out to the Queen how important it is for the safety of her country that the marriage should be effected, as it would strengthen her against the alarm caused to her by your Majesty's fleet and the news from France.

He also brought a letter from Alençon for the Earl of Sussex, and another to the treasurer, both written in his own hand. He ordered that Leicester should not be informed that he wrote these letters, and the Queen told Leicester of this. When de Vray spoke to Leicester from his master begging him to favour the business, he replied that he did not know how they thought to get any help from him, since his master did not even write to him, whereas letters had been sent to Sussex and Cecil. De Vray excused his master by saying that he was prevented from doing so, as he was being bled. Leicester accepted the excuse, but he quite understands the distrust with which the French regard him, although he is in the same high favour with the Queen as before.

When the secretary begged the Queen to dispatch him, she told him she would send an autograph letter by him. He said he was instructed to take a verbal answer, and that if a written reply were handed to him he was to open it before he left England and learn the decision it contained. This was a reason for delaying him until the 18th, when he left with two letters for Alençon and the king of France respectively, which were handed to him open that he might see them, and they were sealed before Vray himself. They contained many sweet words but no decision. They thought this the best course, as the ambassador told the Queen herself that the matter was now so far advanced that if it were not carried through, Alençon could not avoid being offended. In this way both parties are weaving a Penelope's web, simply to cover the designs which I have already explained to your Majesty.

The Queen has received a letter from the Governors of Portugal to the same effect as I wrote on the 9th ultimo. This duplicate

* De Vray.

1580.

was brought by Francisco Barreto of Lima, as far as Paris, and came thence by the hand of a Portuguese, with a letter from the duchess of Braganza to the Queen, urging upon her the duty of coming to the aid of the person rightly entitled to that crown, without further particularising. The Queen replied, both to the Duchess and to the Governors, that she would not fail to aid the person who had a right to the Crown. I have tried to discover whether the Portuguese who brought the letter came from Portugal on purpose, but I find he only came from Paris, the letter having been sent to Giraldo and forwarded by him.

The only object of raising forces in Scotland, on account of the rumour I mentioned, was to protect the person of d'Aubigny from the opposite party. He is in his former position with the King, and, as the efforts of his opponents to overthrow him have failed, they have determined to attempt another plan, this being to call a meeting of ministers in order to force d'Aubigny not to alter the religion of the country. With this object they sent a man from here on the 11th to be present at the meeting.

Pedro de Zubiaur, a merchant established in Seville, informs me that when he landed at Plymouth, he learned that two English ships had arrived at places about four leagues from there. One of them had discharged wheat at Cartagena, and the other had come from Algiers, whither she had taken a cargo of munitions. These two ships had stolen a ship belonging to Martin Visante, valued at 40,000 crowns. I begged the Queen to grant a commission that I might send and sequestrate the property, embargoing it until its ownership was established. This has been done, and the Admiralty will have no chance of interfering, as otherwise it would not be so easy to recover for your subjects that which may be found in the possession of these thieves.—London, 21st May 1580.

31 May. Paris Archives (late) B 51.

26. Juan de Vargas Mejia* to the King.

It is reported from Scotland that the Parliament held there on the 4th instant did nothing but order, at the instance of the Prince, a proclamation by sound of trumpet to be made, of the innocence and fidelity of the earl of Morton, who was now in higher favour than ever. In consequence of this and of the presence at the Court of the queen of England's ambassador,† the earl of Huntingdon and another English lord being on the Border, some great embroilment to the prejudice of the King and his realm was expected, notwithstanding that I learn from the Scots' ambassador that efforts were still being made to transport the Prince to the port of Dumbarton, whence he might be sent out of the country. This is not without his own goodwill and consent.—Paris, 31st May 1580.

* Juan de Vargas Mejia died early in July of this year and was succeeded in the January following (1581) by Juan Bautista de Tassis the younger, but only with the rank of chargé d'affaires and not with that of ambassador which was enjoyed by his predecessor and his successor.

† Sir Robert Bowes.

1580.
11 June. **27.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The rebel States have sent some of their English captains hither for troops to reinforce their companies, and to beg the Queen's permission for more captains and soldiers to go. As soon as I learnt this I asked audience of the Queen and Council, and pointed out to them that they well knew the evils which I had often told them might come to them if they gave help to these rebels. I said I would not repeat these arguments, as no doubt they were fully alive to them, but I was forced to state that the Queen was ignoring the alliance with your Majesty, and not only helped the rebels with whole regiments of Englishmen, of which there had been no lack in the Netherlands since the beginning of the war, and against whom I myself had often fought, but she had also supported them even with loans of money, against your Majesty's jewels; and now, I said, fresh levies of Englishmen were being sent. If the Queen did not remedy this and recall the soldiers already in Flanders, I must inform your Majesty of it, and must represent to them also that it was most pernicious in any Prince to support rebellion, and much more so in the case of the Queen, who had herself a rebellion in Ireland and many refugees from her own country, some of the inhabitants of which were not very well satisfied, and if help were extended to any of these, it would give her enough to do. The Queen and Council replied that as soon as she succeeded to the Crown, although the alliances between England and your Majesty referred only to the House of Burgundy, she had greatly desired to continue the ancient amity, and had sent Lord Montague to confirm the treaties. This your Majesty had neither accepted nor refused; and it was therefore considered that the Queen was free from any obligation under the treaties, and was at liberty to help the Netherlands and prevent the French from taking possession thereof. As to the jewels, she had them in her possession, and would surrender them when your Majesty wanted them. The Queen also referred to the rising of the duke of Norfolk and the pensions your Majesty gave to those whom she had declared rebels, and she mentioned the capture of the fifteen Spaniards in Ireland, which I spoke of in mine of the 30th April, and complained that she was being threatened on all sides by your Majesty's fleet. I replied in the same way that I have often done, according to your Majesty's orders, and upon the Queen and Council asking me two or three times what I had to say about your Majesty's not having confirmed the treaties, I said that I could not enter into any reasons as to what had happened so many years ago, but it was my duty to tell them that it behoved them, for their own safety's sake, to remedy the present state of affairs. By the urgent requests of the Queen and Council that I should write to your Majesty about the confirmation of the treaties, I perceive that they greatly wish to discuss this point.

Not only has the earl of Leicester communicated with me that he wishes to serve your Majesty, but says he desires to bring about a new secret alliance between the Queen and your Majesty. I have answered, putting him off and saying that the most important thing

1580.

was that he should do his best that existing treaties should be respected, and that no help should be sent to the rebels.

I sent to tell the queen of Scotland what your Majesty ordered, to which she replied that she welcomed with gratitude your desire still to help her in her troubles. She asks me to inform your Majesty that she thought of negotiating with this Queen to set her at liberty; although she expected that it would be refused on the advice of Leicester and Walsingham, who persuaded her that she, the queen of Scots, had no object but to plot with other Princes to destroy her. This, she said, was a reason for treating her worse than ever. She wrote two letters on this matter to the Queen and Council, and sent them to the French ambassador that he might use his influence for her.—London, 11th June 1580.

11 June. **28.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 29th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty. Since then the negotiations for the Queen's marriage, which had been almost dropped, have been again revived. A council was consequently held on the 5th instant, in which it was decided that the Queen should send word to Alençon, that Commissioners might come to agree upon the capitulations. They were unanimous in this and when the Lord Chancellor was spoken to by the Queen about it she said to him, "How is it you have changed your opinion, for you thought differently before?" He replied that his inexperience in such affairs, he being new in his post, had caused him to err on the matter. He now thought that a person should be sent to France speedily. Although the people think the marriage is now certain, my own belief is that the great outcry that they have raised about it at this time has no other object than before, on both sides, namely, to make use of the negotiations for the purpose of maintaining the war in the Netherlands and, if possible, exacerbating affairs in Portugal; because after Alençon's secretary's departure with the last subterfuge, I was told that Alençon had written to the Queen that it was desirable to him that people should not think that the marriage negotiations had quite fallen through, and he begged her to allow them to continue, which she did. At the same time I heard both from Antwerp and here, that Orange was making great efforts through his confidants here, to discover whether the marriage and other negotiations with the French were going forward. He was told that they were considered to be still in progress, and he thereupon sent Plessy, who, as I wrote, was at Antwerp for the prince of Bearn, who told Walsingham that if the Queen married Alençon, the rebels would maintain the war in the Netherlands, but not otherwise, since most of them after the rout of La Noue* were inclined to peace, as they saw that their force was insufficient with Alençon alone. For this

* La Noue had been routed and captured near Courtrai a month previously by the Marquis de Richebourg, and was kept a prisoner for some years afterwards. The loss of so trusted a commander threw the Netherlanders into great discouragement.

1580.

reason the States in Antwerp were not inclined to effect the agreement with Alençon, and the result of this has been the holding the Council I have mentioned and the publication of the decision arrived at by them.

Plessy has been dealing with the Ghent people for them to surrender the lordship of the towns held by Bearn's father in that province,* and I am privately informed also that Plessy has been negotiating for the election of a magistrate in Dunkirk in the interests of Bearn, the hope being to place there a French governor for the purpose of having a port whence the Huguenot ships may sail on their plundering voyages, and make another Rochelle of it. The French heretics have begun this already by taking a Genoese ship which was anchored in the Downs awaiting the wind, but the weather did not allow them to take it into Dunkirk, and they were obliged to enter Flushing, where I am told they were arrested, although they had letters of marque from Bearn and Condé, authorising them to seize property of subjects of any of the Princes of the Holy League.—London, 11th June 1580.

11 June. **29.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After sealing the enclosed letter I have been informed that a French ship has arrived at Plymouth with 1,000 harquebusses, and a quantity of powder, in consequence of which she was arrested and intelligence sent to the Council, who, understanding that the arms and powder were intended for Portugal, have ordered that the ship may depart without hindrance. It was sent by Giraldo, in accordance with the letter I mentioned from him to the Queen, saying how much more willing the king of France was to assist Portugal than she was, as he had given them stores and munitions. No doubt he referred to these.—London, 11th June 1580.

18 June. **30.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have received to-day two despatches from your Majesty, dated 16th ultimo, and in conformity with your instructions that I should report the preparations being made by the Queen, I beg to say that they are confined to the four vessels which have been sent to Ireland, the calling out of the militia, which had been under orders to muster for the last four months, and the vigilant watching night and day from the beacon-towers, which has hitherto only been done in time of war.

The Queen has also ordered artillery, harquebusses, powder, bow-strings, and other warlike stores to be taken out of the Tower, and sent to the arsenal at Rochester, where her ships are, to be in greater readiness. In addition to this, she has sent to-day to the Guildhall for the London companies to raise four thousand infantry, a thousand pikeman, and three thousand harquebussiers.

* These Flemish lordships had descended to Antoine de Bourbon by his ancestor, Robert de Claremont's, marriage with the daughter of John of Burgundy.

1580.

It is not known how she intends to employ them, and as these folks are so unstable, not much dependence can be placed on such orders, which are given one moment and changed the next.

The intelligence which your Majesty ordered to be conveyed to me as having been given by Augustine Clerk, the English captain whose ship had arrived at Bayona, respecting the men who were to be sent from here with arms to Portugal, is nothing but a fable got up by Walsingham, who sent this men as a spy to Spain, as I wrote to Don Juan de Idiaquez. I said that he was in constant correspondence with these Councillors, and that his pretended revelations were simply to gain him more credit with your Majesty's officers. I am quite certain of this, because there has never been any discussion about sending arms or ships to Portugal in this way, and if any attempt is made to employ those which have been sent to Rochester, I have a man there to inform me. On the other hand their constant fear (which I take care to increase) of your Majesty's fleet, causes them to keep the Queen's ships in port, and there is great difficulty in getting license for ships to go to Spain and Portugal particularly, which licenses the merchants can only obtain by heavy payments.

Your Majesty's order that Clerk should serve in Don Pedro de Valdés' fleet will only be bringing an enemy into it, wherever he is.* He came from Gravelines with a little ship which was serving there, under the pretence that he was forced hither by the weather, and after having communicated his plans to Cecil and the Queen's secretaries they told him to obtain my help in asking the Queen to allow him to sail with a larger ship. I refused to do this, because I suspected double dealing; whereupon he came and told me that he had obtained power to take out the ship secretly and would go with it to M. de la Motte, and asked me for a letter. This I gave him, but in general terms, as my suspicions of him had been confirmed, in consequence of certain letters I gave him for de la Motte not having been sent, as well as my having heard of his scandalous talk with some of these Councillors. I advised de la Motte of this, and told him to revoke the man's commission. I then learnt that his ship was being fitted out at Plymouth by the Queen's orders to go to Spain, and a week since de la Motte wrote to me saying that he had received a reply from the duke of Alba acknowledging the information of Clerk's departure, and that he had ordered the marquis of Santa Cruz to capture him, as he deserves punishment.

* It would appear that the King was fully alive to this possibility, and with characteristic caution wrote from Badajoz to Cardinal de Granvelle in Madrid on the 17th June (the day before the above letter was written in London). "As regards the "English Captain Clerk, it will be advisable, whilst not offending him, to put it out "of his power to play us any tricks. Don Pedro de Valdés should therefore be "informed that if he employ him he is to make sure both of him and his ship, until "news shall arrive about him from Don Bernardino de Mendoza, and he can then be "treated as he deserves."—B. M. Add. 28,702.

1580.

Very little hopes are now entertained of Drake's return, as he has been so long delayed.

A Portuguese recently arrived here by sea who has been lodged in Secretary Wilson's house. I am told that he brings letters for the Queen and some of the Councillors, and has gone to-day to deliver them. I suspect that they are from Don Antonio, prior of St. John, as he was in loving converse with the Englishmen who are in his favour. He avoids Antonio de Castillo, who represents the Governors here. I will report to your Majesty the reply that is given to him, but hitherto the Queen shows no desire of mixing herself in the matter by sending troops thither.

A captain has come from Ireland to entreat the Queen to send thither men, stores, and victuals. He says that the earl of Glencarn has again declared himself against the Queen, and he assures the Queen that if he, Glencarn, and the rest of the rebels, receive no foreign support, they cannot stand out for many months, if she will send the force now requested. She is in some fear that the French may seize the king of Scotland, as she is advised that he is going on a progress in the North, where it is thought the French may take him with the connivance of d'Aubigny, who still retains his position with the King, and is popular with the Scots. —London, 18th June 1580.

26 June. **31.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The Portuguese, who, as I wrote on the 18th, had come addressed to Secretary Wilson, saw the Queen and gave her a letter from Don Antonio, dated the 10th ultimo. He also brought some letters for the Councillors. The purport of them all was to state generally his right to the Crown, in virtue of the Bull granted to him by the Pope. He pressed upon the Queen the obligation she was under to help him, in consideration of the good understanding which had existed between the countries, and referred her for information to the bearer, who had full authority to speak in his name. In the letter to the earl of Leicester there was also a request that he would help the gentleman in getting audience of the Queen and advise him as to the best way of proceeding. He told the Queen that, not only was Don Antonio legitimate, as would be seen by the proofs, but all the Portuguese people were in his favour, and wished him for their King, they being armed on his behalf to resist your Majesty's entrance into the country. They would however need aid in munitions, and begged that they might be sent in order to strengthen Don Antonio. She replied that as she had many times told Antonio de Castillo, the representative of the governors here, it was not for her to help any person whose right had not been acknowledged; and the man is therefore seeking license for the Antwerp merchants to export on their own account some powder from here, in the certainty that they will make a profit on it. He is being helped in this by Secretary Wilson to whom Don Antonio sent a bezoar stone worth 80 crowns. If I see any signs of powder being sent I will speak to

1580.

the Queen about it, and will find out the quantity. These people are well aware that Don Antonio has not the slightest right, and that what he says is all lies; besides which they think he must have very few followers, since he has sent hither as his envoy a man whom they well know as having been a common servant of Giraldo when he was here. The Queen received letters two days since from the duchess of Braganza, which were sent through France by Giraldo. They only said that she would on no account renounce her right, but if she could not get justice she would obey the King, whoever he was. Giraldo also wrote in favour both of the Duchess and of Don Antonio.

Plessy, who I said had come from Antwerp, told the Queen that the prince of Condé considered it advisable in the interests of revolution in France for him to come hither and give her an account of affairs, and begged for a passport, which the Queen granted. Condé thereupon came by way of Germany, and arrived here secretly on the 19th from Flushing. He saw the Queen who was gracious to him, but I do not know whether they will favour his pretensions, which are to take money or credit from here to raise cavalry in Germany, as the Queen told the Council how bad it was for them that the Huguenots should have appealed to arms at this time; whereas it would have been better for them to have been free to help Alençon in the Netherlands, thus encouraging the Portuguese and keeping your Majesty busy on all hands, which is the object they always have in view.

For the last few weeks they have proceeded with much more rigour than formerly against the Catholics; those of them who had been imprisoned and were released on bail having been sent back to prison again. In the county of Lancaster they have arrested sixty men for attending mass. When the order arrived the people in the neighbourhood said that if the Queen was going to punish them for that, she would have to imprison all the country. I understand the cause of this is that one morning lately certain Latin papers were found about the streets of London in the form of a Papal Bull declaring the Queen schismatic, although many people think that this is nothing but a trick of the heretics themselves to sound the Catholics. By God's mercy the latter are increasing daily in numbers, thanks to the preaching of the clergy who come from the seminaries in Spain and Portugal.—London, 26th June 1580.

29 June. **32.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 26th I wrote to your Majesty of the arrival of Condé here and of his going to see the Queen. After she had seen him two or thee times she sent Stafford to France to see Alençon, whom she wishes to have on her side, so as to be more secure against his brother. She promises that she will not fail to help him as he desires. By these means she will keep him in suspense and prevent him from declaring himself with his brother against the Huguenots, and she and her Council think that they will thus be able to tranquillise affairs in France, which is their object.

1580.

She also sent to say to the French ambassador on the day that Stafford left, that she had heard that the prince of Condé had arrived, but that she would not speak to him excepting in his, the ambassador's, presence, and asked him to come the next day.* He did so, and whilst he was with the Queen, Condé, whom she had lodged in the garden, came in. She ordered the room to be cleared and they remained together, the three of them alone for four hours. Condé repeated his complaints against the King and the reasons why the Huguenots took up arms. The ambassador replied and pointed out how the King had borne with them, the Queen closing the colloquy by saying that she wished to reconcile them. With this object the Queen gave the ambassador a document, of which I enclose a copy, saying that it contained the exculpation which Bearn and the Huguenots had to offer. The substance of it is the same as the letter addressed by Bearn to the nobles of France to be sent to the King. Until she hears in what disposition Stafford finds Alençon, I am told that the Queen will not decide how she will act towards Condé and the Huguenots. As soon as Condé arrived he sent a man to La Fère giving an account of his arrival and assuring them that they would receive aid. A gentleman from Casimir came with him.

The 4,000 infantry raised here were mustered yesterday and to-day, it being asserted that they and some of the others from elsewhere, to the number of 8000, would go to Ireland, and they also say that they are going to arm some ships, but I see no signs of it.—London, 29th June 1580.

10 July. **33.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After I wrote on the 29th ultimo Condé left, taking a ship in Dover which had been lent to him by the Queen, and he arrived on the 4th at the Sluys of Bruges, whence he went to Antwerp. Although he did not profess much pleasure at the Queen's reception of him, and asserted that she had given him no help, it is all trickery of these people to tranquillise French affairs, in which they are making great efforts. With this object Condé was hurried off, so that the Queen might appear to oblige the king of France in the matter. The show of only speaking to him in the presence of the ambassador was made with the same end, as also was the sending of Stafford. The marriage negotiations have again been renewed by Stafford, and the Queen has been informed that on the 12th of August Commissioners will come to discuss the conditions. Stafford also sent a dispatch from Alençon to the ambassador, enclosed to the Queen. She sent it to him and told him to come and see her next day. He went, and handed to her a letter from Alençon, which had come in his packet, containing much talk about the marriage. The Queen has received it well, as they think that it is the best way of calming French affairs, of which they have now great hope from the ambassador; and Stafford having

* French historians have assumed that the Queen was sincere, and that she had not seen Condé before.

1580.

also written that the king of France had sent blank signatures to his brother to make peace in the way he thought best. They gave hope to Condé that if peace be not made the Queen will certainly help him to raise troops in Germany. They gave him a thousand crowns when he left, on the pretence that it was a loan from the earl of Leicester.

The Queen has appointed as viceroy of Ireland Lord Grey, whom they consider a good soldier,* he having served in the wars with France. They have told him to choose a thousand of the four thousand men raised in London to take with him; and four Queen's ships are to be fitted out to reinforce those already in Ireland. They learn from Ireland that some sloops are ready in Santander to take over some soldiers whom the Pope is sending to aid the insurgents.

I am informed from Antwerp that Orange is preparing to send arms to Portugal. Giraldo writes daily to the Queen and her ministers, urging them to do the same, and pointing out how important it is to them that they should help the duchess of Braganza, and prevent your Majesty from succeeding peacefully.—London, 10th July 1580.

16 July. **34.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Whilst the Queen was speaking (to me) in the presence of Sussex, Cecil, and Walsingham, they asked her to enquire what answer your Majesty had ordered to be given to the letter she had written respecting the loading of English ships in Spain. I said that your Majesty had been pleased to allow them to load on this occasion. She replied that although this was so, and similar permission had been given here, she wished to know whether it was to continue for good, as it was so advantageous to your Majesty's subjects. This opened up the matter, and after hearing their discourse, I answered them; and concluded by saying that, as the English were so pressing in the business, its importance and advantage to them were evident. Lord Burleigh said that they were of opinion that no such prohibition could be imposed by your Majesty, without contravening the treaties in existence between the countries; to which I replied that no difficulty would be found in that, as the edict had been enacted by the Ferdinand and Isabel, and on its re-publication by the Emperor Charles V., Henry VIII. had requested that English ships might be allowed to load in consideration of the alliances with the House of Burgundy, which the Emperor had granted as a concession. When the edict was again published, at the time your Majesty was here, an addition had been made saying, "and in like manner our English subjects may load goods," which clearly proved that it had merely been as a favour and concession that they had been

* An interesting letter from Lord Grey to the earl of Sussex, dated 29th June, expressing sorrow at his appointment, and complaining of the "Scarborough warning" (*i.e.*, short notice), will be found in the Cotton MSS. (Vesp., F. 12, p. 164.)

1580.

allowed to do so all this time. When for the third time the edict was published by your Majesty on the 9th August 1547 (1567?) two years were granted from that date before it was to be enforced, which again confirmed my view. Lord Burleigh told the Queen that it was a matter which ought to be looked into carefully, so that as a consequence of this and the pressure which is being brought to bear by the merchants that the matter should be elucidated, I have no doubt the Queen will write to your Majesty about it. As I have previously written, it is ruining the country, and the people at large are consequently suffering greater need.—London, 16th July 1580.

16 July. **35.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote on the 10th, and on the same day that I dispatched the duplicate the Queen summoned me to Nonsuch.

She said she wished to see me in order to speak of two things: first with regard to the numerous advices she was receiving about the active negotiations being carried on by the French in the Netherlands, which most certainly would lead to their seizing the country, unless some arrangement was promptly made with them; and, secondly, she wished to say that she was much aggrieved at the assistance which the Irish insurgents were obtaining in your Majesty's ports. It had been her intention to issue an edict, proclaiming as rebels those Englishmen who were serving with your Majesty's enemies in the Netherlands, unless they withdrew, which she did not think, however, that they would do; but in view of the aid given by your officers to the Irish rebels, she had changed her mind. She dwelt at length on these two points; and with regard to the question of the Netherlands, I replied that I too had been informed thereof. I said that although the Ghent people wanted to arrange with Alençon, the other rebel provinces were not of the same mind, but even if they were, and the French were admitted, the latter would be turned out as on former occasions. She replied arrogantly, that this would not be so, for they would enter with a much larger force than I expected, and their enterprise would be an easy one. She said it alarmed her greatly, both because it was so prejudicial to your Majesty, and would be injurious to her own position. I told her that, as I had been a soldier myself, I was not at all frightened at the victories gained on paper by armies before they were formed, and I understood what was necessary before so powerful a force as would be needful for such a task could be collected. It would take years; and if she had not helped the rebels and fed the war, she would now be free from these fears. There was still time to remedy it, however, if she resolutely commanded the English to withdraw, which they would do; and refrained from helping the rebels in future, to which moreover she would be forced, seeing the small result she had gained by it hitherto.

With regard to the Irish question, I said that as to the actions of the Pope as a temporal prince, I had nothing to say. His

1580.

officers and ships had, of course, full liberty to enter and leave your Majesty's ports, and these fictions were simply presented to her by some of her Councillors, in order that she might not desist from aiding the Flemish rebels, on the excuse that your Majesty, under shadow of the Pope, was helping the Irish insurgents, for which purpose, they said, the fleet now on the coast of Galicia was destined. I said she could judge how true this was when she recollected what she told me when James Fitzmaurice came; which was to the effect that 1,500 Spaniards accompanied him, the truth being that not 60 men of all nations came with him, and of those only three were Spaniards. As to the 15 who were recently taken in the fort, who were said to be Spaniards, it turned out a lie, as they were nothing of the sort, and the so-called Julian was, after all, an Italian named Giulio. After this conversation, in which two hours were passed, she called Sussex, Burleigh, and Walsingham, and, in their presence, made a great harangue to me on the two points mentioned, to which I replied as before, enlarging particularly on the aid and support she had given to the rebels, and the bad offices she had effected since the beginning of the war. I said that all these things were accomplished facts, whereas her present complaints were merely the result of apprehension, since it appeared that the Irish only affirmed that your Majesty would help them. The Queen closed the conversation by saying that, as she had experience of the slight esteem in which your Majesty held her letters, you having failed to give any decided answer to the envoys by whom he had sent them, she had decided to signify the above points to your Majesty through me, and begged that I would write to that effect.

After this she took me apart and told me that she had only taken this step in order to satisfy her Councillors, and that they might not say that she was neglecting a subject of such great importance to her. She had no other desire but to maintain the old friendship which had existed with your Majesty and the House of Burgundy, and, if necessary, to draw it closer by fresh treaties.

I could see that the Queen was in great fear of the fleet, and much desired that your Majesty should entertain the proposal to renew the alliance, because, although Alençon promises that by his influence her treaties with the French shall be confirmed, and a new alliance with them made on her own terms, she dares not trust them entirely, and consequently neither accepts nor refuses their proposals, but keeps Alençon in hand with fair words. She persuades him that what is of most importance for his claims and the advantage of France, is to make peace with the Huguenots and prevent the Netherlands from being pacified. It is understood here that Alençon has adopted this view and is urging it upon his brother.

The Portuguese who I wrote was here on behalf of Don Antonio, has left for Antwerp, as I understand to endeavour to get the merchants, with the permission of Orange, to send some arms and munitions, as he could get no other answer from the Queen here than what I wrote on the 20th ultimo.

1580.

They tell me that she is going to send a gentleman secretly to Portugal, and to judge from the person appointed, it may be inferred that he goes as a spy, under cover of bearing letters to the duchess of Braganza and Don Antonio, rather than to do anything of importance. Although a rumour is current here that the populace had proclaimed Don Antonio as King, and that consequently a number of English ships would go to help the Portuguese, it is only a baseless story invented by the merchants. Only 300 of the 1,000 soldiers who I mentioned were going to Ireland, are to go. They are to embark at Portsmouth, where the four ships now are.

The Queen has also ordered Davison, her former agent to the rebel States at Antwerp, to make ready to return thither. The queen of Scots is greatly distressed with a malady of the spleen and melancholy, and has consequently begged this Queen to allow her to go to the baths.* This has been granted, on condition that the earl of Shrewsbury and the ordinary guard are to accompany her. —London, 16th July 1580.

23 July. **36.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After I had closed the accompanying letters, the Queen sent to say that, as her conversations with me had been so long, she considered it advisable to send me the heads of them in writing, and begged me not to communicate anything until she did so. This has caused me to delay the despatch until now, and I enclose her letter and document herewith. I see that the subjects are put in quite a different light from that in which they were treated verbally by her. I understand that the letter she writes to your Majesty is about loading English ships in Spain.

The enclosed proclamation has recently been published here, and as will be seen by its tenour, is inspired by the fear that the Catholics may rise. All the Catholics in London, and the whole of the country, who had been released on bail, or had given sureties to appear when summoned, have been ordered to surrender themselves in the London prisons within 20 days, under pain of death. A great number of them have already done so, and it is a subject of heartfelt gratitude to God that they bear with joy and confidence this travail and persecution, such as they have never been afflicted with before.

The French ambassador on the 2nd instant received a letter from the Queen-mother, half of which was written with her own hand. She says that she believes the Queen will not have given any help to Condé, seeing the good reason her son (*i.e.*, the king of France) had for taking up arms against him and the Huguenots, but that the King had referred the whole matter of peace and war to his brother, if the Huguenots would make a beginning by disarming and surrendering the towns they had taken. The Commissioners, she had been informed, were coming hither, and if her presence

* Buxton.

1580.

would secure the settlement of the matter she had at heart, she would gladly accompany them herself. She says that Simier would come with the Commissioners, and the Queen is greatly pleased at this, and at the renewal of the marriage negotiations, for the reasons which I have already mentioned. News comes from Antwerp that Condé would request the States to grant him free ports in Holland and Zeeland where they may sell the goods captured from Catholics of all nations under the letters of marque granted for the purpose by him and Bearn. Villars and other French heretics who are with Orange are again talking of a marriage between him (Bearn ?) and his (Orange's ?) daughter.—London, 23rd July 1580.

7 Aug. **37.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since I wrote saying what the Queen-mother had written for this Queen's information about the coming of Simier and the Commissioners, the Queen has received letters from France saying that they were not coming so soon, but would be preceded by a gentleman sent by the king of France, and another from Alençon. In consequence of intelligence she receives from the Huguenots she has written to the king of France about his coming to an agreement with them, and has urged Alençon earnestly to insist upon a settlement. She told me when she saw me that she had done so, and said she had no doubt that the siege of La Fère would be raised and peace made, although the news from France is not so confident. She will do her best to pacify matters. I enclose the answer from the king of France to the document the Queen sent him from Bearn, Condé, and the Huguenots.

The Queen has ordered 500 men to go from the province of Winchester (?) to Ireland, in addition to those who left here to embark at Plymouth. It is thought that she will exert greater efforts now, because the new Viceroy is pressing for fresh reinforcements and news comes that an insurgent Viscount had brought his troops against Dublin itself, and would have taken possession of the city but for a woman who gave notice of their coming. This has caused great anxiety to the Queen, as the Irish have never undertaken such an enterprise before, and it is thought that they must be well backed up to attempt it.

They also say that O'Neil* with 3,000 men has refused to declare himself on either side, which has caused the Queen even greater suspicion.

The earl of Desmond has been closely pressed by the English in a skirmish and Desmond had to fly to refuge in a forest on the coast; Dr. Sanders being carried on the shoulders of the men.

The king of Scotland has returned from his progress to the castle of Stirling and M. D'Aubigny is still in his place near the King, enjoying more power in the country than Morton. The Queen has

* Tirlough Lenough O'Neil, chief of Ulster.

1580.

ordered a gentleman named Bowes* to make ready to visit the king of Scotland and to learn the position of affairs there after the King's progress. The Councillors here have been discussing the selection of a castle or stronghold in every county, in which the principal Catholics of each may be imprisoned. No order to this effect has yet been dispatched, but those Catholics who had been released still continue to return to prison.—London, 7th August 1580.

7 Aug. **38.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have received your Majesty's letters of the 10th ultimo, and saw the Queen to give her the account of Portuguese affairs† as your Majesty orders therein. She had already received intelligence by a special courier from France and was much grieved at the news, as I was informed before I saw her. It appears that she said "It will be hard to withstand the king of Spain now." When I saw her she interrupted me at the beginning of the conversation; which she does cunningly, in order to understand the intentions of her interlocutor, when she is not informed beforehand respecting the subject upon which she is to be addressed. She said that, in consideration of her alliance and friendship with your Majesty, she was sorry that a matter had been carried so far which it would be difficult to maintain. Knowing her character and object, and that the only thing necessary to bridle her is to treat her with spirit and get her to contradict and countermand some of the advice given by her Councillors, I replied that, not only had God given your Majesty the heritage of that crown, but the great power with which she was acquainted, not only to maintain it, which was easy, as all the Portuguese were rejoiced to be your vassals, but also to punish the Portuguese who assisted those who dared to resist a right so clear and just, or attacked you in any way. This reply impressed her so much that after I had proceeded further and she had heard me with much meekness, she replied that I could bear witness that she had said from the first day that she would not mix herself up in the Portuguese question nor help anyone whose right had not been acknowledged. She said that she had been glad to hear of your Majesty's recognition and the success of the entrance of the army. Her rejoicing was natural, considering her friendship and alliance with you; and your friends might look upon it as a matter in which they themselves were benefited, all of which she asked me to convey to your Majesty.

After she had given me this reply, she kept me talking for more than four hours, in the course of which she begged me to tell her

* Sir Robert Bowes, who for several years subsequently resided in Scotland as Elizabeth's ambassador.

† The Duke of Alba had crossed the Portuguese frontier with his army on the 27th June and had captured St. Ubes in the middle of July. The regents had gone to render their submission to Philip; and Alba was rapidly marching upon Lisbon, which surrendered at the end of August.

1580.

my opinion on the matter, and what would be done in Portugal; not as a minister, but in my private capacity. I replied that the affair seemed now clear, but I could only say in either capacity that your Majesty's right was so undoubted and manifest, that it would be a most scandalous thing for any Portuguese to oppose it or to countenance others who did so. If even this were not so, I said, as a matter of State policy she would be obliged to act in the same way and not to offend a King who had so strong an arm and so long a sword, especially as the business was one which in no case could bring any profit to her, but rather the contrary, as the Portuguese, both people and nobles, had nearly all voluntarily surrendered to your Majesty, and Don Antonio had no following of importance, even amongst the common people. I said, for these reasons, she would see that it was more important for her than for anyone that great vigilance should be exercised to prevent a single man, ship, or a grain of powder leaving any part of her kingdom for him, and thus to banish the suspicion which otherwise might be entertained of her. I forced this point, for the reasons I have mentioned in other letters.

I also told her in the course of the conversation that it was just as important for her to change her aspect towards the affairs of the Netherlands, as seeing the state of things there and in France, and that the king of Scotland, whom some looked upon as her heir, was growing up, she would understand that it was of moment to her not to offend your Majesty in any way, but rather by deeds to blot out the past. She replied that she desired greatly to see those countries pacified, accepting very amiably what I had said, for not only did she thank me, but went afterwards to walk in the garden, where she said, in the presence of some ladies and gentlemen, that I had spoken very sensibly about Portugal.

She asked me if your Majesty had replied about the fifteen Spaniards who had been taken in Ireland. I told her that there was nothing to answer about that, as it was a matter of no importance, and it was not even true that any of them were Spaniards.

The day before I saw her she had a letter from the duchess of Braganza sent by Giraldo through France. He wrote at the same time to Leicester, and the purport of both the letters was to complain that no answers had been sent to the letters from the Duchess. He has been informed that answers were sent by sea.

Before I received your Majesty's despatches, news had arrived here of the proclamation of Don Antonio as King, and I took the opportunity of pointing out to the ministers here how weak his party was, and how small a following he had throughout the kingdom. In conformity with your Majesty's orders, as many Englishmen have asked me what news I have from Portugal, I have given many copies of the information to them, and by this means, without appearing to force it, the intelligence of the small chance he has of making resistance has been spread broadcast, and has also been sent to Antwerp, where I am told they are still arranging to send arms to Portugal on account of some merchants.

1580.

Some French corsairs have captured two English ships, and ten or twelve English pirates have consequently left the ports here. I think of speaking to the Queen about it, and have told the merchants who trade with Spain to press the Council on the subject, as otherwise their goods in Spain may suffer for it, and their ships, unless they go with certificates and recommendations from me, may be refused entrance on the ground of piracy.

They write from Flushing that Orange was pressing for ships to put to sea. And, if their object be not to go to Portugal, both these ships and those above mentioned may do much damage on the route to the Indies when the fleet is homeward bound, which is a matter that some of these people are on the look out for.—London, 7th August 1580.

15 Aug. **39.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 7th, and on the 10th there arrived here by sea a Portuguese named Juan Rodriguez de Souza, a man 32 years of age, a knight of the Order of Christ. He comes from Don Antonio with letters for the Queen, the earl of Leicester, and Secretaries Walsingham and Wilson.* He also brought a letter from Don Antonio himself to Antonio de Castillo, which he sent to him saying that his master the King had ordered him to deliver it and to tell him verbally that it was desirable for his service that he, Castillo, should at once leave here for Portugal. The envoy added that he was unwell and consequently could not perform his mission in person, but asked Castillo to send him a receipt for the letter. Castillo refused to receive it, and replied that he was astonished that a letter should be sent to him from the king of Portugal without saying who the king was. He said that he had come hither in the time of King Henry, and since his death he had represented here the crown of Portugal by order of the five Governors. Until he saw by a letter from them, whom they acknowledged for king, he should recognise no one as such. The other man replied that his master was the King Don Antonio, to which he was answered that when he, Castillo, left Portugal, King Henry had proclaimed Don Antonio as illegitimate, and, as such, having no right to the crown, and he, Castillo, could therefore not receive a letter from him as king, without the instructions of the Governors. He could only recognise Don Antonio as the son of an Infante of Portugal and as such wish him well.† The Queen's Ministers consider Castillo's reply to have been a good one, and I can assure your Majesty again that, since his arrival here, he has behaved with much good sense and prudence, loyally serving the interests of Don Henry whilst he lived, and since the King's death he has failed in no point to protect the interests of his country, and

* Dr. Wilson had been English ambassador in Portugal.

† Don Antonio, prior of Crato, the Portuguese pretender, was the illegitimate son of the Infante Don Luis, second son of the king Don Manuel, and consequently a first cousin of Philip II, whose mother the Empress Isabel was the eldest daughter of that King.

1580.

as a good Portuguese, to strive for its quietude. In consequence of this, and his refusal to negotiate with the Queen without orders from the Governors, from whom he has not heard for six months, and for not having consented to be mixed up with the plots and intrigues which Giraldo has been planning here and in France, the latter has been writing a thousand slanders about him and has even warned the Queen to beware of him, as he was a Castilian and attached to your Majesty; even after Giraldo himself had written to him many times asking him why he did not help him and press the Queen to send arms to Portugal, to which Castillo had replied that he could not act without the instructions of the Governors. As I was assured of the honesty and straightforwardness with which he has acted since he has been here, I thought that I should not be doing my duty to your Majesty if I did not say so; particularly as I am sure that he will now serve your Majesty, whose subject he is, with the same fidelity, and I beg humbly that you may be pleased to reward him as he deserves.

As soon as Castillo heard that Don Antonio had been proclaimed king, and that the Governors had gone to salute your Majesty, he said that he was no longer a minister, and I have consequently not taken any steps to get the Queen to refuse to acknowledge him, he having anticipated the need for it. I have sent to ask for audience in order to renew the offices your Majesty has commanded in view of the coming of this Portuguese. I am to see the Queen to-morrow and will advise the result of the interview. Hitherto no notice has been taken of the man (*i.e.*, Rodriguez de Souza), nor has he stirred from London. Besides the ship which I advised some months ago left here with arms and munitions for Portugal, two hulks have left with munitions, but they are still detained off the coast by contrary weather.

Augustine Clerk, as I have written several times, corresponds with the Council here, he having been sent by them as a spy, and I am now told by a man who has seen his letters that he says your Majesty has employed him and given him 1,000 crowns, ordering him to stay with the fleet to be raised in Galicia, whence they were to go with 800 Italians to Ireland, and that he would try to get possession of one of the best of the ships and go over with it, and with his own vessel, to the Queen's side. He also gives full details of your Majesty's fleet and forces, and of everything that is being done in Galicia.

Stafford came three days since from France, only bringing news that the commissioners from Alençon would come; but he does not say when, nor who they are to be.

As I was closing this letter, I have been put into possession of a letter written by this Portuguese (Rodriguez de Souza) to Leicester, asking him to get him audience of the Queen. I send a copy. He has been told that the only information they have here is that your Majesty is king of Portugal, and until they learn to the contrary, the Queen was not disposed to receive him. I have, however, spies to tell me whether he gets a secret interview.—London, 14th August 1580.

1580.

15 Aug. **40.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448 . 16.

Six letters of yours have been received, dated 29th May, and others of 11th, 18th, 26th, and 29th June. Thanks for advices contained therein. Such points as require answer are dealt with below.

I approve of the steps you took with the Queen when you heard of the arrival in England of the English captains who are serving in Flanders, with the object of raising men to take thither. Please keep me informed on this matter. You gave a good answer to the complaints made to you relative to the same subject. The remarks of the Queen and Council with regard to the confirmation of our old treaties shall be considered. If they ask you anything further about it before you hear from us, say you have received no reply. Your reply to the earl of Leicester on the subject is approved.

Inform me with what object the Queen was sending the munitions from London to Rochester arsenal; and what was done in the matter of the troops they were raising, ostensibly for Ireland. Let me know also about the ships they intended fitting out. We note what you say about Clerk, and will take care now that he plays us no trick. His ship is in our hands and his crew dispersed.

We are expecting news from you as to the reply given to the Portuguese who had arrived there with letters from Don Antonio to the Queen and certain councillors. Let me know when the man left and whither he went and for what purpose. What person was it who took the letters from the duchess of Braganza to the Queen, and what answer was given to them.

Keep me well informed about Ireland, and all you can hear of Drake.

Try to get to the bottom of the reasons for the new persecution of Catholics in England and inform me thereof, and say whether it is calculated to provoke disturbance or allay it. When did the prince of Condé leave England, what was his errand, and what did he arrange there?—Badajoz, 15th August 1580.

21 Aug. **41.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 14th that I was to have audience of the Queen. Before I could say a word she asked me if I knew a Portuguese who had come, and who had sent to beg for an opportunity of presenting a message from Don Antonio as king of Portugal, which she could not admit that he was, and would not acknowledge him as such. I replied that I did not know who the man was, and for the rest, since she was good enough to tell me beforehand the course she would take, I could only say that I agreed with her entirely, as nothing could be more important to her than to avoid opposing so just a right as that of your Majesty. I pointed out the dangers which an opposite course might bring upon her, without taking much notice of the promise she had made, as I found her in so yielding a mood. By this means I left the door open to renew with greater urgency the steps your Majesty

1580.

orders me to take, in case she should alter her attitude. She agreed with me to send a clerk of the Council to learn from the Portuguese what he wanted. She therefore sent Secretary Wilson, and on the same day that I had been with the Queen, the earl of Leicester came to London to see the Portuguese, and invited him to supper at his house that night. They tell me that he brought some jewels as presents, and, amongst the best of them, a diamond, a belt, and collar, which were intended for Leicester, although I have not learned yet whether he gave them to him. No answer has been given to him, as they are holding off to learn what is done in Lisbon on the arrival of your Majesty's army and fleet.

They are expecting here a gentleman from France sent by Alençon to the Queen, and she is advised that the commissioners will be a brother of the prince of Condé, Marshal de Cossé, and M. de Piblac, although they do not say when they are coming, nor is any time fixed for Parliament to meet, it being intended that they shall attend during its sitting.

D'Aubigny, as earl of Lennox, is pressing to obtain the free custody of Dumbarton Castle, which has always been an appanage of his family. The man who has it now, one Brustel (Sir William Stuart ?), who has held it for years past as lieutenant of the house of Lennox and has sworn not to surrender it until the King reaches 22 years of age, has been released from his oath, in order that he may deliver the fortress to D'Aubigny, who has great power in the country. He has however replied that he had received his charge from the King, with the consent of the Queen of England, and that he would not give it up without informing the latter and receiving her permission to do so. D'Aubigny therefore is sending a man to ask the Queen to allow Brustel (Sir William Stuart ?) to give up the castle to him. I understand that the man is one of this Queen's pensioners there, and a friend of Morton's, who is greatly reduced, as well as being in the bad graces of this Queen for allowing D'Aubigny to obtain so much power.

This Queen has ordered letters to be written to the earls of Northumberland, Montague, Worcester, and Southampton, five barons, and three hundred gentlemen, who are held to be Catholics, and has ordered them to be imprisoned in the castles and strongholds, which, as I mentioned in a former letter, had been chosen for the purpose, in fear of a rising of Catholics here as well as in Ireland. The Viceroy* of the latter country is daily pressing for troops and money. When the Catholics here are summoned before the Council and are asked why they do not attend the preachings, they answer that it is against their conscience to do so, and they are then sent to prison. They have given the nobles who have hitherto presented themselves a month to make up their minds which they will choose, either to hear the sermons or to stay

* Lord Grey de Wilton had entered Dublin as Lord Deputy on the 12th July, and gives an interesting account of the state of affairs in Ireland in a letter to the Queen, dated 2nd August (MS. Cotton, Titus, B. XIII., p. 305), in which he begs for money and victuals; failing which he says "it will be beyond the industrie or reatch of man to performe any acceptable or expected service."

1580.

in prison, where they would like to keep them during the sittings of Parliament to prevent them from opposing a Bill which they are determined to pass against the Catholics. This is to the effect that any Englishman who will not openly attend the preachings shall be punished by a fine of 40*l.* sterling for the first month, 80*l.* for the second, and so on, doubling the fine for each month. This is Cecil's idea, who says that it is much safer for the Queen thus to deprive the Catholics of their property than to take their lives.—London, 21st August 1580.

4 Sept. **42.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

A gentleman from Scotland has come to the Queen and has informed her that the King had renewed his alliance with France and on the occasion a present had been sent him by the duke of Guise, who addressed the letter to him as King, which he has not hitherto done, out of respect for his mother. The same reason prevented the king of France years ago from having a Scots ambassador in his Court. The news has caused great suspicion here, because they think that Guise would not do this without the French king's consent, and that the French must be therefore sure of Scotland. This suspicion has been much increased by the assurance brought by this man that D'Aubigny and Morton had joined hands, and that Morton had been reconciled with the French, and had broken entirely with this Queen, in consequence of his having asked her to lend him 4,000*l.*, to which she had replied that she would only lend it on security. On receiving this answer he made friends with the French through D'Aubigny, who daily becomes more powerful in the country; so much so that they say it is again suggested that he should be recognized as heir to the Crown, in defect of issue to the King. Some time ago this Queen tried to divert Morton from such negotiations with grand promises and new hopes, but he refused to lend ear to them; he is so greedy, however, that doubtless if the French are less profitable to him than this Queen, he will turn Englishman again.

After a skirmish in Ireland between the insurgents and the English in which a brother of the earl of Desmond was killed, the Queen is informed that the insurgents had unanimously sworn to sacrifice their lives and property in defence of the Catholic faith.* The Viceroy with the English reinforcements which had arrived was marching overland to besiege Desmond, who was on the coast opposite Spain; Captain Winter being also there with the four Queen's ships and the other four which I said had been sent to join them, and which left Plymouth ten days since. The Queen is also told that a Spanish ship had been discovered which had come to reconnoitre the position of the insurgents.

Alençon wrote to the Queen that the commissioners would soon be here, to which she replied that if the siege of La Fère was to go

* This was doubtless the engagement mentioned by Lord Grey in his letter to the Queen, dated 2nd August (Cotton MS., Titus, B. XIII., p. 305), in which James of Desmond was captured by Sir Cormack McTeig, lord of Muskerry.

1580.

on and the king of France would not help him to go to the aid of the rebels in the Netherlands, there was no reason why the commissioners should come so hurriedly. This has greatly cooled the negotiations with the French, aided by the suspicions I have mentioned that there is an understanding between them and the Scots.

The Portuguese who came from Don Antonio offered Leicester the collar of precious stones which he had brought, but he (Leicester) would not accept it. He gave Secretary Wilson some jewels and is negotiating with him and Walsingham, who have almost convinced him that any aid which might be given to him here would be too late to be of any use in Portugal; and that, so far as concerned the Indies and the Azores, it would be more important that English ships should go thither. This, as I wrote your Majesty, is the object of these people. The Portuguese, who went from here to Antwerp, has negotiated with Orange, who writes to the Queen that if she will help Don Antonio in this enterprise, he, Orange, will contribute 22 armed ships from Holland and Zeeland to the same end.—London, 4th September 1580.

16 Oct. B. M MSS. Add. 28,420.

43. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 3rd instant I last wrote to your Majesty, and on the same day I received your Majesty's letters of 15th and 29th August. I had already sent the information requested in the former, and with regard to the victory and capture of Lisbon, with which God has blessed your Majesty, I have not reported it to the Queen, as your Majesty commands in yours of 29th, as she refuses to give me audience, for the reasons which I have explained in my former letters.

As soon as she received news from France that Marshal de Biron had routed M. de Berdin, she hastily sent Stafford to France. He left on the 18th, and requested a passport of the French ambassador, saying that his going was in the interests of the king of France. The ambassador gave the passport, and as this proceeding is looked upon as very extraordinary, the Queen not having asked for such a document for any of her envoys for years past, it is thought by some that Stafford may be instructed to proceed from France to Germany, and that this may be the reason why the passport was requested. I do not think there is much in this; because, if the king of France thought proper to prevent his going, he could delay him at his Court, the ambassador's passport being only of value so far. The reason for sending him so hurriedly was to beg Alençon to urge the King to make peace, and to expedite the coming hither of the commissioners, who the Queen desires should be sent, to arrange the new alliance with France. The object of this is decidedly to break with your Majesty, and strike a blow in the Netherlands, since all their designs in Portugal have ended in smoke. She also desires that Alençon should be acknowledged as the protector of the Huguenots and those of "the religion" in France, by which means the people here think they will secure

1580.

themselves against the French, whilst the King will also be dissuaded from prosecuting the war against the Huguenots, who are at present more lacking in force than ever. To this end the Queen is using every possible artifice, and, so far as I am able to judge, the French are treating her in the same way; delaying the negotiations, and thus preventing her from helping the Huguenots, whilst Alençon is being impelled to appear favourable to her views, in hopes of the marriage.

Since the news about Ireland, which I said in my last, the Queen had received (which news judging from their constant variations are not always to be believed), I learn that a private gentleman had arrived from there, who assures her that the number of troops that had landed was 1,500, who after taking possession of an island, where there was a quantity of cattle and wheat, had fortified themselves on the land. They had also near them seven large ships and an Aragonese vessel, containing, apparently, sufficient troops to cope with the Queen's forces. In consequence of this intelligence, a full Council was immediately summoned, and some of the Councillors were of opinion that the Queen should at once send 8,000 troops to Flanders, since your Majesty had countenanced the departure of these Papal ships from Spain. Other members opposed this, and said that on no account should it be done, especially before an alliance was concluded with the French; this being the opinion of the majority. The result of it was that they ordered the people whom they call here the "spirituality," to raise 1,000 horse, a half of which are to be ready to embark on the 16th instant; and the ships which were being victualled are to be hurried off, and three more immediately made ready. 2,000 more infantry are to be raised, in addition to the 1,000 who were already notified to sail from Bristol. The city of London is ordered to levy 500 more men, but without musters or drum beat. Out of the 500 they have already raised, 300 only are to ship in the vessels; the reason for which being that the people shall not think that the Queen is making so great an effort, in consequence of the news she has received. After these orders were given fresh letters from Ireland came, dated the 2nd instant, reporting that Pelham, who was formerly viceroy, and the earl of Ormond, were expecting to engage the foreign troops on the following day. This news caused them to decide to await the result of this, and if the English were not badly beaten, to send them orders to occupy some strong place near where the enemy was, and thus prevent him from proceeding any further this winter, and at the same time obviate the necessity of sending fresh troops from here. Later still they learnt that the Viceroy, wishing to have an interview with O'Neil and bring him to submit to the Queen, had marched ten days' journey from Dublin, towards the place where O'Neil was, with 3,000 men, most of them redshanks, Scotsmen from the islands on the Irish coast, who are considered good fighting men. When O'Neil learnt that the Viceroy's troops were in the woods, he charged them and put them to flight, after killing over 300 men. He had then pursued them, burning on his way three or four towns.

1580.

Pelham and Ormond also had suffered some damage in an engagement with the enemy, who was accompanied by the earl of Desmond. The earl of Kildare was in command of a force against the Viscount Baltinglass (?), who I informed your Majesty had risen, and a skirmish that had taken place, which had turned out very badly for Kildare. This has again made the people here give secret orders for the troops they had arranged, to be forwarded to Ireland at once, the news in the meanwhile being kept carefully concealed, and private letters coming from Ireland kept back, so that the intelligence of what is passing shall not leak out. With the similar aim of preventing disturbance here, they are continuing the imprisonment of Catholics, who suffer with great patience all their persecution, and give no signs of a desire to resent it; saying publicly that they are powerless to move, except with the certainty of strong support and the co-operation of foreign troops. This Queen sent a pensioner of hers named Bowes to Scotland. When he arrived there the King sent word to him that he was to give an account of the instructions he brought to d'Aubigny; but, as his only errand was to confer and plot with Morton, on the pretext of visiting the King, he was obliged to return at once. They had previously arranged to send thither Walter Mildmay, a Councillor and a great heretic, but on Bowes' return, they suspended his going. The English are saying, quite publicly, that the intention of these people is to seize the King.

This Queen has not given me audience yet, nor has the Council replied to the communication, which I told your Majesty I had sent to them. I can only imagine that this delay is caused first by a desire to conceal a part of Drake's plunder, and secondly, in order that the Queen may see how their negotiations for an alliance with the French turn out. Several of the Councillors are having the rumour spread that the Queen refuses me audience in consequence of Irish affairs, and in my capacity as your Majesty's minister, thinking thereby to oblige the French. They are very vigilant in seizing my despatches, a duplicate of one of them having fallen into their hands from France. They are trying to decipher it.—London, 16th October 1580.*

16 Oct.
B. M. MSS., 28,420.

44. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After Drake had landed the money he had stolen; in accordance with the orders sent him, as I wrote to your Majesty, he came hither to see the Queen, and I am assured that he was with her for more than six hours, the Council having previously been summoned to consider what had better be done in the matter. The only members present were Lord Burleigh, Sussex, the Admiral, James Crofts, the Controller, and Secretary Wilson. They ordered a letter to be written to the effect that all the money was to be

* The above letter and the following one appear to have been intercepted by the English, as no copy of them exists at Simancas.

1580

registered and handed over to the Queen's possession in the Tower of London, in the same way as was done in the case of the plundering of a ship from the Indies by an English pirate named Renegat (?) in the time of the Emperor. The order was signed by the five Councillors above-named, and was then taken to Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham and the rest for their signatures, they being the principal owners in the venture. They refused to sign it, saying that they would speak to the Queen about it. After they had done so, she ordered the suspension of the said letter, and that the rumour should be spread that Drake had not brought much money. This statement has been industriously circulated, and that the money is the result of their trade with countries which do not owe allegiance to your Majesty. They are very particular not to divulge the route by which Drake returned, and although, as I wrote to your Majesty, Hatton's trumpeter had said that the road home had been by the Portuguese Indies, Drake himself signifies to the contrary, as he affirms that ten months ago he was before Lima on the coast of Peru, and has brought back with him two of the frigates which usually navigate the South Sea, with 45 men on board of them, as well as his own ship. The Queen orders that these men are to be taken much care of, and not to be allowed to make themselves ill by eating too much. They are not to disclose the route they took, on pain of death. Drake affirms that he will be able to make the round voyage in a year, as he has found a very short way; and this fact, together with his assertion that he was so recently before Lima, leads to the conclusion that he must have returned by the Straits of Magellan, as he went. I have sent men to Plymouth to discover the particulars from the men who went on the voyage, as the only person who has hitherto come to London is the trumpeter, whom Hatton is keeping close. When my men return I shall be able to report the truth to your Majesty. Drake asserts that had it not been for two Portuguese pilots, whom he took from one of the ships he plundered and sunk on the coast of Brazil on his way out, he could never have made the voyage. He has given the Queen a diary of everything that happened during the three years he was away, and a very long letter about it.

He is arranging to return with six ships, and offers adventurers for every pound sterling subscribed to return them seven within a year. This has so great an influence over Englishmen that everybody wants to have a share in the expedition. The ships which I wrote to your Majesty were going to the coast of Brazil, have been delayed by Drake's return, in order to ship a larger number of men, in consequence of the promises made by Juan Rodriguez de Souza, who came hither to represent Don Antonio, as to the profits they will make if he goes with them, not only to the coast of Brazil, but also to the Portuguese Indies. For this reason it will be desirable in your Majesty's interests, that orders should be given that no foreign ship should be spared, in either the Spanish or Portuguese Indies, but that every one should be sent to the bottom, and not a soul on board of them allowed to

1580.

live. This will be the only way to prevent the English and French from going to those parts to plunder, for at present there is hardly an Englishman who is not talking of undertaking the voyage, so encouraged are they by Drake's return.—London, 16th October 1580.

45. REPORT of CAPTAIN LUIS CABRETA to the KING, on FRANCIS DRAKE'S VOYAGE.

B. M. MSS. Add. 28,420.

In this matter of Francis Drake's voyage, I am quite aware that many will be of opinion that it may be remedied with the forces at present at your Majesty's command, with the Portuguese ships and others, and the galleys and galleasses. I might well say the same, but I prefer to call it into question, because it must be concluded that if the enemy intend to hold what they have gained they must have got together a large force, and a much greater number of well armed and excellently manned ships than your Majesty could send; and when a matter of this sort is left to chance, a reverse may be met with which would imperil the safety of the rest. As the stake is a large one, we must play with a sure hand. It must also be borne in mind that the object of the queen of England may be to divert your Majesty's forces in those parts, to enable her with greater facility to strike a blow in Portugal, and win over 200,000 men to her side. This she could do easily without diminishing her strength, because even though she may send many men out of England, she will gain many more elsewhere, with whom to trouble your Majesty.

What I think might be done with the forces at present at your Majesty's disposal is (after having obtained trustworthy accounts of the enemy to be encountered, who, it will be safest to conclude, will be strong) to send out a large force of galleons and galleasses and some galleys, to be quite on the safe side, and prevent a greater evil happening than heretofore. It will be necessary also to make due provision, both afloat and ashore, on the coasts of Portugal and Galicia, and bring thither a half of the galleys, in order to guard to some extent against the evil that might occur there, although God knows whether they will be sufficient to prevent the enemy from landing.

It must be borne in mind that the fleet to be sent out by your Majesty to redress these injuries will run some risk, because not only will the enemy be already strong there, but another fleet may sail from England to destroy our force, so that it will be in danger in any case, and if it were lost (which God forbid!) your Majesty would be very unprotected. For this reason and to prevent the evils which might result, it will be necessary in the meanwhile to build 12 or 15 ships of the new invention I have described, which would, to a great extent, secure us from danger at sea, and might have an opportunity of destroying a fleet of the enemy. These ships might be finished in a year if diligence is used with them.

In conclusion, I wish to say that evils will be sure to happen in the future (since troubles never come singly) and that the sea forces which the enemy can collect are very great, and will increase

1580.

from day to day, unless some strong effort be made to render your Majesty's present small number of vessels more than equal to the multitude of the enemy. What is most to be feared is that trouble may be stirred up, perhaps very near at home, and consequently it will be necessary for your Majesty to take up a very strong position in marine affairs, and not to beat about the bush and patch things up; so that you may be fittingly served and live in tranquillity, and in the assurance that you will be able to redress all possible injuries, present and future, as master of the sea. At present the coasts are in such a condition that it cannot be said that your Majesty's position at sea is strong, since people presume at any time to offend you with impunity. Be it well understood that this arises from the great lack from which your Majesty suffers of all sorts of marine requisites, and especially seamen and gunners, who are needed most of all, as nothing can be done without them. It is all very well to say that your Majesty has 100 galleys. They may be of some little use perhaps in the Mediterranean, but they are of small importance elsewhere and quite unable to redress the evils which may arise, especially on the high seas. It is clear to me that, whilst the expense of them is constant, their utility is only conditional and intermittent. It must be borne in mind that the times are changeable and that what does not happen to-day may happen to-morrow. When a danger is close at hand it is difficult to provide against it, and it behoves us therefore to look ahead and be forearmed against attack, especially as the very fact of your Majesty being strong at sea would prevent any molestation. This, then, is the remedy, and I cannot understand the reason why your Majesty does not give me the credit for the construction of the 100 galleasses which I have already proposed. With them and with the 12 or 15 of the newly invented vessels, your Majesty will be the indisputable lord of the seas at all times, and will derive therefrom all the benefits that can be wished, and all for the cost of 100 galleys. I cannot understand what other difficulty can exist except the question of the expenditure of two millions, one million for the construction of the vessels and the other for the artillery, although much of the latter expense might be saved by your Majesty using for the vessels the guns from many of the fortresses, which would be rendered to a great extent unnecessary by the existence of this fleet. This difficulty of the cost appears to me to be a very small one, as the fleet would pay for itself in the first year, and if the amount were borrowed the interest would only come to 200,000 ducats a year. For this sum, therefore, your Majesty may, if you please, become lord of the sea and no more than this need be said, except to beg your Majesty to consider the point well, as so much depends upon it. God guide your Majesty to a fortunate decision.

19 Oct. B. M. MSS. Add. 26,056 c. Transcript.

46. DOCUMENT HEADED: "Reply to the Instruction brought by Diego de Cueva of Santander."

The side of his Holiness is sustained by the Earl of Desmond and his brother John of Desmond, and those in their county. In

1580.

the neighbourhood of Dublin the party is upheld by James Eustace and Feagh MacHugh with other influential persons. Colonel Sebastian St. Joseph and the force sent by his Holiness are with the Earl and his brother, who have about 60 horse and 1,000 foot. James Eustace and his companions have about 60 horse and 400 foot with 100 harquebussiers. The Colonel has almost 400 foot and munitions.

The affair has proceeded as follows. John of Desmond rose 15 months ago and the Earl a little over a year, since when they have sustained the war against the Queen. Eustace has been helping us for about three months. Since the Colonel came a fort is being built at Smerwick to defend the land and sea and 600 natives have been hired. These pikemen will not serve except at a wage of four gold crowns in coin, and the other soldiers a little more. They wish to be paid in advance. The whole of the population is favourable, and if they saw any strength they would all rise for the cause except the earl of Ormond, who is the leader of the English and persecutes our party, and Cormac MacTeague, who killed the Earl's third brother. If there were any reinforcement sent, there is no doubt we should succeed in the enterprise. MacCarthy More and MacMorris, vassals of the earl of Desmond, are also against us.

The following things would be necessary for the success of the enterprise:—

6 bronze cannons.
6 demi-cannons with all necessary apparatus.
2 culverins, a quantity of powder, some artificial fire.
25 bombardiers.
8,000 footmen at least, more if possible.
300 corselets to arm infantry.
100 light suits of armour.

Out of the 8,000 infantry, at least 2,000 should be armed with corselets, headpieces, and pikes. To arm the natives we shall require 2,000 harquebusses and morrions, 1,000 broad swords and belts, 1,000 pioneers with spades and sapping tools, 100 scaling ladders, 200 saddles with all appurtenances, 1,000 horse-shoes and a quantity of nails, 200 roundels, 100 musketoons, a quantity of bullets and much lead and fuse, a great quantity of money, for everything depends upon the money; and let it come with the greatest speed, so that we may be able to hold out until the succour arrives. Without money it is impossible to raise or muster the people of this country. A great quantity of wine also will be required, at least 200 pipes of wine as a reserve. A supply of flour up to 10,000 fanegas, of biscuits and other necessary victuals enough to keep all the troops for six months, as this land has been destroyed by the enemy. Finally every sort of stores necessary for the enterprise; oil and vinegar 50 pipes, 1,000 complete suits of clothes, jerkins, doublets, shirts, shoes and the rest, above all shoes.

The principal enemy of our cause is the earl of Ormond, who has appeared before the fort with 1,800 men and 100 horse,

1580.

and they say the Governor is coming with a force of the Queen's troops, and a galley is in the port, whilst seven others are expected.

For the purpose of soliciting the Pope and your Majesty for the aid they require, Friar Matthew de Oviedo is being sent with full powers and information. If all the above-mentioned supplies be sent speedily, it is hoped that the whole of this country may with the help of God be brought to submit to the holy Catholic faith.—Dated in the castle of Ore, Smerwick, Wednesday, 19th October 1580.

(Signed) J. Geraldine.
James of Baltinglas.
Bastian de San Joseph.
Alexander Bertoni.

Cornelius Laonenus, Episcopus.
Fr. Mateo de Oviedo.
Nicolaus Sanderus.

23 Oct. **47.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Drake having returned, as I wrote to your Majesty, after having seen the Queen, delivered the boxes of gold and silver which he had brought to the Governor of Plymouth, who, by orders of the Queen, has lodged them in a tower near Saltash, where he has forty men to guard them. Sussex, Burleigh, the Admiral, the Controller, and other Councillors, insist that the Queen should retain the treasure in her own hands and bring it to the Tower of London, saying that if your Majesty will give them the satisfaction they desire respecting Ireland, the treasure may be restored, on the reimbursement to the adventurers of their outlay, but if they are to have war in Ireland, the treasure should be applied to that purpose. Drake has returned to Court, where he passes much time with the Queen, by whom he is highly favoured and told how great is the service he has rendered her. Leicester and Hatton have advocated in the Council that he should not be punished in his person nor made to restore his plunder, if the business is carried before the tribunals. They give as a fine excuse that your Majesty has not prohibited in any of the treaties with this country the going of Englishmen to the Indies, and they may therefore make the voyage at their own risk, and if they return safely their punishment cannot be demanded, as there is no binding treaty on the matter.—23rd October 1580.

No date. **48.** Memorandum of Bernardino de Mendoza, with a running contemporary translation into English.

B. M. MSS., Cotton, Galba, C. VII.

The earl of Sussex said to a servant of mine who had gone from me to demand audience of the Queen, "You will tell the ambassador "that the last time he had audience the Queen was told that he "had letters for her Majesty, which she did not see in the audience. "Her Majesty says that if the ambassador has letters for her, in "satisfaction of the things he wots of, he may come with the "answer; but if he have none, she has no intention of giving him "audience, as she has always said."

1580.

The following is the ambassador's instruction to his servant to reply to the aforegoing:—

"You will say to the earl of Sussex that I marvel greatly that it should have been reported to the Queen that I had letters to her from my master the King, as I never said such a thing, but that I had received letters myself, I having a week ago received despatches dated 29th ultimo, wherein I am commanded to convey certain things to her Majesty, this being the reason why I requested audience. If her Majesty the Queen refuses to hear me or receive me as formerly that I may communicate my master's affairs to her, I shall accept it as an indication of her Majesty's desire that I should leave here, and that relations should be broken off between her and the King, my master, wherefore I shall not be to blame, only that I shall regret that in my time a friendship of 500 years is thus broken, and to serve for my justification and desire to comply with her Majesty's wishes in leaving the country, I beg that I may have my passport at once. I have always desired to please her Majesty, and I should be sorry to displease her upon this point, by staying upon any of her territories at this time. As to the satisfaction demanded, his Lordship heard what I said verbally to the Queen on the subject, satisfying her as the minister of the King by his orders, although I am ignorant of what the Queen may have written to him about it, because since the 10th September I have been unable to obtain audience as I requested for the 17th instant. I have, moreover, no instructions to take any further steps in the matter." (October 1580?)

23 Oct. **49.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 16th instant, and the Queen sent two Secretaries of the Council to me to-day; the first one directly after dinner and the other at night. They came to tell me that she had heard that I was talking about Drake's arrival, complaining of his proceedings and the reception accorded to him here, which I had no right to do. She had made careful inquiry into the details of his voyage, and found that he had done no damage to your Majesty's subjects nor in your dominions. If the contrary were the case she would take care that justice was done. Her message was evidently prompted by a desire to make it understood that your Majesty had countenanced the Irish insurgents. She said that I was not to be annoyed at her not giving me audience, because until she elucidated the Irish business she would not receive me as a minister from your Majesty, but would perhaps send a special envoy of her own. If, however, in my private capacity I wished to see her I should be welcome, and as I had, she knew, exerted myself since I have been here to preserve her friendship with your Majesty, she hoped I would not cease my efforts, which were now more necessary than ever they were. With regard to Drake, I replied that, in consideration of my desire to serve her, I felt sorry that she should send me a message which the many documents and proofs in my possession contradicted. This, I said, was the second time that this man had

1580.

plundered, and I showed them some of the evidence I had against him, consisting of documents sent to me by the consulate of merchants in Seville, particularly one statement of a sum of 385,000 dollars taken from a ship called the "Master of St. John," besides the robberies, insults, and murders that the man Drake had committed in the same sea, and other places belonging to your Majesty, burning ships and cutting the rigging and gear of others to prevent pursuit. These things, I said, I would leave to her judgment, and whether she ought not to fitly punish them. Your Majesty had great reason to take offence at them, particularly as the man had stolen a million and a half of money, which was no small sum, but I had no desire to enlarge upon this matter until I saw her. With regard to the audience I said that, as she had, for the second time, refused to receive me, and had ordered her Council not to do so, I had not thought for a moment of requesting audience, nor had I any reason to do so, until I received your Majesty's reply to the courier that I had sent. Whilst I was in England it would ill befit me to divest myself of my quality of your Majesty's minister in order to see her as a private individual, but I thanked her for the great honour she was willing to extend to me in allowing me, as Don Bernardino, to kiss her hand, and I regretted exceedingly not being able to do so.

A week before she sent me these secretaries, Leicester sent a secretary of his to say that my talk about Drake's robberies was causing much fear amongst the merchants that your Majesty would declare war, about it, and this would oblige the Queen to send all her ships to sea and raise troops. In view of present circumstances he would leave me to judge whether it would be advantageous for your Majesty's interests for the Queen to arm at this time, now that the French were urging her to marry Alençon and bind herself to them. He therefore thought that it would be better to come to some arrangement about Drake. I told him that until I had seen the Queen and conveyed your Majesty's message to her, I had nothing to say upon the matter of Drake; and as for the rest, I would only say that, in my capacity of a simple soldier, whose weapon was his arm rather than his tongue, I had done my best to keep the Queen from provoking your Majesty to lay hands upon her, and as to her marrying Alençon and joining the French, that concerned me little, as I was sure that both parties, jointly and separately, would understand the importance of not offending so powerful a monarch as your Majesty. When the Secretary returned with this reply, Leicester and other Councillors went to the Queen, and in conversation with her about it, said that it was necessary to sound me again and see how the land lay, which they tried to do in two different ways, the last attempt being with the Secretaries of the Council I have mentioned. So far as I could gather from their talk, the idea was to stand their ground if I replied as before, in the belief that, in order to recover the money, your Majesty will avoid giving countenance to the Pope's people, and that the Queen's message to me would doubtless make me go and see her. As they are much troubled about affairs in Ireland

1580.

and are very distrustful of many people here, I thought it best to reply to their vapouring with spirit, and avoid seeing the Queen until I receive instructions. I have taken care to announce that Drake's plunder exceeds a million and a half, and the news has spread all over England, giving rise to much searching of spirit, as they think that the affair is so enormous that it will lead to a perpetual war between the Queen and your Majesty unless she makes restitution.

Great outcry is being raised about this, for if such war breaks out they are ruined. In view also of the greatness of the plunder, the Councillors who are not concerned in the enterprise have become jealous that the others should enjoy the profit, and are condemning the matter greatly to the Queen. On the other hand the result of the arrival of the news in France has made that King less pliable with the Queen, because he sees that her fear of your Majesty will cause her to be more solicitous, and he understands that she will therefore not now dare to help his rebellious subjects, with whom he will be able to make much better terms than ever before, if he be not able entirely to destroy them, owing to their want of resources and the Queen's failure to help them to raise troops in Germany. When the Queen saw the French ambassador lately she received him very brusquely, and told him that her ambassador wrote that he saw no means of bringing about a pacification in France, such as he, the French ambassador, had always assured her would take place, which she said she could not help looking upon with suspicion. In order to increase her distrust, caused by the rumours that the king of France is arranging with your Majesty, I am treating the French ambassador with more cordiality than usual, inviting him to my house and the like, which arouses great suspicion in the Queen's mind.

News arrives from Ireland that the earl of Kildare, in whom she trusted greatly, was behaving in a way which gave rise to fears that he would go over to the insurgents, who are now so strong with their new reinforcement that they had almost beleaguered Waterford. Men, too, were flocking over from Scotland to aid them, together with many Scotsmen who were in France. During the last six weeks five hundred English gentlemen have been imprisoned here on the charge of being Catholics, there being fears that they might rise in consequence of the news from Ireland.

Rogers, who I wrote your Majesty had been sent by the Queen to Germany to the Emperor, in order that he might attend the meeting at Nuremberg, has been captured on the confines of Juliers by some horsemen in the service of your Majesty in Gueldres, who took him because they saw he was burning some papers. The Queen has written to the prince of Parma about it, without sending word to me.—London, 23rd October 1580.

30 Oct. **50.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The Queen has ordered Drake to return to Plymouth to bring back the boxes of gold and silver which he had delivered to the

1580.

Governor of that town. Notwithstanding the declaration, which I mentioned in my last, that Drake had done no damage to your Majesty's subjects, they confess that he has brought twenty English tons of silver, of 2,000 pounds each, and five boxes of gold a foot and a half long, besides a large quantity of pearls, some of great value. According to advices sent from Seville he has even stolen more than this. The Queen has decided that the shareholders in the enterprise shall receive as much again as they invested, and that the rest of the plunder shall be deposited in the Tower of London.—London, 30th October 1580.

30 Oct. **51.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 23rd, and since then the Queen's Councillors have news that the earl of Ormond, after the skirmish I mentioned that he had had with the Pope's soldiers, had been reinforced by 4,000 men and had again faced the enemy who, this time, had routed him and killed the greater part of his men, Ormond himself being amongst the slain.* The news has been concealed from the Queen, as well as the distrust entertained of Kildare, which causes them to hold all decisions in suspense, as they think that if Kildare goes over altogether it will be necessary to take an entirely different course, particularly as the insurgent forces have been greatly increased by this victory. The Viceroy writes that the English dared not issue from Dublin, where they had 1,000 soldiers, and they were not sure of the country, even where English garrisons existed. Of the troops sent from London 200 were drowned, in consequence of the ship in which they sailed being wrecked near Ireland without a soul being saved.

This Queen has pressed the rebel States in Flanders to pay the principal of the loans she has made to them. The Councils have been called together, they having consented to the States and burghs making themselves responsible, and they have decided as a compromise to pay 4,000 odd pounds for interest due, postponing the payment of the principal until later, on the assertion that if they are obliged to pay at once they will be forced to submit to your Majesty.—London, 30th October 1580.

13 Nov. **52.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The Queen has news from Portugal by way of Antwerp by two sloops which had arrived at Flushing from Portugal in twelve days, that Don Antonio, after having taken possession of the castle of Feira, and being reinforced by a large number of troops, had sacked Aveiro and captured the town of Viana, from which he had taken twelve pieces of artillery. With these he had reduced the city of Oporto, and this has so greatly elated the Queen, that both she and her ministers have declared it in the most exaggerated manner, besides sending to tell me of it. Although the news is groundless, these people are so evil-minded that they think it will embarrass your

* This news was untrue.

1580.

Majesty, and they have discussed whether it would not be well to lend part of Drake's money to Don Antonio for his support.

Directly the news was received the Queen sent orders to Bristol for four ships to sail, on the pretence of going to Ireland, with harquebusses, powder, iron artillery, and corselets, for Oporto, to help Don Antonio. It is said that the Queen discussed secretly with Leicester whether it would be well for a thousand foot soldiers to quietly leave the various ports in England, without orders from her, to serve Don Antonio, to which end certain captains have been appointed, and I am told that some of them are making inquiries as to whether the voyage will be safe, and if they can depend upon finding a port in Portugal where they may land. They say also that notwithstanding the orders that no ships were to sail for Spain, Portugal, or the Levant, permission is to be given to any ships that may wish to go with victuals and munitions to Oporto.

As soon as the Queen received this news, she dispatched Souza, who was here for Don Antonio, to Antwerp, with a letter for Orange, asking him to assist Don Antonio with men and munitions in conjunction with her. She gave Souza a chain of 400 crowns and Leicester gave him another worth 130. Souza, thinking now that Don Antonio will be able to hold out until help reaches him, abandoned his intention of going to Brazil, which he had arranged to do in one of the ships which was to sail thither with merchandise, called the "Mignon" of London. She has now sailed, bound direct to the Port of St. Vincent consigned to an Englishman named Ventidal (?) who is married to the daughter of a Genoese named John Baptist Malio resident in that port. This Englishman has been the instigator of the voyage in conjunction with another Englishman in Pernambuco.

The Queen has summoned Morgan, one of the English Colonels who served the rebels in the Netherlands, with the object of sending him with the thousand men I spoke of, to Portugal and if this falls through, he will go to Ireland where things are daily growing worse. News comes that the ships that brought the Pope's people had safely returned to Santander. In order that people here should not know what is going on in Ireland, the Queen has ordered that no one from there is to be allowed to go beyond the English port where they land, but must send on dispatches from there. Confirmation has arrived of the rout which I mentioned in former letters, excepting that Ormond had not been killed, although the statement that he had been slain arose from the fact that he was missing, hidden in a wood for four days. O'Neil has again laid down his arms on the terms offered to him by the Viceroy on behalf of the Queen.

These conditions are that all Englishmen in castles in his country are to be withdrawn, and the castles surrendered to him, as is also the person of a son-in-law of his, who had repudiated his wife and entered the service of this Queen. Great suspicion still exists of Kildare, who, however, was in poor health. The Queen has ordered 800 more men to go from Bristol in consequence of news from the Viceroy that he needed more men and victuals, the latter

1580.

being so scarce even in Dublin, that the keep of a soldier, for each meal, costs twelve pence.

They write to the Queen from the Isle of Wight that 800 Frenchmen are being shipped on the coast of Brittany in small vessels; their destination being, according to some, Ireland, to others, Holland and Zeeland, and to others, Portugal for Don Antonio. Letters to me from the same coast confirm this; but as I have no news of the arrival of any of the ships in Holland and Zeeland, and it is not likely that they are for Ireland, their provisions, moreover, not being sufficient for the voyage to Portugal, I am under the impression that these Frenchmen are going to seize the ports of Dunbar and Dumbarton by order of D'Aubigny, who is greatly feared by the English, and with good reason, as most of the Scotsmen who were in France have left there lately.

An ambassador from the king of Denmark has arrived here to warn the Queen that, in consequence of the war with the Muscovite he cannot assure the navigation of the English to Muscovy as he formerly did.

Another ambassador from Scotland has come hither about some robberies committed by English pirates; and an ambassador has also arrived from Constantinople, who, from his language, should be an Italian renegade. He brings a letter from the Turk to the Queen assuring her of the good reception extended to Englishmen who go to trade in his country and persuading her to help the Portuguese in preventing their country from being added to your Majesty's dominions. He declares also that he, the Turk, has made peace with Persia and that he would certainly make a descent with his fleet on some place in Italy.

As I was closing this letter I learnt that the Queen had received letters from Don Antonio, through France, begging her earnestly to send him powder, cannon, and arms, but no men, as he had as many as he wanted.—London, 13th November 1580.

14 Nov. **53.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives K 1447. 20.

By your letter of 29th September we learn of Drake's arrival at Plymouth, and that he was at first ordered to remain in the port and afterwards to discharge his ship and land the silver. We also note the freedom with which the Queen spoke of the matter, and that you had requested audience for the purpose of demanding restitution of the plunder and taking such action as might be necessary; of all of which, so far as you are concerned, I approve, and trust you will have dealt with it as energetically and strongly as a matter of such great importance demands, the offence being without justification. Proceed with all diligence and promptitude, in order to recover the booty and punish the corsair. Do not fail also to point out the outrageous nature of the case.

Pedro de Zubiaur has written about the matter to some of our councillors of the Indies, saying that, as he has been in England for some months on behalf of the prior and consuls of Seville, if they will send him particulars of the property stolen by Drake when they are received from Peru, together with powers and instructions, he

1580.

has hopes of being able to recover a considerable proportion, with my support and assistance, and he hoped, yours also. In addition to the sureties he has already given in Seville he is willing to give further security for 100,000 crowns, if necessary, in England. It has been considered advisable that the instructions should be sent to him through you, so that you may deliver them if and when, you think fit. If, therefore, you are of opinion that Pedro de Zubiaur can be of any use, you may deliver the instructions and employ him in the matter, taking care first to obtain the security he offers, which must be approved of by you. I again press upon you most urgently, either by this or some other means, to make every possible effort in favour of this business, informing me continually of what is done and the result attained.—Badajoz, 14th November 1580.

24 Nov. B.M. MSS. Add. 28,420.

54. MEMORANDUM (of CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE?) upon letters from BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA, London.

Letters arrived yesterday from Don Bernardino de Mendoza containing advices of importance, both as to the negotiations with the French and the manner in which the Queen is treating him in the matter of granting audience. He reports also upon the plunder brought by Drake the corsair, and upon the determination they show of troubling the Spanish and Portuguese Indies.

With regard to the French negotiations there, they depend upon the success of the attempts to reconcile the Catholics and the Huguenots. It is probable that the Queen-mother will do all she can to sustain the Huguenots, but I do not know whether the Catholics will be so lax as to neglect the advantage they possess, and fail to influence the King against this agreement. It will be well to write to Juan Bautista de Tassis to come to an understanding about this with M. de Guise, and other Catholics, and to encourage them to keep their attention fixed on the point, and not to be deceived by vain hopes, at a time when they have their opponents so hardly pressed. If peace be not effected between Catholics and Huguenots there will probably be little to fear, either from France or England, but if they come to terms and find some means of raising money, of which they now stand in need, it is evident that they will do their worst. In this uncertainty it will be necessary to look ahead and be prepared what to do, in either eventuality.

It is a shameful thing that the ambassador should be denied audience, and although his stay there may be the means of supplying a certain amount of information, the loss of prestige by reason of his treatment is so great that it would be better to get this information through secret agents rather than maintain an ambassador there under such undignified circumstances. Don Bernardino should be instructed again to request audience and to complain of the way in which he is treated, as well as of the injuries done to us, for which he will demand reparation. If audience be not granted him he should, as if of his own accord, ask for leave to depart. If they allow him to go he should return hither, in order to terrify the Queen the more, and encourage the

1580.

Catholics with the hope of a rupture, which might perhaps enable them to decide upon doing something, especially if they see the Irish affair going on prosperously. In any case it will be necessary to succour the troops there by January at latest, by sending a fresh force. An answer from Rome to the Nuncio's communications on the subject cannot much longer be delayed.

I revert to the recommendation that no English ships should be allowed to load on these coasts as the point is of such immense importance. It would be more likely to cause disturbance in England than anything else. All vessels coming from Flanders also, except from places loyal to your Majesty, should be seized, in order to arouse the people against the prince of Orange and to alarm them with the apprehension that the trade with Spain and Portugal will be quite closed to them. If any large number of English boats should be seen on the coast, they should be closely watched, in order that they may all be arrested, in case the ambassador should be detained there against his will. This may well be done, because, as has been seen on other occasions, there are no vessels belonging to loyal subjects of his Majesty in England. Their fear is now evident, as is also the evil intention of the Queen. They will certainly do their worst against us, as if they were at open war, and it behoves us, therefore, to strike hard and on all sides without any further declaration, depriving them of this advantage (*i.e.*, of trade) and crippling the power of the lieges to help the Queen. The Queen cannot be very well supplied with money, unless it be the plunder brought by Drake, and as there are so many persons to divide this, her share will not be very large.

Much care should be taken of both French and English ships which may go to the Indies. In the Emperor's time the method described by Don Bernardino was adopted, namely, to throw overboard every man found in such vessels, not allowing one to survive. The flotillas that are to go to both Indies should be well manned in good time, provided with every requisite to cope with attack, and especial vigilance should be used at the points where the pirates generally pass.

I again mention the advisability of filling up the strength of the companies of Italian and Albanian light-horse in Flanders. The prince of Parma should be written to about this, as also should be Don Sancho de Padilla, in order that they may act in concert. This also might be the quietest and best way to increase our strength.—Madrid, 24th November 1580.*

26 Nov. Paris Archives. K. 1448 . 21.

55. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Circumstances have prevented replies being sent to your letters for some months past. Those of 10th, 16th, and 23rd July, 7th, 14th, and 21st August, and 4th September are replied to here.

* This report appears to be from Cardinal de Granvelle, who acted as Prime Minister in Madrid during the King's absence on the Portuguese expedition.

1580.

With the first letter came the despatch from the Queen with the writing signed by Walsingham, which they gave you as their version of what the Queen said to you, although you say it was different from that set forth. An answer could easily be given to it, but it is not considered to be worthy of it, particularly as you replied perfectly well. You also did wisely in appearing to take no notice of the Queen's information that the French were going to attack Flanders, as her reason for giving it is quite evident. Your reply to the complaints about Ireland, and the way in which, with obvious and excellent reason, you exonerated me in the matter, on the ground that it had been done by the Pope, is also fully approved, as are your remarks to the Queen in deprecation of the aid sent to my Flemish rebels. You can continue to answer in the same way if they speak about the loading of (English) ships (in Spain), which, as you know, I permitted as an exceptional thing and not generally. Notwithstanding this, and that, in good truth, the succour recently sent to the Irish Catholics was by order of the Pope, and consisted of troops raised and despatched by his officers, it will be well for you to keep me informed as to what is going on there, and what forces the Queen is sending. Report to me also what progress is made with the negotiations with France. I am informed from there that the Queen had sent Stafford to Alençon to treat, amongst other things, of this question of Ireland.

I thank you greatly for the care you take to learn what they write to the Queen from Portugal, and I especially praise you for the efforts you made to prevent the reception by the Queen of Juan Rodriguez de Souza, who went on behalf of Don Antonio. I am also pleased to learn how well Antonio de Castillo has behaved. From the favourable account you give me of him, I will gladly avail myself of his services as you will have learnt. The Portuguese matter being now all plain and straightforward, nothing more need be said about it, beyond what is written to you in a separate letter.

I approve of the steps you took to have a prohibition against going to the Indies given to the corsairs who were fitting out on the pretext of revenging themselves against certain other French corsairs; and you will take a similar course whenever this danger appears.

I am greatly grieved at the persecution you report of the Catholics, by their being compelled to attend the heretical preachings and services, under pain of imprisonment and confiscation. If the Queen would only look at it dispassionately she would see that this fact alone proves how unreasonable are they who express surprise that I should refuse to allow any other than our holy Catholic faith in my Netherlands, seeing that they (the English) are obliged to resort to such means as this to sustain them in the blindness in which they live. But God may bring good even out of the affliction which is being laid upon the Catholics, as this persecution may awaken indignation and make the Queen more unpopular. God send His own remedy.—Badajoz, 26th November 1580.

1580.

28 Nov. **56.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives. K. 1447 . 24.

The victory of Oporto having completely crushed Don Antonio's rising, the Pretender has escaped. Use the most unceasing vigilance to learn whether he arrives in England. If so, give a full account of the circumstances of the rebellion to the Queen, and request her to arrest Don Antonio as a rebel and surrender him to me a prisoner. Assure her how deep will be my obligation to her if she does so, and how just my cause of offence if she refuse, which I cannot believe she will.—Badajoz, 28th November 1580.

11 Dec. **57.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 3rd I wrote to your Majesty the news I had from Ireland, and on the same day a captain came to the Queen from that island, who told her that the Viceroy, after having returned to Dublin with all his force, owing to want of victuals and the foul weather, had decided, in view of certain reports he had received of the bad conduct and poor courage of the Romans, to go and besiege them with eight hundred Englishmen, with whom he arrived on the 6th ultimo near Smerwick in Kerry, between two streams where they had made their fort; the Queen's ships having already arrived on the coast, from which were landed two hundred soldiers and a few pieces of ordnance. After firing a few shots they dismounted one of the cannons in the fort, and the besieged at once hoisted a white flag to parley. Notwithstanding that they made not the slightest resistance and did not fire a shot, the Viceroy delayed parleying with them, in the fear that it might be a stratagem to keep him in check until Desmond arrived and attacked him in the rear; since it was impossible for any soldier to believe that there could be so few brave men in the fort, which they had been strengthening for two months, as to surrender without striking a blow. In view, however, of their entreaties, the Viceroy asked them under whose authority they were, to which they answered only that they came by orders of the Pope; whereupon he answered that he could not treat them as soldiers but simply as thieves. Notwithstanding this, they surrendered on condition of their lives being spared. Twelve of the chiefs came out and were told to order their men to lay down their arms. When this was done the Viceroy sent a company of his men to take possession of the fort, on the 10th, and they slaughtered 507 men who were in it and some pregnant woman, besides which they hanged 17 Irish and Englishmen, amongst whom was an Irishman named Plunkett, a priest, and an English servant of Dr. Sanders.* Only a single one of the Viceroy's

* The massacre of the surrendered garrison at which the Queen was, or pretended to be, much displeased is said by Camden to have been resolved upon "against the mind "of the lord-deputy, who shed tears at the determination that the commanders should "be spared, and the rest promiscuously put to the sword for a terror, and that the Irish "should be hanged up." This cruel deed was partly entrusted to Sir Walter Raleigh; and Spencer the poet, who was Lord Grey's secretary, endeavours to justify it in his "View of the State of Ireland." It remains, however, an indelible stain upon Lord Grey's otherwise good name. The Lord Deputy himself in his despatch to the Queen (12th November) states the number of slain at 600, but Catholic historians have in some cases exaggerated the number to 1,700.

1580.

men was injured. In the fort were found two thousand corselets and harquebusses and other weapons sufficient to arm four thousand men, besides great stores of victuals and munitions, enough to last for months, in addition to money. The Queen is informed that it would have been impossible to have found a worse place in which to build a fort, since it neither commanded a port nor a land pass, had no natural capabilities of defence, and did not even possess in the neighbourhood wood for fuel. This had necessitated their burning the ships that had brought them over. Dr. Sanders had left the fort ten days before with two thousand ducats for the insurgent camp, and Desmond arrived two days after the surrender, with six thousand men to succour the fort. Two foreign ships had arrived there, it was believed, with troops from Spain, accompanied by an English captain, but the weather had prevented their landing. The Viceroy said that, although he had gained this victory, it must be borne in mind that the only result of it was the slaughter of these foreigners, and it could not be counted as a victory over the Irish, who were more obstinate than ever, and it would be necessary to send him large reinforcements if the insurgents were to be crushed. The Englishmen there say that if the fort had held out for four days until Desmond arrived, the Viceroy's retreat would have been cut off, and the Queen's ships could not have held their own, to the great peril of the English in Ireland.

The Danish ambassador has been despatched by this Queen with many thanks for the offer brought on behalf of his master, giving him a chain of four hundred crowns. The renegade, of whom I wrote to your Majesty as having come from the Turk to the Queen, has gone to Holland to see Orange.

The Queen has ordered an inquiry into the incomes of the imprisoned Catholics, which cannot fail to be considerable as their number is large. It is understood that the object is to pass an Act in Parliament confiscating their property if they do not go to church. Their punishment hitherto has only been imprisonment.—London, 11th December 1580.

20 Dec. **58.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have been informed to-day that the Queen has sent from the west country a small vessel to the people of the Azores to tell them to stand firm to Don Antonio, and help shall not fail them, apart from the aid which may reach them from Oporto. The idea is that this may prevent them from acknowledging your Majesty, and no doubt it has been partly suggested by the idea that if Don Antonio should escape by sea, he may take refuge there, this course having been urged upon him here as a last resource. It is thought that he might hold out there, and it would be very important to the English to have the people of the islands in their favour, in view of the designs they entertain of sending a number of ships to the East and West Indies and to the Mollucas by the route taken by Drake on his homeward voyage. Ships are being made ready for this voyage with great haste, in order that they may leave in

1580.

February. The business is in the hands of Leicester, who is very energetic about it.

I have received advice from St. Michaels, Azores, that a factor there was shipping, in a ship called the "White Falcon," 2,000 quintals of woad from the warehouses of your Majesty under the authority of Don Antonio, and that two Portuguese were being sent with it to sell it in Antwerp, with the object of employing the proceeds in arms and munitions. If the weather should force the ship into an English port, which is likely at this time of year, I have obtained permission from the Queen to stop the ship and I have sent a man secretly to Flushing to inform the Portuguese who bring the merchandise, when they arrive there, that it is the property of your Majesty, and that the best thing they can do for their own safety will be to come to England with it, which would be more profitable to them than going elsewhere. If they should be so obstinate as to take it to Antwerp, I have written to the Portuguese Consuls, so that they may adopt the best means they can to get possession of the woad, on the ground that it is Portuguese property, and so to prevent it from falling into the hands of the rebels. I have taken these steps as the value is large, and, it being the property of your Majesty, I wish to prevent its loss.—London, 20th December 1580.

1581.

9 Jan. **59.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

With regard to your Majesty's orders that I should inform you about Ireland, I have hitherto done so, and also that they have brought the Colonels and Captains (*i.e.* of the Papal force) prisoners hither, and permission has been given to them to send one of their number named Giustiniano, a Genoese, to inform the Pope as to what has been done.

The Viceroy kept Captain Arteaga, who, when he was asked by whose orders he had brought his company to Ireland, replied that he came by your Majesty's orders, and could show documentary evidence of this. I am told that this evidence has been sent hither by the Viceroy, and is in the form of an order given by some judicial authority in Biscay for him to raise troops. Stafford's instructions to speak to Alençon about Ireland were that he was to complain of your Majesty in this matter, amongst others, in order to inflame Alençon the more in the Netherlands enterprise, and, at the same time, to discover whether the Pope had taken part in this Irish business with the knowledge of the king of France, of which they are still suspicious, this suspicion being constantly kept alive by the heretics, who assert that your Majesty, the Pope, and the king of France, have a secret league against them.*

Captain Winter, with three of the ships the Queen had in Ireland, has returned hither, leaving there two other ships and an oar-galley. He brings news from the Viceroy that he, being suspicious of

* In the handwriting of the King:—"It will be well to send a copy of this to Cardinal de Granvelle to show to the Nuncio,

1581.

Kildare, had arrested him and a son of his, the eldest son and heir having escaped, as well as his servants, a son-in-law, and four men of rank, three being lords and one a baron, so that they say that the only man of position who is now on the Queen's side is the Earl of Ormond; since O'Neil, although he has not declared himself against her, has put his vassals under arms. The councillors therefore fear the insurgents more than ever, and if the Papal soldiers had only had spirit enough to hold out for a few days and had been fit for their task, the general opinion is that the English would have by this time lost all footing in Ireland excepting in a few walled towns.

Neither this Queen nor her subjects seem at all anxious to ascertain whether your Majesty will allow ships to load under the edict, as they do it without hindrance all over Andalusia and elsewhere, except in Biscay, where some attempt is made to prevent them. If your Majesty is pleased to shut your eyes to its being done in Andalusia in order to allow an outlet for the crops,* it is my opinion, and I believe would be to your Majesty's interest, that the ships should only be allowed to load under some form of special license in each case, so that these people might understand that it was a mere concession on your part, and not, as they now say, obligatory. This, at all events, would bridle their arrogance somewhat. It has reached such a pitch that the profit they make by the trade, like nutriment to savage beasts, only increases their strength and enables them to exert their fury and violence with greater effect. It is therefore better to keep them distressed and to weaken their power to carry out their wickedness. The effect is seen clearly, because with the great profit they make by the Spanish trade, and in confidence that it will continue, they are building ships without cessation, and they are thus making themselves masters of the seas. They not only employ this profit in sending a multitude of vessels to Barbary with arms and munitions, but have now begun to trade with the Levant, whither they take tin and other prohibited goods to the Turks, besides fitting out ships daily to plunder on the route to the Indies; which things they could not do unless they had the certainty of the heavy gains brought to them by the carrying trade assured to them by their being able to ship goods in Spain. All this swells their pride, as they see their country with such multitudes of ships, and they think that, therefore, they are unassailable by any prince on earth.

Antonio de Castillo has well deserved your Majesty's favour, by the firmness with which he has conducted himself here in the interests of your Majesty and the Crown of Portugal. He would be a very fit person to serve you there, as he thoroughly understands the affairs of the country, and can throw great light upon them, and upon the Indies, as he had in his charge and has deeply studied the papers of the Tower of Otombo,† as well possessing

* In the King's hand:—"He is very right in all this. I will recollect to have this discussed, as it is very important to remedy it, and punish them."

† The place where the Portuguese State archives are preserved.

1581.

great judicial learning which would enable him to administer justice efficiently if your Majesty should deign to employ him in that way.

I have sent men to the English ports with a commission to seize the woad ship from Azores, if it arrives there, and I have taken this opportunity to arrange for intelligence to be sent to me if Don Antonio should enter any of the ports, although from the many recent arrivals of ships from the south, the weather being favourable, no doubt he would have arrived already if he had intended to take refuge here on his flight.—London, 9th January 1581.

9 Jan. **60.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

With reference to your Majesty's instructions that I should advise you of the Queen's reply respecting the robberies of Drake, I have not asked for audience in consequence of what has occurred, as I have thought better not to do so under the circumstances without express orders, and a reply to my letters to your Majesty relating to the messages the Queen had sent me, and her refusal, on two occasions, to receive me.

I have received the despatch your Majesty ordered to be written to Pedro de Zubiaur, which I have not delivered, as the business is not in a position which will render it necessary for him to give the security, nor can I understand on what grounds he writes to the Council of the Indies, that, if the powers and authority were sent to him, he had hopes of being able to recover a large share (*i.e.* of the plunder). As I have not spoken to the Queen since then, and see no indications of such a possibility, I cannot believe it; nor do I understand how Zubiaur can have had communication with any Ministers here who can have assured him of it, because certainly if he had done so he would have given me information. When he arrived here he told me of the power he had from the Consuls (*i.e.* of Seville) to negotiate, and that he could do nothing except through me. He therefore put the matter in my hands as one which appertained to the interests of your Majesty and your subjects*; and even if any of the parties may have suggested that he should make terms, the only result of his doing so would be to enable the English to retain the whole of the plunder, as they would see then that they had to do with private individuals only, as has happened on other occasions; and that your Majesty had abandoned the matter.† It is of the highest importance for the recovery of this treasure that the matter should be treated in your Majesty's name, and the Queen be made to give an account of it; and my efforts have been directed to endeavouring, although I have not seen her personally, to make her understand that, for the sake of her own dignity, and the peace and the preservation of her country, it was fitting that she should embargo the proceeds of the robbery, as it was a matter of great moment, and that your Majesty's ministers

* In the King's hand:—He says truly, and I think it ought to be approved of.

† See address on this subject from the merchants trading with Spain to Burleigh, in the Hatfield Papers, Part 2, p. 515, Hist. MSS. Com.

1581.

would treat it as such, both on account of the heinousness of the crime and the great amount of the plunder belonging to your Majesty's self. I meant these expressions to reach the Queen's ear and those of her ministers; and as I knew her character, I was sure they would have due effect upon her, forcing her, in view of possibilities, to take the plunder into her own hands, which is the most important step hitherto, to keep it intact and not distributed amongst the adventurers. By this means the Crown of England is rendered responsible. I knew, moreover, that my words would cause the Councillors who were not interested in the adventure, and were the enemies of those who were, to speak with greater warmth to the Queen about it and press my view of the question, urging the need of not offending your Majesty wantonly, and not allowing the property to be divided for the benefit of private individuals, to the prejudice, and perhaps the ruin, of the country itself.

Leicester, Walsingham and others, pressed the Queen with great persistence to give part of the money to the Flemish rebels to maintain the war and raise troops in Germany, and also to aid with it the French Huguenots in their enterprise, by which, they said, her own power and security would be greatly increased, and your Majesty involved in a long and costly war maintained with your own money. Seeing that they could not bring the Queen to this against the advice of her other Councillors, who had been moved by my arguments, besides the objections raised to bringing all the money together and placing it in the Tower, they resolved to delay matters and tempt me by saying that, if I softened my tone towards Drake's voyage I might count upon for myself, or for any other person I might appoint, 50,000 crowns profit, as I wrote to Don Juan de Idiaquez; but I prayed that God would give me grace, so that neither this nor any other offer should cause me to swerve a hair's breadth in my duty to your Majesty, and replied that, if I had much more than 50,000 crowns I would gladly give it to punish the crimes of so great a thief as Drake, and they might thus judge whether I was likely to take a bribe to pass the matter over. In sight of my reply, and that the Queen gave decided orders that the money was to be taken from Sion to the Tower, Leicester and Walsingham have pressed her to have it coined, as in the case of having to return it the profit would still be very great, both in the form of interest and the time they would enjoy it. She replied that she would not do it until she had seen me with a reply from your Majesty; and, in the meanwhile, the bars were to be assayed. This has been done, the treasure being all now in the Tower of London. I have not been able to ascertain the sum, which they keep secret, and Drake has rendered the account to one officer only by command of the Queen, whom he has informed that if this money is to be returned he has furnished all necessary particulars as will be seen by the registers themselves, in the assurance that there will be no proofs against him for the amount he has stolen without registration, which is an enormous sum, as is set forth in the memorials sent to me. Drake is squandering more

1581.

money than any man in England, and, proportionately, all those who came with him are doing the same. He gave to the Queen the crown which I described in a former letter as having been made here. She wore it on New Year's Day. It has in it five emeralds, three of them almost as long as a little finger, whilst the two round ones are valued at 20,000 crowns, coming, as they do, from Peru. He has also given the Queen a diamond cross as a New Year's gift, as is the custom here, of the value of 5,000 crowns. He offered to Burleigh ten bars of fine gold worth 300 crowns each, which however he refused, saying that he did not know how his conscience would allow him to accept a present from Drake, who had stolen all he had. He gave to Sussex eight hundred crowns in salvers and vases, but these, also, were refused in the same way. The Chancellor got eight hundred crowns worth of silver plate, and all the Councillors and Secretaries had a share in a similar form. Leicester getting most of all. The Queen shows extraordinary favour to Drake and never fails to speak to him when she goes out in public, conversing with him for a long time. She says that she will knight him on the day she goes to see his ship. She has ordered the ship itself to be brought ashore and placed in her arsenal near Greenwich as a curiosity.—London, 9th January 1581.

9 Jan. **61.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote in former letters that ships were being fitted out to leave this February to plunder in the East Indies and on the way thereto With this end Leicester has agreed with the Queen that Drake shall take ten ships to the Isles of Moluccas by the same route as that by which he returned, which was to go almost in a straight line to these Islands from the Cape of Good Hope sighting only the island of San Lorenzo. They expect to find the same winds as he encountered before, the Portuguese pilots having discovered that only two winds blow in those seas, east and west, so that if the weather does not serve for doubling the Cape of Good Hope when they arrive there, they will run before the wind and winter on the coast of Brazil, whence they will afterwards set their course. They promise shareholders who will invest five hundred pounds in this adventure that they shall have sixteen hundred returned to them within the year. This bait will certainly attract greedy people to help the enterprise, which they think will turn out as rich as Drake's last voyage. Knollys, the son of the Treasurer of the Household, who fitted out a piratical expedition to the Indies two years ago, is going now with six vessels to winter on the coast of Brazil at Port San Julian, at the mouth of the Straits of Magellan, whence he will go, by the instructions of Drake and with some of his sailors to the South Seas, stealing all he can lay his hands upon there, afterwards continuing his voyage to the Moluccas, and returning thence with Drake.

Humphrey Gilbert who accompanied Knollys on his other voyage is to go with six ships to Cuba, with the intention of fortifying himself on some convenient spot, whence he may sally

1581.

forth and attack the flotillas leaving Santo Domingo, New Spain, Peru, and other neighbouring places. They are also pressing Frobisher to renew his attempt to discover a north-west passage to Cathay and the Moluccas, which, notwithstanding the difficulties he formerly encountered, Drake is decidedly of opinion must exist in that direction.

Doubtless these people will meet with great obstacles in the execution of their various designs, but the success of Drake encourages them to make light of them all. As soon as I get your Majesty's orders to see the Queen I will speak to her about these preparations; but the best way to stop their fit of activity will be for your Majesty to order that not one of the ships that sail for the Indies shall be spared, and that every man on board of them shall be sent to the bottom.

One of the two ships which I mentioned had left here to discover a passage to Cathay by the north coast of Muscovy, has returned. It is a ship of 150 tons and they report that in June last they started from Lopia (?) near the river Kola and sailed for ten (two?) months in a north-easterly direction, but the great quantity of floating ice they encountered prevented them from passing beyond the island of Waigatz, which is shown on the map as being near Pei-choi in about 62 degrees north latitude, nearly opposite the island of Nova Zembla, which in the Muscovite tongue means new land. From this place they returned without seeing land again and with little hope of ever reaching home owing to the intense cold, which, even in July and August, froze water in one night an inch thick. They saw no living things but two white bears on an ice floe, which escaped by swimming on the approach of the ship. When the vessel entered the Thames she had still on board stores sufficient to have lasted for thirty months.—London, 9th January 1581.

9 Jan. **62.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Stafford arrived here from France on the 26th ultimo with the ratification of the peace, of which your Majesty will have heard.* He brings news that the Commissioners were preparing to come hither, and although the Queen displayed great delight at the news, she would be better pleased if some of these Commissioners were of higher rank, respecting which point she thinks of sending someone to France; but when she received news of the illness of the King she altered her mind in order not to offend Alençon, who had written that he had forced his brother to make peace solely out of regard for her and at her request. The Queen holds out hopes to the French ambassador that as soon as the Commissioners arrive she will let Alençon have two hundred thousand ducats of the money brought by Drake, to help him, in conjunction with Bearn and Condé, in his Flanders enterprise, and that at the same time she will cause Casimir to enter by way of Gueldres, in order to make sure of that State and divert your Majesty's forces, unless

* The treaty of peace between the Huguenots and Henry III., signed at Fleix in Perigord, on the 26th November 1580.

1581.

it be more convenient for him to join with the French in Brabant. Although such an enterprise will not be easy, the Queen is encouraging Alençon with hopes, and both she and the French imagine that they are sure of success, the wish being father to the thought.

Juan Rodriguez de Souza, who I wrote had left here in a ship belonging to the earl of Leicester, returned on the 21st, after having arrived at the isles of Bayona, where he received news of the second defeat of Don Antonio, and, after landing two of his servants, himself returned in the same ship. One of these servants was his business man here, named Alvaro Bardinia, to whom he gave orders to return to him after he had been to Lisbon. He is a man of middle height, of dark colour, and with his beard tinged with grey. He is a native and was formerly a resident of St. Ubes, and subsequently came with his wife to live at Lisbon. It would not be bad to discover what Souza has been arranging with Leicester and other ministers here about the Indies, and Don Antonio's affairs generally, which might be done by interrogating this man on the points set forth in the enclosed memorandum. Souza's return has attracted no attention here, and was easily accomplished, as his ship was very fleet and could outstrip the ships of Don Pedro de Valdés.

The Queen received a hasty dispatch from Scotland two days since, saying that the King, in Council, had ordered Morton and four or five of the partisans of this Queen to be seized, and she at once dispatched Randolph, her Master of the Posts, with two letters, one for the King and the other for Morton, with orders that the latter letter is to be delivered into Morton's own hands, at any cost. At the same time she has ordered Lord Hunsdon, Governor of Berwick, to go to the frontier, and certain English captains who were raising troops for Flanders have been ordered to remain, and have been told that not they alone, but the English already in the Netherlands, will have to be sent to Scotland. It is feared that these arrests having been ordered by the King, and that there may be some French men with D'Aubigny, earl of Lennox. Those who were at Nantes destined for Portugal, to the number of 1,500, embarked after they had heard of Don Antonio's second defeat, ostensibly to sail on a plundering voyage, and the Queen fears that they may have gone to Scotland under the authority of the duke of Guise, which may well be true. because I have news that on the 3rd instant three pirate Frenchmen arrived in the Downs, and shortly afterwards sixteen more, some of them being loaded with French wines and herrings. On the day following they left, running swiftly before a south wind, so that it appears certain that they must have gone either to Scotland or Holland, most probably the former, as the Dutchmen are not particularly wishful of welcoming Frenchmen; unless, indeed, it be a trick of Oránge's to put them into possession of some fortress, and so to oblige the Dutchmen, whether they like it or not, to accept the fact.

The Queen has sent orders to the earl of Shrewsbury to strengthen the queen of Scotland's guard and keep her more closely.

1581.

The Queen has recently ordered the arrest of Lord Howard, brother of the duke of Norfolk, and two other gentlemen, Charles Arundel and Southwell, who were formerley great favourites at court.

The reason of this is partly religious, they having been accused by a great friend of theirs of receiving the Holy Sacrament and hearing Mass as Catholics four years ago, this being here the crime of high treason; but it is suspected also that it may be attributed to their having been very intimate with the French ambassador, with the apparent object of forwarding the Alençon match, together with some court ladies of the same party who were favourites of the Queen. What adds to the mystery of the matter is their having been taken to the Tower, and Leicester's having spread the rumour that they were plotting a massacre of the Protestants, beginning with the Queen. His object in this is to inflame people against them and against the French, as well as against the earl of Sussex who was their close friend.

The count de Sosa, the ambassador of the duke of Savoy, arrived here yesterday to restore the Garter which was worn by his father the late Duke.* The Queen has ordered him to be welcomed warmly, and is sending four persons of rank to receive him on the road.—London, 9th January 1581.

12 Jan. **63.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

With the letter we sent you on the 14th ultimo we enclosed another for Pedro de Zubiaur, a resident in England, ordering him to follow your instructions and to negotiate with your co-operation for the restoration of the plunder taken in the South Seas by the pirate Francis Drake, due security being previously given by Zubiaur as he proposes, as you will learn by the said letter.

It has since appeared that it may be advisable to come to some compromise with regard to the recovery of our property, and if such be the case, it does not seem meet that it should be done in our name, but may be negotiated with the other points by Zubiaur, he rendering us an account of what he may effect. As soon as you receive this you will summon him and give him our letter, and will, when you accept his security, instruct him as to the course he should pursue, both in the negotiations themselves and as regards any compromise that may be proposed. In view of the turn that affairs may take and in the exercise of your vigilance and Zubiar's efforts, you will take the best course you can in recovering, as far as possible, both our own property and that of private persons, and will advise us as occasion may offer.—Elvas, 12th January 1581.

* The order of the Garter had been sent by Queen Mary to Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, the first cousin of Philip II., in November 1554, by Lord Clinton, afterwards lord Admiral and earl of Lincoln. The investure took place in Flanders where the Duke was commanding a portion of the army of his uncle the Emperor.

1581.
15 Jan. **64.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In consequence of the arrest of Morton and others by the king of Scotland, this Queen has summoned Parliament for the 16th instant, after she had given orders for its prorogation. On that date the Chancellor will order the House to elect a Speaker, which they will do on the following day, the Treasurer attending in person; a further delay of a week will then be requested, when the Queen herself will attend. All this is simply to delay matters until they get full information about Scotland, and learn whether the sixteen French ships have gone thither. They have news that 30 persons have been arrested amongst the King's courtiers alone, but that Morton had not been killed, as they had thought.

Sir James Bedford, however, a lawyer, had come from France and accused Morton of having murdered the King's father, and three other high personages, by poison. The King has adopted this course with Morton in order still further to establish his mother's innocence, and the falseness of the charges against her. When the Queen received this despatch she sent a gentleman to follow Randolph, with letters for the King, urgently begging him to have Morton's case heard and decided only by twelve nobles of the realm, according to the laws.

They say that this Sir James Bedford had been to Spain and that your Majesty had ordered a sum of money to be given to him, for the purpose of buying people over for the execution of this business.

The Queen has ordered the earl of Huntingdon not to attend Parliament, notwithstanding her summons. The same message has been sent to Bedford, Shrewsbury, and the bishop of Lincoln, to whom patents have been given to arrest any persons they may consider necessary in their districts, and to raise troops, Huntingdon being made General of the Scotch Marches and the North.

Hunsdon has been ordered also to reinforce the garrison of Berwick with 200 men, and to call out 6,000 men and 500 horse of the Border militia.

I have approached certain English Catholics by way of conversation to urge them to insist upon the punishment of Morton, as this was my most convenient way. I have also written to the queen of Scotland giving her an account of what had happened, and although I am sorry that these events have been made a reason for rendering her prison closer, which, however, she must suffer in patience like the rest of her troubles, yet the joy of all her friends at the thought that Morton may meet with due punishment at the hands of her son, arouses great hopes that her son may turn to her side, and it is meet now that her friends in Scotland should persevere more than ever. I have therefore thought that it would be to your Majesty's interest that she should recognise my desire to serve her, and have sent her the information; which would certainly reach her ears by some means, and so to bind her in gratitude to your Majesty. I point out to her how important it is that Morton should die, in order that the Catholic

1581.

religion may be restored in Scotland, and in the interests of herself and her son.

The ambassador of the prince of Piedmont (*i.e.*, Duke of Savoy) has had audience and has restored the Garter. The Queen told him it was not worth while to have come such a long journey for this purpose, the meaning of this being that he was not to go on to Scotland, for which he had requested license. This license will not be given to him, although it is asserted that his only object was to pay a visit of ordinary compliment to the King as to a relative of his master, with whose house alliance and friendship has always existed.

The Queen has ordered the earl of Kildare to be brought hither with his wife and other prisoners of his house.—15th January 1581.

15 Jan. **65.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since I wrote on the 9th I have heard that the Queen has ordered Drake to be given 10,000*l.* of the money lodged in the Tower. The signed warrant sent to him states that this is a reward for the voyage he made, but it may be suspected that it may be rather to fit out the ships I spoke of. Drake's sailors say that he promised them, when the great plunder was taken from the "San Juan," that if they did their best to capture it, he would divide 10,000*l.* amongst them, but he has not done this, nor has he, indeed, settled accounts with any one connected with the voyage, but is simply keeping them in hand with sums of money, in order that he may get them to return with him on his next voyage. The boxes of gold he captured in the ship from Chili he would not allow to be examined by any one but his own servant.

The Queen frequently has him in her cabinet, and never goes out in public without speaking to him; often, indeed, walking with him in the garden. Drake told her the other day that if she ordered three of her own ships, which he would choose, to accompany those he was taking, and seven merchant ships as well, he would guarantee to place affairs on the route to the Indies in such a state that your Majesty would gladly send her what they call here a "*blank-signet*" for her to dictate her own conditions on all points which she might consider to her interests.—London, 15th January 1581.

17 Jan. **66.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 15th; and last night an Englishman arrived here to tell the Queen that he had come with Don Antonio from Bayona, where he had embarked in a poor disguise, and had arrived on the coast of Brittany in great want of money, whereupon he, the Englishman, had immediately left without the knowledge of Don Antonio to inform the Queen thereof, Don Antonio having written to the king of France. The Queen and her ministers fully believed this, as they have a good opinion of the Englishman who brings the news. I have thought

1581.

well to report this to your Majesty instantly, taking the opportunity of a ship which is sailing for Laredo, although I have no certainty about the news, and the Queen has received it from no other source than that mentioned. It was conveyed to me at once by one of her councillors.—London, 17th January 1581.

28 Jan. **67.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote on the 17th by sea through Laredo, sending the duplicate the next day by France, and the Queen has now received fresh news from the latter country by another Englishman, that the king of France had sent one of his councillors to see Don Antonio, and tell him to go to Alençon, who would be able to forward his claims by the help of the Netherlands rebels and arm some ships for him. This Englishman has not signified the precise place where Don Antonio was, but they are now certain that he has arrived in France. They have told the news to Juan Rodriguez de Souza, who is staying here in the house of a Portuguese doctor named Lopez, saying at the same time that they were sure that it was true; although the Queen had no information from her ambassador about it.

Randolph has written from Scotland that the King had sent Morton under guard of 500 horsemen to the castle of Dumbarton, which is entirely in the hands of D'Aubigny, with a strong garrison devoted to him; the Constable* being Morton's deadly enemy, into whose hands he is to be delivered. Orders are given that if any attempt is made to rescue him from the guard, the first thing they are to do is to kill Morton. Randolph also reports that the King has quite changed his tone; D'Aubigny governing him entirely and the whole country. D'Aubigny was followed by most of the principal people and others of his party. They show great inclination to make war upon the English, and Randolph had no doubt that as soon as the winter was over they would do so. He thinks that if Morton were not taken to France, as some people thought probable, although Randolph doubted it, he would certainly very soon lose his head. Another man has been sent from here to endeavour to have D'Aubigny murdered by means of some of his enemies of the house of Hamilton. The 6,000 men and the 500 horse are in readiness, awaiting orders, as no news has arrived here of the coming of any foreigners, although it was reported from Berwick that there were ten ships, with some Frenchmen and stores sent by the duke of Guise.

The Queen has opened Parliament, and the Chancellor, in her name, informed them that it was the Queen's wish that the subject of the appointment of a successor and of the Queen's marriage should not be dealt with, and it is understood that, as soon as they vote the supplies she desires, the Parliament will close.

The queen of Scotland has sent messages to the French ambassador and letters to the Queen that, in case of a successor to the Crown being appointed in this Parliament to her prejudice, a protest

* Sir William Stuart.

1581.

should be made in her name, the necessary steps being taken by the French ambassador.

The Queen has ordered one of her ships to be made ready to bring over the Commissioners from France.—London, 28th January 1581.

13 Feb. **68.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 28th ultimo that this Queen had received confirmation of the arrival of Don Antonio in France, whereupon she despatched instantly again the two Englishmen who brought the news, with orders that they were to remain with Don Antonio and report his movements. She afterwards received letters from Cobham, her ambassador in France, further confirming the intelligence, and on the 3rd instant sent Captain Perrin, the son of an Englishman, born in the Azores, who had been with Don Antonio, bearing letters containing great promises to him. Leicester told this to Souza, and said that he had better make ready at once to join his master in France. On the 4th Cobham wrote that the king of France assured him that he had news that Don Antonio was either captured or killed, which news has much troubled the Queen, as she imagined that he would be an instrument to enable her to disturb Portugal. How much they desire this may be seen by the facility with which they believe anything that tends in that direction, however groundless it may be.

As soon as Morton was captured, the Queen granted a thousand pounds a year pension to the two Hamiltons* who are out of Scotland, one of them here and the other in France. They have for the last two years been pressing for it, but they had never been able to obtain it. She also ordered the earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hunsdon, with their troops, as soon as they were ready, to enter Scotland to force the King to give a sufficient guarantee to prevent the entry of foreigners into the country. The order has again been changed and the forces told to retire into the Border castles. This has been caused by the answer given by D'Aubigny in the King's name to the repeated pressure from Randolph, to the effect that the Queen might be sure that Morton's case would be dealt with in accordance with justice, and if she wished further to assure herself of this, she might send two Commissioners to be present in her name at the trial, on condition that two others from the king of France were also present. He said, as regards the coming of foreigners to the country, the lords of the realm would bind themselves in writing that none should be received, and if the Queen were not satisfied with this, they would send hostages to guarantee it. They say that, when the king of Scotland was told how much the English wished to get possession of Morton, he said that if they loved him so much, he would send the queen of England his (Morton's) body, whilst he kept the head, as he was a good councillor.

* Lord John and Lord Claude Hamilton.

1581.

The insurgents in Ireland have slaughtered Captain Zouch* with 300 Englishmen, and are quite masters of the open country, as it is now winter time. Most of the Englishmen sent by the Queen have died from flux and the plague, and the Viceroy is therefore asking for fresh troops.

The eldest son of the earl of Kildare, who, I wrote, had escaped when his father was captured, has again returned to his submission to the Queen, having surrendered himself a prisoner.

The French ambassador recently gave the Queen an account of the Commissioners who were coming, and she expressed displeasure that they were not the men she had indicated. A gentleman from Alençon who is to precede them is expected here.

In addition to the intelligence received by the Flemish heretics here from some of the consistories in Holland, the Queen herself has received news that Holland and Zeeland had agreed to receive Alençon, and that the Colonels in Antwerp, who are nearly all the magistracy, had administered an oath to the newly raised soldiers, to the effect that they were the enemies of your Majesty and your confederates, and renounced their allegiance to you as their sovereign. Orange had also endeavoured to put a tax of a hundred groat-livres on the hundred of salt, which now only costs 23 livres, in order to help the entry of the French. He says, for the purpose of persuading people to this, that whereas at the beginning of the war they paid 250 or 300 livres for the hundred of salt, it will not be much hardship to them to pay 100 livres for it now to bring in the French. If it be not your Majesty's wish to stop Hollanders and Zeelanders from taking salt from Spain, it would be advisable to put a very heavy export tax on every measure of salt shipped for the Netherlands, thus greatly raising the price, which, according to news received by merchants here, does not exceed seven reals the measure in Spain and Portugal. This tax would not only produce a considerable sum in aid of your Majesty's heavy expenditure on the war in the States, but would be drawn from your enemies, who cannot live without salt.—London, 13th February 1581.

24 Feb. Paris Archives K 1447. 28.

69. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The prior and consuls of Seville write to say that Pedro de Zubiaur informs them that it will be easier to recover Drake's plunder if the Queen is requested first separately to restore what belongs to individuals, rather than asked to surrender all together. They beg me to write to you accordingly, so that you may take the most fitting steps. As you were previously informed, it will be necessary to adopt every possible means to recover the plunder taken by Drake, and I therefore request that you will consider whether it will be likely to forward the object aimed at if you let Zubiaur take the necessary steps for the recovery of the property belonging to specified individuals; or whether it will be better to demand the restitution of the plunder as a whole. The decision is

* This was probably a mistake, as Sir John Zouch was alive some time subsequently.

1581.

left to you, but I urge you to do your best to forward the interests of the individuals, and, so far as may be fitting, to extend all possible help and countenance to Zubiaur.—Elvas, 24th February 1581.

27 Feb. **70.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 13th that the Queen was expecting a gentleman from Alençon, M. Marchaumont,* who arrived on the 19th, and he is accompanied by many gentlemen, amongst whom is Councillor Jean Bodin as his secretary. The latter is a great heretic, as is proved by the books he has written. The Queen sent word to the French ambassador that he was to entertain him and give him (Marchaumont) good cheer as she knew what a favourite he was of Alençon. She has herself received him well and gives him lengthy audience nearly every day alone. So far as can be gathered from them, he must have come to impress the Queen with the great efforts which Alençon has made to bring about peace for the purpose of obliging her, as well as to clear the way for the coming Commissioners, and to discover the disposition of the Queen and Council with regard to marriage and other negotiations, in view of the events in Scotland. He has saluted, on behalf of Alençon, Sussex, Cecil, and James Crofts, who appear to be the Ministers most in favour of the marriage, in consequence of their opposition to the earl of Leicester. The Queen has referred the negotiation of the matter to them. The envoy has told them in general terms that Alençon's wish to marry the Queen is prompted, not so much by his hopes of having an heir, as by the belief that his importance will be so greatly increased by his marriage that it will aid him strongly in his designs. By having brought about peace in France he had gained over both the Catholics and the Huguenots, and had also pledged to him the German Protestants, whom he wished to have entirely on his side, as he would have if he could please them by energetically helping the Flemish rebels and succeeded in getting this Queen to choose him for her husband and the protector of her realm. This he thinks would encourage them (the Germans) to endeavour, for their part, to promote his appointment as king of the Romans, which is the object of all his efforts. The Commissioners, he (Marchaumont) said, would not come until the Queen sent her wishes by a gentleman who had accompanied him by Alençon's orders for that purpose, this gentleman being called M. de Mery. He has now left with a letter from the Queen written by herself, without any of her Ministers knowing the contents. They are equally in the dark as to her conferences with Marchaumont, and only know that she has given him a wedding ring for Mery to take to Alençon. She also said publicly that she was so anxious for the Commissioners to come, that every hour's delay seemed like a thousand years to her, with other tender

* Pierre Clausse Seigneur de, Marchaumont. His correspondence will be found in the Hatfield Papers, part 2.

1581.

speeches of the same sort, which make most people who hear them believe that the marriage will take place. The three Ministers for whom Marchaumont brought letters only replied to him that they could say nothing further, but that the Queen seemed very desirous that the wedding should be effected.

Marchaumont has also signified that he will stay here for some months on his master's business, and this gave rise to the belief, before his arrival, that he was coming to ask the Queen for money to help Alençon in his intended invasion of the States, and to make an alliance against your Majesty. Marchaumont lately told the earl of Northumberland and other Lords in the presence Chamber that he had heard that the object of his visit was reported to be to ask the Queen for money, but that he had no such instructions. Notwithstanding all this, however, your Majesty will have seen by my former letters that the Queen's conferences with the French ambassador and other indications tend to the belief that he will attempt it, but, being a Frenchman, he glosses it over, in order the better to carry on the deceit and not to offend the English, who are very angry when anyone asks them for money. The real reason of his coming and that of the Commissioners is more to raise funds and cement alliances than to effect marriage.

The earl of Huntingdon, who, as I said, the Queen had made General of the Scotch Marches, is a great Puritan and a deadly enemy of the queen of Scotland and her son, he having pretensions to the succession of the English crown. He has therefore been dealing secretly with some of Morton's Scotch partisans to enter England on a raid, as they sometimes do, even in time of peace, thus giving him an opportunity of reprisal and an excuse for invading Scotland. The Scots accordingly came as far as Carlisle, nine miles over the border, where they killed some Englishmen and captured others, retiring with their booty in the form of cattle. Huntingdon advised Lord Hunsdon, governor of Berwick, who sent a number of Englishmen into Scotland to take revenge. The Scots met them and drove them back with a loss of 200 men. They concealed this news from the Queen, but she learnt it through a lady, and when Walsingham came to see her on business she said, "What is this about Scotland? Did I order anything of this sort to "be done?" Walsingham replied that the loss was slight and it could easily be remedied; to which she answered: "You Puritan, "you will never be content until you drive me into war on all "sides and bring the king of Spain on to me." Although this has happened, the Queen has ordered that not a soldier is to be moved from the Border until they see the result of the half-yearly meeting which takes place on the 21st instant on the frontier, to settle the questions of robberies on both sides.

The viceroy of Ireland has written to the Queen that the earl of Ormond was behaving in such a way that he thought his pension should be taken away from him, and asked Leicester and Walsingham to press the matter. They managed to persuade the Queen to do so, and as soon as they had sent the despatch they got news that O'Neil had been joined by 400 redshank soldiers from Scotland,

1581.

who are men experienced in Ireland.* This caused the arrest on the same night of all Irishmen who were studying here, their papers being seized to learn whether they had any communication with the Scots. They found nothing of importance except "Agnus Dei," absolutions, and the like, on some of them, who were thereupon taken to the Tower; and a messenger was sent off in haste to tell the Viceroy not to deprive Ormond of his pension, as his lands lie near to those of O'Neil and the redshanks. The Catholics have slaughtered Captain Crins (Green?)†, with some of the Englishmen in his company, and what with this, and the great mortality from the flux and the plague, which has reached five thousand men, the Viceroy is again pressing for reinforcements, and two thousand men are ordered to be raised and sent off with all speed to Ireland.

Cobham, this Queen's ambassador in France, has written so fully of what Tassis told the Queen-mother in your Majesty's name,‡ that it may be suspected, either that she conveyed it herself to Cobham, or told her son Alençon that he might do so.—London, 27th February 1581.

6 March. Paris Archives, K. 1447. 31.

71. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

We note from your letters that, partly owing to the coolness with which the Queen is treating you by refusing you audience as my Minister, and partly owing to your ill-health, you are desirous of leaving England. It has been considered whether it would be well to send you leave to do so at once, but as it has been decided that the withdrawal of my representative at that Court might cause the veil to be completely torn from the evil intentions of those people, and might drive them to closer union with the French, I am obliged to request and order you to stay there for the present, if you can do so without loss of dignity. As soon as you receive this you will demand audience in the usual way as my Minister, and let the Queen's advisers know that if she refuses so to receive you, it will be taken as a clear indication of their desire for you to leave the country, and you intend to do so. Only that it will befit them to consider whether it will serve their interests thus to arouse my just resentment. If they persist in refusing you audience as my Minister, you can leave as soon as you like, using for your journey the credits recently sent you, and instructing

* Mendoza frequently applies the word "*Redajaques*," and variants thereof, to the inhabitants of the Hebrides. I have assumed this to stand for "*redshanks*," by which name they are spoken of by Spencer and other writers of the period.

† Probably an old officer named Paul Green, who is warmly recommended by Sir Henry Sidney to Lord Grey in his letter to the latter on his departure for Ireland, 17th September 1580. *See* "Sidney Papers, Collins, 1746," Vol. 1.

‡ This was a strong remonstrance made by Juan Bautista de Tassis, the Spanish ambassador, to Catharine de Medici at Chénonceaux, first against Alençon's raising fresh troops for Flanders, and secondly against the despatch of the Commissioners to England for the conclusion of the marriage with Elizabeth. Catharine replied that it was too much to expect her son to give up both projects, and that, as he was a good Catholic, he was more likely to convert Elizabeth than she to convert him to Protestantism.—Archives Nationales (Paris), K. 1559.

1581

Antonio de Castillo to keep us informed as to what passes. It is, however, necessary to avoid this course if possible, and you will try to manage dexterously for the audience not to be denied you, in which case you will stay. You will represent to the Queen and her Ministers the danger they incur by irritating me and causing me to look to my own affairs by troubling theirs; whereas if they do not provoke me further, they need have nothing to fear from my forces. In short, you will do your best not to snap the thread of negotiation, as you will do if you leave, and will plunge me into obligations which at present are best avoided. You will intimate to them all I say here, so that fear of my forces may somewhat bridle them from further offending me; whilst at the same time they may not get desperate and lose hope of being forgiven for their past misdeeds, and thus be driven into new and pernicious leagues to the prejudice of Christianity and the public peace, and perhaps into plotting new evil in Flanders. You will manage with your usual dexterity to fulfil my intention in this very important matter. In order that you should not think that I am unmindful of your health and wishes, I request you in reply to this to report to me what passes in the matter of the audiences, and if all go well a successor shall be sent and you can return. Advise me in such case whether you think Antonio de Castillo would be a proper person to stay there in charge of affairs, since you report so highly of him. Keep all knowledge of your proposed departure secret until you hear further.—Portalegre, 6th March 1581.

6 March. Paris Archives, K. 1447. 32.

72. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

You gave a good answer to the two gentlemen who were sent by the Queen to tell you that Drake's robberies had not been committed on subjects of mine; as you proved by the papers you showed them that the contrary was the case. You also did well in declining the private audience they offered you, as you were not to be received as my Minister. Your answer to the earl of Leicester, and the other Ministers who tried to tempt you in the matter of Drake's robberies, is likewise approved. You will conduct the business as you have begun, availing yourself of the public fear that a declaration of war may be the result of it, and that those who have no share in the plunder may unjustly suffer for those who have. When advisable you may make use of the instrumentality of Pedro de Zubiaur, whom you will support and aid in his attempt to recover the property of individuals. The whole matter is left entirely to your discretion.

I thank you for the relation you send of the ships that tried to sail to Cathay by the north, and of the events of the voyage, which would appear, as you say, to be impracticable. You did well, too, to advise of the ships which Drake was fitting out to sail again to the Straits of Magellan, or to reach the Moluccas from the Cape of Good Hope. What you say on the subject is very apposite; both as to the treatment which should be dealt out to the corsairs that are taken, and the necessity for our boats and fleets to be forwarned and prepared. I have accordingly ordered the formation of a fleet

1581.

of 12 ships well armed and found, with 1,500 soldiers on board, besides the seamen, of whom there will be another thousand. The fleet will be fully armed with artillery and will carry stores for a year and a half, and will sail to the Indian seas for the purpose of keeping them clear and defending the coasts. We send you this advice for your information, and leave to your discretion, according to circumstances, whether to publish it or keep it secret. If they knew of it they (the English) might refrain from sending the ships they were preparing, but if you think it may put them on the alert and cause them to increase their own force do not tell them. You know the temper of those people so well that the question may safely be left to you.—Portalegre, 6th March 1581

6 March. Paris Archives, K. 1447 33.

73. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The loss of the troops that his Holiness had in Ireland has grieved me much, and particularly the bad way in which they behaved, both in the matter of their choice of a location and in their defence of the fort, which was so well provided with arms and munitions. The sorrow is increased by your news that, if they had only held out a little longer, they would have been re-inforced by a larger body than that of the English. You will continue to report all you hear in this respect, and of the condition of the Catholics in Ireland, as well as the spirit in which they are, since receiving this blow.

Advise me also of the result of the persecution of the Catholics in England, with the object of depriving them of their property; what effect this has had, whether it has caused murmurs, and also if the arrest of so many people of high position will give rise to any disturbance, and what will be the outcome of the parliament which was about to be convoked. The news from Scotland of the imprisonment of Morton is of the highest importance; and the step you took with the queen of Scotland as soon as you heard of it was well advised, as also were the steps you were continuing to take for the purpose of helping the Scots and Englishmen who favour her party. You will persevere in this course with due dissimulation. You did well in taking the steps you did, both with the Queen and the Portuguese consuls in Antwerp, about the woad ship from the Azores which you learnt was on the way. Advise the result. Your remarks against allowing English ships to load in Andalucia are approved of. I have consequently ordered the decree to be strictly enforced in all parts and the present excesses put a stop to. With regard to giving special licenses for cargoes to be loaded, the matter will be taken into consideration from time to time, and decided according to circumstances and the news you may send. Antonio de Castillo's services shall not be lost sight of. —Portalegre, 6th March 1581.

14 March.

74. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

This Queen has received advice from Ireland that all the nobles and gentry who had not already declared themselves against her have now done so, with the sole exception of the earls of Kildare

1581.

and Ormond; the former because he was a prisoner in Dublin Castle, his wife and son being here; whilst Ormond is regarded with suspicion, although he was in this Queen's service and is an enemy of Desmond. Lord Bernay (Barry ?), who was taken with Kildare, has escaped from the Castle and has been joined by all Kildare's people. The greater part of Ormond's men have left him, so that, at this rate, he will be the only man to serve the Queen. She was greatly grieved at the news, as O'Neil declared himself against her at the same time, notwithstanding the great promises made by the Viceroy, who endeavoured to bring about an interview. The Queen has ordered 1,000 more men to be sent thither and some shiploads of stores and munitions.—London, 14th March 1581.

17 March. **75.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

But for the haste in which the duplicate of my last letter of 14th had to be sent, I would have given your Majesty an account of the reports sent to the Queen by Cobham about Don Antonio, which are repeated to me by a person who sees the letters, I having no other means of getting news. But for this I should not venture to write on the point, as so many different reports have been current about him. On the 5th instant, Cobham sent a courier post-haste to inform the Queen that Don Antonio's great friend,* who resides in France, had shown him letters, saying that after he had been routed from Oporto he went, on the 22nd of October, to Viana, where he was hidden for three days in a tavern or cook-shop. Three servants of Botello† himself were taken, and Don Antonio, the Bishop, and Botello subsequently escaped by night unnoticed on the road to Lisbon. On encountering some people on the banks of a river, fearing discovery, they separated, and remained hidden amongst the rushes, where Don Antonio and Botello lost sight of the Bishop de la Guardia. They arrived after great hardships at Lisbon and were there hidden all the time; Don Antonio conferring with some of his friends by night, with the object of arranging for his escape to France by land.

After writing this, Cobham sent another despatch on the 7th, which arrived here yesterday, saying that the same friend had informed him that Don Antonio was already in France, at Angers, with Botello, in very bad case and without a *real*. He said Don Antonio did not wish to discover himself, as he did not think that his person was safe in France, but he would come to England as soon as possible and give an account of himself to the Queen, and of what had been arranged by his friends in Portugal. Cobham was of opinion that the Queen should warmly aid him to return to Portugal, and wrote her long discourses on the subject, to persuade her to trouble your Majesty by this means, since the Duchess of Braganza was now of no use for the purpose, your Majesty having granted her so many favours.

* Probably the Queen-mother, who although nominally a claimant herself to the Portuguese throne, was actively helping Don Antonio.

† Diego Botello, one of Antonio's chief adherants, and afterwards his agent in England.

1581.

These reports are entirely credited here, and Leicester took Juan Rodriguez de Souza, who is still here, to speak to the Queen secretly, with whom he stayed two hours. Souza is constantly with Leicester, with whom he has arranged these matters, although no decided resolution has yet been taken, pending the coming of Don Antonio hither, as he promises to do, or his staying in France. They are somewhat cooler, however, at his coming in so poor a case, because Souza and Cobham affirmed that he brought away many jewels with him, and particularly the rich harness, which assertions Leicester believes.*

The Queen has endeavoured by means of her pensioners, the two Hamiltons, to gain over some of their party to her side, in case the English should enter Scotland, but last reports say that this has failed, and that the Scots, judging by the great muster of troops they have made, were in greater force than the English. The earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hunsdon have therefore asked for the Queen's permission to raise more troops.

A printed document was published here yesterday which, they say, was written by the King of Scotland, and of which I enclose an original and a Spanish translation. It is the most abominable and disgraceful thing that ever was written,† and many people think that it must have been forged here in order that it may be talked about by Parliament—men and the people at large. The opinion justly held here by many is that when the Scots desire to break with the English, it will be impossible for your Majesty or any Catholic Prince to help the King after he has made such a shameful confession, which will also turn the English Catholics against them, as there will be ample reason always to distrust people who could make such a declaration as this. It is therefore thought that it has been invented to break off any communication between the Scots and English Catholics, who are desirous of the liberation of the queen of Scotland.

Parliament had resolved to close three days since, without having done anything of importance, except to restore in blood the earl of of Surrey, who is now called of Arundel, the eldest son of the duke of Norfolk. His brothers and sisters refused a similar favour, which it is usual to extend to all members of a family.

It is believed that the object in deferring the close of Parliament is the opposition which exists to the passing of a Bill proposed by the heretics to punish, with much greater rigour than hitherto, Catholics who will not attend their churches.‡—London, 17th March 1581.

---

* This was true ; Antonio brought jewels of enormous value, as will be seen later.

† The National Covenant.

‡ The measure was proposed in a strong speech by Sir Walter Mildmay, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, reported by D'Ewes. It provided that reconciliation to the Church of Rome should be punished as high treason, the saying of Mass was to be punishable by a fine of 200 marks and a year's imprisonment, the hearing of it by half that fine and the same term of imprisonment. Absence from church was to be finable by 20*l.* a month. Unlicensed schoolmasters were liable to a year's imprisonment, and their employers to a fine of 10*l.*

1581.
6 April. **76.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After M. de Méry arrived in France the Commissioners were more speedy in gathering at Calais than the Queen had expected, the prince of Condé's man* not being with them in consequence of illness, as was said. The Queen, therefore, did not write, as I had advised your Majesty, that she wished a Prince of the Blood to accompany them, and Alençon begged his brother to send the Prince Dauphin, whom the rest have been awaiting in Boulogne and Calais. As soon as they were ready a great Council was held here as to the advisability of sending them passports, which had not been done. There was much difference of opinion about it, many thinking that it would be better that they should not come over, or at all events not with so large a train.† With the news, however, that the health of the king of France was much broken, and the belief here that he will not live long, the Queen said that it would not do to offend Alençon, nor arouse the suspicion of the French, and consequently that a passport should be sent in very general terms. This was done, the wording of it being that they gave safe conduct to come and go for all princes, dukes, counts, barons, and gentlemen, without mentioning any "*princeps legationis.*"

They are working away furiously at the building of a gallery in the houses at Westminster wherein to entertain them, and 14 coaches have been ordered for the ladies. A great joust has been arranged for the 16th, and 10,000*l.* sterling of silver plate is being made to divide amongst the ambassadors. This is being taken from the bars brought by Drake. The Queen has ordered one of her houses to be prepared for them, where they will be splendidly lodged. Much desire is being professed to them that the marriage should take place, which however is quite incredible to most Englishmen. Leicester is of this opinion, and is very suspicious that the coming of these Frenchmen may be a plan of his enemies to undo him. I am told that he assured the Queen that Alençon's object was only to weaken her power at the instigation of his brother and your Majesty, in order that this country might be submitted to the Catholic church, which he told her was evident from the fact that Alençon had sent to ask the Pope's permission to marry her. There was no better way of weakening her, he said, than to lead her into heavy expenditure, and drain her treasury; and the sending of this great company was all part of the artifice. This and other things that he said have aroused the Queen's suspicion, and she has ordered the expenses to be restricted, saying

* In the King's hand :—"He must mean Condé himself."

† This splendid embassy was accompanied by a suite of 200 persons and consisted of Prince Francis de Bourbon, Dauphin d'Auvergne, son of Montpensier; Charles de Bourbon, Count de Soissons, the youngest of the Condés; Marshal de Cossé; the Counts de Sancerre and Carrouges, Lansac, Barnabé Brisson, the famous president of the Parliament of Paris, La Mothe Fénélon, who had formerly been ambassador in England, Claude Pinart, Baron de Valois, the Secretary of State to Catharine de Medici; Pierre Clausse, Seigneur de Marchaumont; Jacques de Vray, Alençon's chief secretary; Bodin, the well known writer, and several courtiers of high rank.

1581.

that as the king of France did not pay the expenses of ambassadors sent from here until they arrived in Paris, it would not be dignified of her to act otherwise. By this means she excuses herself from finding them horses and entertainment from Dover hither.

Lord Cobham, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, the earl of Pembroke, and other lords, have been ordered to meet them; and the peers who were attending the Parliament have been ordered to remain here with their wives. They are also collecting all their servants and trains, both for the sake of ostentation, and because, being a suspicious folk, they fear some disturbance, particularly Leicester, who is making greater efforts than anyone to collect a large company of kinsmen and servants. All this is being judged of differently according to partialities, since Ireland being disturbed, and relations with Scotland strained, people in general think that the coming of the Frenchmen can bode them no good, because from the cradle they are brought up in enmity with them and their old allies the Scots. This was represented to the Queen lately by the archbishop of York, and she replied that the French, it is true, had promoted former disturbances in Scotland, but he was mistaken in supposing that this was the case with the present troubles, which were the work of the Spaniards.

Besides this, not only Englishmen but others judge this embassy to be pregnant of such great results that the end thereof can hardly be predicted. Even in case the Queen should decide not to marry, which is the opinion of everyone, even of the French themselves; and that the design is to form an offensive and defensive alliance against your Majesty, it is noticed that Marchaumont is careful to conceal from the French ambassador here what he is negotiating with the Queen. The ambassador himself, who, however, in the French fashion, often speaks lightly, declares publicly that these Commissioners do not come from the King but from Alençon, with the consent of his brother and mother, and that when any treaty has to be made they will find that Alençon is not the king of France, and cannot arrange such a thing.

It is evident also that this Queen in her dealing with the matter is paying more attention to ostentation and details of no moment than to points of importance for the conclusion of a treaty. For instance, she has been delaying the coming of the Commissioners by asking that certain persons should be appointed who have no experience in such matters, and are not of a quality for her to willingly await them for so long. She may be sure that the king of France will not thus be drawn by the solicitations of the French and the Flemish rebels into deciding the manner of Alençon's invasion of the Netherlands, notwithstanding the extremity of Cambrai and the importance of not giving time for your Majesty's forces to be strengthened, whilst the rebel resources were more rapidly dwindling every day. If any treaty is to be made, these are points of the most pressing moment, and yet the Queen takes less notice of them than she does of

1581.

whether there are any new devices in the joust, or where a ball is to be held, what beautiful women are to be at Court, and things of similar kind. She has even issued an order in Council that shopkeepers are to sell all their stuffs, cloth of gold, velvet, and silks, at a reduction of one quarter from the price per yard, as she says she wishes them to do her this service in order that the ladies and gentlemen may be the better able to bedizen themselves. This seems an evident sign that her only object is to satisfy her own vanity and keep Alençon in hand.

Her ambassador, Cobham, writes that Casimir had obtained a pension of 6,000 ducats from your Majesty, on the condition that he is to raise as many horsemen whenever he is required to do so. They tell me that when Walsingham read the letter he said that two of the four pillars of their Church had failed them; one of them, Casimir, had bent, and the other, Morton, had been broken. He prayed God that the two that remained, namely Leicester and Orange, would stand firm.

Captain Perrin, whom the Queen had sent to Don Antonio in France when his arrival there was first announced, has returned hither. He says that Don Antonio remained at Angers with 12 Portuguese, the Bishop de la Guardia being amongst them. He brings letters for Leicester and Secretary Wilson, begging them to induce the Queen to find him some money. She sent Souza to France, providing him with the means for the voyage from the Treasury. I am told that he bore instructions from Leicester to invite Don Antonio to come hither. On his departure Leicester gave him a chain, two others being given by Walsingham and Wilson, with orders that they were to be conveyed by one of the ships that brought the Commissioners over, by which it may be gathered that they were a present to Don Antonio, particularly as Souza has left all his own people here, and only travels with one English servant of Walsingham's.

I am informed from Antwerp that the Archduke Mathias wrote a letter to a physician of the Queen's by one of his chamberlains, which letter was intercepted by the rebels there and delivered to Sr. Aldegonde, who deciphered it. After this had been done they sent to the Archduke and asked him for the key. The substance of the letter was to ask the physician to propose marriage with the Queen, and to point out some of the evils which might befall her if she married Alençon. The Archduke gave up the key, and said they should not take it amiss that he negotiated for his marriage since they did not do so. They have informed him that he can go away when he likes, and the States would undertake to pay what he owed in Antwerp. This is a plot of Orange to get him to renounce the government, and to demand the Count de Buren and La Noue in exchange for his person.—London, 6th April 1581.

6 April. **77.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In your Majesty's duplicate of the 14th of November, I received a warrant issued by the Council of the Indies on the 12th of

1581.

January, saying that if a good opportunity offered to arrange a compromise for the recovery of Drake's plunder it was not considered fitting that it should be done through me, but rather by Pedro de Zubiaur. I have written to your Majesty that I see not the slightest chance of any such compromise, nor can I imagine that Zubiaur can have any ground or reason for advising such a possibility, until I speak with the Queen, both on the subject of your Majesty's own property and that of private merchants. Zubiaur has seen me every day and he has not hinted at such a thing to me, only saying that, unless your Majesty's Minister takes the matter up, not a farthing will be recovered. I am unaware whether, under cloak of this, he writes differently to Spain in hope of making profit for himself by getting at all events something, rather than have to return with empty hands. If he were dealing with people of influence for the compromise, and the plunder amounted to 30,000 or 50,000 crowns, it might be possible. But as the plunder is so tremendous, and has been seized by the Queen without the intervention of any Minister, Drake having given her 100,000*l.* sterling besides what she has in the Tower, it cannot be believed that she will be contented with arranging with the merchants only, without satisfying your Majesty as well. This is evident, because she thinks, from what I have said, that most of the money belongs to your Majesty's patrimony. My view of the case is strengthened by the fact that, when an English pirate captured an Indian ship with 80,000 crowns in the time of King Edward, they lodged the plunder in the Tower although it was nearly all private property, and the owners, sending special powers here to recover it, restitution was not made until nearly eight years afterwards; and then the restitution was only partial, and was made on the intervention of the Emperor's ambassador here. If the consulate at Seville has petitioned your Majesty to allow them to compromise the matter, they do not understand events here, even in the recovery of booty of small importance; in which cases the owners can never obtain their property, however strong their proofs or just their claims may be. The person negotiating for them looks after his own interest, and, as his share is usually a third of what he recovers, his only anxiety is to get what he can for himself and give a receipt to the pirates, who are thus protected against any attempts on the part of your Majesty's Minister to have them duly punished. The Queen's officers say that, if the owners of the property are satisfied, there is no more to be done, and thus your Majesty's subjects suffer, whereas the English and French go scot free. As soon as pirates of either nation have had anything captured by the others, they request and obtain letters of marque from this Council or the king of France to enable them to make reprisals on goods of the other nation, and they thus pay themselves in kind. Your Majesty's subjects do not make similar requests of your Councils, and consequently are not granted the same facilities for recouping themselves for their loss. They do not even do as was the case in Flanders in the time of the Emperor, when, as soon as it was proved that

1581.

Englishmen had captured Flemish goods, a similar amount of English property was seized in Flanders, and this caused the English to appoint commissioners to summarily punish the robbers and restore the booty. The publication by the consuls in Seville of the statement that your Majesty had given them leave to compromise, has not done and will not do them any good, as the English have heard of it, and have already said that the matter is nothing to do with your Majesty nor your ministers, as the property belongs to private people who will come to an arrangement with Drake.

As I have already advised, they continue to fit out ships here for the Indies, but it is decided that Drake himself shall not go, although, no doubt, he has arranged the matter through other hands in order that he may not be too conspicuous. Captain Bingham is to command. He is considered a good sailor, and was the man who entered the fort in Ireland to slaughter the soldiers of his Holiness. They say that they will not leave until September, but they are preparing with furious haste ten ships in port, beside those already known, and it is understood that if Bingham were not ill he would have sailed before this.

On the 4th instant the Queen went to a place a mile from Greenwich* to see Drake's ship, where a grand banquet was given to her, finer than has ever been seen in England since the time of King Henry. She knighted Drake, and told him there she had there a gilded sword to strike off his head. She handed the sword to M. de Marchaumont, telling him she authorised him to perform the ceremony for her, which he did. Drake, therefore, has the title of "Sir" in consideration of the lands he has purchased, and he gave her a large silver coffer, and a frog† made of diamonds, distributing 1,200 crowns amongst the Queen's officers.—London, 6th April 1581.

6 April. **78.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since I wrote to your Majesty, news comes from Scotland that the King had appointed D'Aubigny, his Lieutenant-General and protector of his person, Lord Chamberlain and President of the Council, whilst Lord . . . . . .‡ one of the Hamiltons, who was in prison, is made Lord Admiral, and the Earl of Mar guardian of the English border. He has effected a truce between the Scotsmen who are called of the "mortal feud." These are people who entertain terrible bands and refuse all quarter to each other. They are to be ready for the service of the King whenever they may be summoned, and the truce is on both sides being agreed to for fifteen months. Angus, the nephew of Morton, has been ordered

* Deptford.

† Although the decipherer has written the word "*rana*" frog, this may possibly be a mistake for "*rama*," spray; or it may have reference to Alençon, whom the Queen jokingly called her "grenouille."

‡ The King in a marginal note remarks that the name is left blank in the cipher. The writer was probably confusing the unfortunate earl of Arran, head of the Hamilton's, with the King's new favourite, James Stewart of Ochiltree, who had just been made earl of Arran, the rightful possessor of the title being confined as a lunatic.

1581.

to retire to the Highlands, which is explained away by some of this Queen's officers by saying that this was at his own request, but it is really a punishment. Randolph, the Queen's minister, has again pressed his three points, namely, that Morton should be legally tried; that D'Aubigny should be expelled the country as a seditious person; and that the troops collected on the English border should be withdrawn. The queen of England, he said, did not wish to disturb his country, but to preserve her friendship with the King. Randolph was told that the Scottish nobles had been summoned to deliberate a reply to these three points, which in due time they did. They said that Morton's affair would be dealt with according to the laws of the country, as the Queen had already been assured; with regard to the exile of D'Aubigny, as he had come from France to serve the King willingly, when he was summoned, leaving a country so rich and fertile to come to sterile Scotland, it would be a poor return if the King expelled him. D'Aubigny deserved very much more than he, the King, had given him, both on his own account, being his nearest kinsman, and for the loyalty with which he had served him. To the third point, with regard to the Queen's desire that his country should not be disturbed, they said that her acts proved to the contrary, as she had called to arms all the border men under the command of the earl of Huntingdon and Lord Hunsdon, and the King, seeing so large a force on his frontiers, had increased his own forces there. As his men were on his own territory the Queen had no ground for complaint, and they would remain where they were until she withdrew her soldiers from the border.

The Queen, seeing that her efforts were without result in their object of inducing Morton's friends to raise a civil war, has resolved to send Commissioners to be present at Morton's trial, and to withdraw her troops; reinforcing the garrisons, however, with double their usual strength, which will enable her to delay matters without an open rupture with the Scots. She has been moved to this by the grant of 40,000*l.* made by the Scots to the King to keep his troops on the borders. Randolph writes that the Scots have taken advantage of the delay in answering him for making ready gallantly, and, in his opinion, are more likely to injure the English than the English them, if they came to blows now. He therefore thinks that it will be well to temporise with them by means of their friendship with the French.

The viceroy of Ireland writes to the Queen that the O'Mores, whose lands march with those of Desmond, whom they support, have taken up arms. The Viceroy has urged them to submit, on the assurance of Ormond that the terms granted to them shall be fulfilled. He had given them thirty days to make up their minds, which time expires at the middle of the month, when if they do not submit and lay down their arms, he will proclaim them rebels. He writes that if they do not submit he could not hold out in the ordinary fortresses, unless they sent him 4,000 more men, and said that the Council could judge from this what number of troops would be necessary to take the offensive and conquer the insurgents. —**London, 6th April 1581.**

1581.
6 April. **79.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The English Catholics, with whom, in accordance with your Majesty's orders, I keep up communication, have sent to tell me by certain energetic gentlemen whom they look upon as their chiefs, that in addition to the troubles, miseries, and imprisonment that I myself have witnessed for the last two years, it is now evident to them that God is about to punish them with greater calamities and persecutions than ever. Up to the present they have had only to suffer in their estates, and with the irksomeness of imprisonment, which is a mere shadow of what now portends. As they cannot leave the country, they will be afflicted, unless they consent to forget God and accept the errors of these people, with the loss, not only of liberty, estate, patrimony, and life, but will be branded with infamy to be handed down to their children. This is the outcome of the law the Queen has passed in this Parliament, and of which I send your Majesty the details. Although these people, however weakly, have put the case in the hands of God and offered their lives to be employed where necessary in His service and the exaltation of the Church, they cannot help feeling, as men, the opprobrium which will remain as a stigma upon their descendants as traitors to the Queen. And all the more so, that the result may be to entirely root out the Catholic religion in this country, if God in His infinite mercy do not provide a remedy for their ills by postponing the rigorous execution of this unjust law. The heretics have made every possible effort with the Queen to this end, with the object of crushing the Catholic religion, representing to her that the Catholics not only desire freedom for their faith, but to change the sovereign; against whose person they are plotting, for the total ruin of England, and other similar lies and fictions. These are supported by the testimony of the heretics of many provinces, and although the Catholics have done their best to prove to the contrary, offering lately, even, 150,000 crowns to the Queen if these statutes were not passed, they have been unable to prevent it. They therefore approach your Majesty as the buttress and defender of the Catholic Church, humbly beseeching you to turn your eyes upon their affliction and succour them, until God should complete their liberation. They seek the notification to his Holiness, of the great importance, in order to prevent the vile weed of heresy from quite choking the good seed sown here by the seminarists, that an English cardinal should be appointed. There are two persons, Dr. Sanders,* and William Allen, who is in the seminary at Rheims, whose virtue and learning are such as to render them worthy of the dignity. So far as I am able to judge from the state of things here it would be a step of great moment in the interests of God and your Majesty that this petition of the Catholics should be granted, as, if they have no leader, the new statutes, their own modesty, and their inability to leave the country, will cause them to lose heart, with no one to encourage them. The principal men amongst

* *See* note to the reply to this letter, 28th May. Sanders died miserably in Ireland soon afterwards.

1581.

them are therefore very earnest about it, and I am assured that a Catholic gentleman here has promised a thousand crowns a year to aid in maintaining some such personage. If he be not a Cardinal, whatever his other rank may be, he cannot assist them as they desire, for the reasons which they set forth, and may well be understood.—London, 6th April 1581.

10 April. Paris Archives, K 1559.

80. JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

On the 7th I last wrote to your Majesty. The Scots ambassador having returned hither from a lengthened stay in Paris came to see me yesterday, and conveyed the following message to me on behalf of his mistress.

She heartily congratulated your Majesty on your success in Portugal, and pointed out that so great a power should not be employed solely in maintaining your own dominions but should be exercised for the benefit and advancement of Christendom in general. She had been much grieved and condoled with your Majesty on the death of our Queen,* but as it had been God's will, it was to be hoped that your Majesty would find consolation in your children. The earl of Morton was still a prisoner, and no rising had taken place in his favour or that of the queen of England, although the latter had sent a body of men on to the Border to encourage her partisans in Scotland. Things were therefore never better disposed in Scotland than now to return to their ancient condition, and to be satisfactorily settled, so that English affairs could be dealt with from there subsequently. The King, her son, was quite determined to return to the Catholic religion, and much inclined to an open rupture with the queen of England, which he would certainly not avoid as soon as he could be sure of substantial help and support. She hoped your Majesty would afford him this, both on her account and to counterbalance the proposed alliance between England and France, from which, to a certain extent, arose Alençon's designs on Flanders.

The Queen begs your Majesty earnestly to send this help to her son, and recommends that it should first be landed in Ireland, and remain there until it was summoned to enter Scotland, after the treaties of alliance between Spain and Scotland had been signed. She requests that your Majesty should send some person to Scotland, under a pretext, to arrange this.

She declares it to be her intention that her son should go to Spain; both to forward the marriage which has been mentioned for him, and to complete his conversion to the Catholic religion, whilst at the same time ensuring himself from the plots his enemies are weaving against him.

She instructs the ambassador to write to Lord Ogilvy,† who is doubtless one of the intimates of the king of Scotland, urging him to exert all his influence to persuade the King to the course she

* Anne of Austria, Philip's fourth wife, who had died on the 26th October 1580.

† This perhaps again refers to James Stewart of Ochiltree, the new earl of Arran, whose influence over the young King was boundless. There seems to be no particular reason why Ogilvie should have been written to.

1581.

desires, and particularly as to his going to Spain; and to exhort him to continue his opposition to the queen of England, with the certainty that help will come from your Majesty. She adds that a person ought to be sent to your Majesty to request the said assistance, in the first place to secure the passage of her son to Spain, and secondly to guard and defend the country against England during his absence, even if no open war takes place. She says that the king (of Scotland) must provide some port on the Argyll coast for this purpose, as well as some fortresses or places that may be fortified inland for the quartering of the foreign troops. She desires him to thank your Majesty most sincerely for the honour you do them in entertaining the proposed marriage, for the care your Majesty has for her safety, and for the favours you extend to her subjects; and promises her perpetual friendship to your Majesty, of which the going of the King to Spain will be a pledge, to be followed by a firm alliance. She desires that he (the proposed envoy) should go and learn your Majesty's pleasure on these points, and conclude the negotiation; and if this embassy be not promptly sent from Scotland he (the Scots ambassador in France) is to try to get the negotiations entrusted to him.

She says she is desirous, after the conversion of her son to the Catholic religion, of bringing England back to the faith, and adopting the cause of the English Catholics, but she thinks that Scotland ought first to be brought into a thoroughly satisfactory condition, and completely devoted to your Majesty, as the other affair could then be undertaken with greater security.

She also instructs the ambassador to urge the Nuncio to beg his Holiness to send her son assistance in money, as he promised to do when a good opportunity offered, as it does at present.

The ambassador told me all this; and even showed me the deciphered letter of 4th March, mentioning his mistress' letter, and asking me to convey the contents to your Majesty, which I venture to do, as in a conversation with Cardinal de Granvelle before I left Madrid he told me to lend ear to and report what might be said to me on this matter.

I notice certain contradictory points in this communication, such as the suggestion that your Majesty should send an envoy to Scotland to conclude the negotiation, and that a man should be sent by them to Spain for the same purpose; and again, the project for the King to leave the country, whilst they say he is inclined to break with England, at which time it would be most necessary that he should remain at home. The assertion, too, that there are no signs of risings in favour of Morton and the queen of England hardly tallies with one of the reasons given for his going to Spain, namely, to escape the plots of his enemies to seize him and deprive him of the crown; from which it may be inferred that not much security exists, and it is somewhat strange to ask your Majesty to send assistance at once, without having discussed any particulars of how or whither. It is no wonder, however, because the Queen being a prisoner she cannot be expected to discuss matters so clearly as those who are in the midst of affairs. I

1581.

judge from all this that her object is to impress upon your Majesty that the present is a favourable opportunity for you to help her, either openly or otherwise, and at the same time to promote injury to England.

I asked what was the attitude of her son towards the matter, and the ambassador replied that he could say nothing for certain on that point, except that he had sent his reply to the Queen, and he (the ambassador) is informed by private persons that the King is entirely in accord with his mother's wishes in the matter.

I also asked how it was that M. D'Aubigny came to agree to it, since he, being a Frenchman, would presumably be but little pleased with this proposed friendship with your Majesty. He replied that M. D'Aubigny would do as the Queen wished, and that he was displeased with the King and Queen (Mother) of France, with whom he held no communication.

I asked him whether this matter was being broached by him with the co-operation of the duke of Guise. He said that when he was instructed by his mistress to bring it before Juan de Vargas,* it was done with the intervention of the duke of Guise; but as the latter at that time exhibited some coolness about it, the Queen had ordered that nothing of this should be communicated to him, so that he knows not a word of the present message. I await your Majesty's instructions as to how I am to reply, as I will not mention the matter until I receive them. I asked him also how his Queen dared to attempt such negotiations whilst she was a prisoner in England, to which he replied, the stronger the king of Scotland became the more careful would they be not to do harm to his mother.—Blois, 10th April 1581.

11 April. **81.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The Queen yesterday received advice from Randolph of his arrival at Berwick. It is understood that he has come on the pretext of wishing to be there during the settlement of the raids on either side, but really in consequence of the discovery of a plot he had arranged with the Earl of Angus to murder D'Aubigny, which, as I have already reported, he had orders from here to attempt by every possible means. Randolph was informed that D'Aubigny was aware of the plot and Randolph was advised to escape at once or his life would be in danger. He accordingly fled to Berwick; and, whether from fear or because it really happened, he asserts that he was followed by horsemen and that a shot was fired at him from a distance. He asks the Queen to consider whether, in view of these events, it will be fitting for him to return thither. He believes that this affair will expedite the condemnation of Morton, and it is also, he urges, another proof that if the King were not certain of French help, if necessary, he would not so strongly have manned his frontiers; nor would he have swaggered as he has done, unless he had your Majesty behind him likewise.

* Juan de Vargas Mejia, the Spanish ambassador in France, who had recently died.

1581.

They (the Scots) were assured that it is so, by a Scotsman who had come from the Spanish Court, where he had been entertained during the whole of the time that he had been banished from Scotland by Morton, and where the King had been very kind and gracious to him.* All this had caused the King of Scotland to take up a position which had never been assumed before. He had ordered that on pain of death no Scotsman should carry provisions to Berwick or any of the frontier places. As soon as the Queen received the news she sent a speedy courier to Huntingdon and Hundson, ordering them to hasten the withdrawal of the troops from the borders, and at the meeting to settle about the raids that they were to be as conciliatory as possible, in order to give no excuse to the Scots for breaking with them.

She also dispatched De Mery with a letter in her own hand, written without the knowledge of any of her ministers, to Alençon, in answer to one that he had written to her by De Mery. Marchaumont also sent with it a purple and gold garter belonging to the Queen, which slipped down and was trailing as she entered Drake's ship. Marchaumont stooped and picked it up, and the Queen asked for it, promising him that he should have it back when she reached home as she had nothing else with which to keep her stocking up. Marchaumont returned it and she put it on before him ; presenting him with it when she got back to Westminster. This and all other signs seem to indicate a real intention to effect the marriage.—London, 11th April 1581.

16 April. **82.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my last of the 11th I have ascertained the truth about the news that the Queen has heard from Don Antonio. One Brito, who came to France in his name some months ago with some boxes of sugar, invented the other reports the Queen had received, and which I communicated to your Majesty ; the object being to entertain this Queen and the King of France, in order to prevent them from cooling in Don Antonio's cause, on the assertion that Don Antonio was in France, although his identity could not be declared until the arrival of Count Vimioso. The latter now says that Don Antonio was in Mazagan in Barbary. After he had left him there he, Vimioso, had returned to Spain, and had landed disguised as a priest, saying that he was going to Rome, and so passed into France. The moment the Queen received this despatch she sent another to her Ambassador Cobham, directing that Souza should confer with Count Vimioso and Brito, for the purpose of arranging the coming of Don Antonio to France and deferring until his arrival there the settlement of the best method of aiding him in annoying your Majesty ; as up to the present time no resolution has been taken with regard to the Indian project, although a meeting has taken place between Walsingham, Leicester, Drake, Hawkins, Winter, Frobisher, and Bingham, all the latter being experienced mariners, in order that their opinion might be gained as to what may be done in that way.

* Sir James Balfour? He is called Bedford in letter No. 64.

1581.

Leicester has been pressing the Queen very much to consider deeply before marrying Alençon. She replied that as the matter was so far advanced, if she placed before the commissioners the reasons for not effecting the marriage, greater evils might result than if she told them to Alençon verbally, as she was sure that he would accept them without offence in consideration of his being able to count upon her friendship under any circumstances. For this reason she had written asking him to come a few days after the arrival of the commissioners, and to bring but a small company with him. This has partly re-assured Leicester, who is now much more intimate with Marchaumont than he was.

The earl of Sussex and other advocates of the marriage confirm what the Queen said to Leicester, in order to reconcile him and his friends, and to prevent their making any effort to stop Alençon's coming. They say at the same time, that if he do come they are quite certain that she will marry him, and both the Queen and Sussex have signified this to Marchaumont, who I am told, however, has conveyed it to the commissioners, saying that if they are not perfectly satisfied within a few days after their arrival that the marriage would take place, it will not be advisable for Alençon to come, so that if the Queen do not distinctly promise them that she will marry, they, if they are of the same opinion as Marchaumont, will not let Alençon come. This will enable the Queen, if she pleases, to seize upon that as an excuse, saying that if he is not here, she cannot marry him without the advice of her Council, many of whom, as they know, oppose it. She will thus infer that the business has not fallen through from any fault of hers. The Commissioners arrived in Dover yesterday.—London, 16th April 1581.

20 April. Paris Archives, K 1447 44.

83. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Lisbon is greatly in want of wheat. If you can induce the English merchants to send some cargoes thither they shall be welcomed and well treated. Do not ask the Queen, but treat only with the merchants.—Tomar, 20th April 1581.

24 April. Paris Archives, K 1447 . 48.

84. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The only letters of yours unanswered are dated 27th February and 14th and 17th ultimo. We approve of all you have done as related in them. Report everything you hear, and especially about Ireland, and whether you think there is any probability of the Catholics there coming to terms with the Queen, as it is asserted here that some negotiations are going on with the Viceroy. Advise us also of movements in Scotland, and whether you have discovered the falseness of that proclamation you sent attributed to the queen (king?) of Scotland and summoning the estates. It cannot be true.

You did well in advising the arrival there of Marchaumont, and the steps he was taking on behalf of Alençon with the Queen and her Ministers. Keep me well posted as to all you hear about it, and investigate whether the real object of his coming is to seek money

1581.

for Alençon to go against Flanders. If you have any means of correspondence with the queen of Scotland, it will be very advisable to entertain and preserve her in her attachment and friendship towards me, and, through her, to lead her son in the same way.

Tell me what has become of Drake, and what you hear of arming ships, their number, destination, stores, and crews. It is most important that I should know all this.—Tomar, 24th April 1581.

1 May. **85.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Arnaldo Burcaut, a subject of your Majesty and a lawyer in Antwerp, who was ordered by the magistrates to leave the country as a suspicious person, he being a Catholic and a zealous adherent of your Majesty, as well as a man of spirit, communicated, jointly with another gentleman subject of yours, namely, Henry Court of Breda, with two Dutch friends of theirs, from whom they heard that a treaty might be arranged in the most important place of the Isle of Walcheren; in consequence of the great discontent of these two Hollanders, who had served the rebels at sea and had been neglected by them, and their remuneration not paid. They consequently expressed a desire to render some great service to your Majesty, and Burcaut carried on the negotiation, as he thought they would be fit men to effect the projected arrangement. As soon as Burcaut left Antwerp he went to give an account of the matter to the prince of Parma, who kept him three months in Mons, and at last told him that the business was a difficult one but would be considered. As Burcaut had given hope to the Hollanders that a reply should be sent to them, and had advanced them money out of his own pocket to keep them in the meanwhile, he came to Calais, from which place he had arranged to write to them, and sent word that means would be found for them to carry out their good intention. He and Court specially came hither in September last, to lay the matter before me and to ask me to expedite it. As I heard from them that the two Hollanders were ready and the place itself well disposed (I having news from there every week), and consequently that the enterprise might be effected easily, I wrote to the prince of Parma by one of the men, saying that from my experience of the Netherlands, I judged the matter to be very important, and as it could not be undertaken in any other way, I begged him to consider it deeply and not to lose sight of it. The prince of Parma answered, saying that he quite agreed with me, and would leave the matter to my management; and caused the Hollanders to be sent hither that I might satisfy myself about them and decide whether the matter should be undertaken. They came before Christmas, and I found them well disposed and men of spirit and understanding; they telling me that they had a ship in which they sailed for plunder under letters of marque from the prince of Bearn, and that, consequently, they might carry out their design the more easily. They proposed to raise from 80 to 100 men who had served under them before, and who, they were certain, would be glad to undertake the enterprise, and had, indeed, many times suggested to them to seize Brille or some other port of importance to deliver to your

1581.

Majesty, as they were so poor and ill treated. They said that if they had money to keep these men, not a large amount but about enough for two months, they would change their ship for a larger one and would enter the town, where they would have a hundred men already distributed amongst the various taverns. At the same time four or five hundred men might be embarked at Gravelines in large boats, such as usually ply between St. Omer and Antwerp with wheat, and these might be introduced in the course of one or two tides, without the least suspicion, and moored alongside the quay, as there is no examination of ships that enter the port. On the signal being given, as agreed upon, by the first boat, the men on shore would seize the landing-place, killing the guard, which only consists of eight men, as well as the sentry at the gate. They would then hold the gate until the men in the boats were landed, whilst the rest of the hundred men they had on shore would seize a breastwork near the gate, which is armed with twelve cannon and has only one sentry to guard it. This would give them possession of the place, and, in order that I might see their sincerity, the principal of them said he would leave his son in my hands, and did not ask in advance of the service more money than was necessary to keep the hundred men; the reward to be given after the enterprise being that the first of the men should be made Admiral of the island and his friend Vice-Admiral.

I advised the prince of Parma of all this, and he sent me two patents for the Captains in accordance therewith. With regard to to the payment of the money, he requested me to hand them what I considered necessary, and he would have me repaid at once, whilst he left in my hands the arrangement of the whole of the details. He said he had ordered the raising of two companies of Hollanders, who were accustomed to the sea, who would be sent to lodge in a convenient place near Gravelines to be ready to embark. This despatch of the Prince, which was brought by Burcaut himself, did not agree with the message that he had been entrusted to convey to me verbally. By a special mercy of God I therefore did not act until I got confirmatory letters from the Prince, and I did not hand them the money as I otherwise should have done. The weather has been so stormy that it is impossible that they could have carried the business through without discovery, but this delay necessitated my again writing to the Prince, and the matter was therefore kept pending until the end of last month, thus giving time for the Hollander to come with his son, whom I now have in my house. I handed them the patents from the Prince, and they brought me a plan of the place, assuring me that there was no change either in the matter of the guards and sentries or in the examination of ships; the garrison of rebels only consisting of a company of 150 men.

I advised them of the principal matters to be borne in mind, and particularly as to the form in which it had to be spoken of to those who were to aid them, and that it should be disclosed as little as possible, in order to diminish the risk of its discovery. They replied it would only be known to eight men, in whom they could

1581.

trust, as all the rest depended upon them, and it was unnecessary to say anything until the actual execution. I gave them many directions, which I will not tire your Majesty by repeating, only that I enjoined them that when they killed the guards they should raise the cry of "Liberty and down with the French," as this would prevent the townsmen from resisting, especially as the matter had to be done in daylight, after the gates were open. I gave them 630*l.* sterling, besides 49*l.* which I had given them in small sums for their expenses. They told me they would be ready within twenty days or a month after they arrived at the place, whereas with this money they could, if necessary, keep the men for two months until the five boats came; and if for any reason it were necessary still further to delay the business, they could keep the matter pending for any length of time without suspicion if I sent them money.

The time agreed upon expires at the end of the month, and the business is to be carried through at the beginning of next month, as the weather will be fine and most of the townsmen out fishing; besides which the coast people of Holland and Zeeland are most wishful to submit to your Majesty again, as they are now awake to the tricks of Orange and his gang. Until this business was all arranged and on the point of execution I have not ventured to give an account of it to your Majesty, but I have striven to conduct it with all possible secrecy and caution, both for the purpose of pledging the two Hollanders, and in order to satisfy myself of their good faith. I can only say with regard to this, that one of them has entrusted his son to me willingly, which is the greatest pledge he could give me, and I cannot doubt that if the troops are secretly and cautiously shipped and God blesses them with a fair wind, the business may be looked upon as done. I have written to the prince of Parma, begging that all care should be used and that the sailors should be beyond suspicion, and have asked him, in addition to Burcaut and Court who offered to go, that he should send two or three officers of tried trust and bravery. Nothing is necessary but this, as the place is not in a position of defence. I am so convinced of this that my only sorrow is that I cannot go myself; and I tell the prince of Parma that, as it is an affair which cannot be tried again after failing once, and can only be successfully accomplished by such people as I indicate, he should try only to employ in it men whose sole object is to serve God and your Majesty without thought of themselves.

When the two Hollanders took leave of me, they said they sought no reward until the service was done, but if one or both of them died in the enterprise, they asked me to promise that your Majesty would give some reward to the widows. I thought this so reasonable that I promised in your Majesty's name to do so. I have paid already in the business 2,263 sun-crowns, besides the cost of some couriers sent to Mons, and 400 crowns which Burcaut and Court gave to the Hollanders before they communicated with the prince of Parma. The sum is not large, but if it were three times what it is, it would be well spent in making such an attempt

1581.

as this, which I cannot help thinking is a special boon from the Almighty. I have received all this money from a Fleming here named Joost Van Erpe, who, as a good subject of your Majesty, willingly supplied it when I told him it was for your service. He has assisted me so much that I have written to the prince of Parma, that if this affair succeeds he might provide for him in your Majesty's Treasury in the island, which I humbly beg your Majesty to confirm.—London, 1st May 1581.

4 May **86.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have continued to give your Majesty accounts of affairs in Ireland as ordered. Latest advices only say that the Viceroy has not been able to prevail upon any of the Irish to lay down their arms, notwithstanding the promises that have been held out to them. He says that, unless the Queen will send him six thousand men, as he asks, he cannot hold the island. I am told that the Queen has ordered four thousand to be raised at Leicester (?), but in this levy, as in the rest I have mentioned, she seems to proceed slowly, with the desire of assuring herself as to whether the news the French give her, that the Pope will send troops to Ireland this summer, is true or not. In my opinion it is only to urge her into the marriage. I also hear that the Council has decided that the Queen shall send a free pardon to Ireland, to see whether any effect can be produced in that way. The arrest of Catholics and the severe laws against them passed in this Parliament have not yet stirred up disturbance, nor has the enforcement of certain other Acts passed in it, which threatened with the rest to cause trouble, as they endanger all the nobles of the North and the Scotch border, where they are mostly Catholics. For this reason the earl of Huntingdon, who is a great heretic, prevailed upon them in Parliament to pass these Acts representing to the Queen that the common people of those parts were not able to take up arms fittingly to resist the Scots or invade Scotland, because the nobles let their lands at such high rents that the husbandmen could hardly live, much less keep horses and arms necessary to serve her with effect. This, he said, was a danger to the country unless it were remedied by an order that no gentleman should let his lands there at above a certain very low price. This was done, and Huntingdon has endeavoured thereby to oppress the nobles of the country, whilst gaining popularity with the common people, in order to have them on his side, in case the Queen should die, he being one of the claimants to the crown. At the same time he has weakened there the cause of the queen of Scotland, who had most adherents in those parts. It would appear that either of these enactments should have been resisted by the Catholics, but, for our sins, God is allowing their spirits to fail them, whilst, on the other hand, each new change raises still more the courage of the heretics and confirms them in their blindness.

Your Majesty's orders with regard to the enforcement of the edict relative to the loading of foreign ships in Spain will be of

1581.

the greatest advantage to your interests and the best bridle which can be put upon these Englishmen.

The man who came with letters from the Turk took back no reply, as he went to Orange, and thence straight to Venice, where he shipped on a galley provided by the seignory. The object of his mission was to offer friendship to this Queen in consideration of her alliance with France, and to beg her to send persons to arrange a treaty of commerce for the English in those countries. The Queen has made no reply yet, and the merchants are not pressing her to do so.

With regard to Drake's robbery and your Majesty's orders with regard to Zubiaur's letter to the consuls, saying that the plunder could be more easily recovered if the Queen was asked to restore first that which belonged to private merchants, I have spoken to Zubiaur and he assures me that he did not write any such thing, and he has sent to tell the consuls so. He says that he was always of my opinion, which I have written to your Majesty. I can say no more on the matter until I have seen the Queen.

The English in Seville have written giving an account of the fleet of twelve ships which your Majesty has ordered to be raised to protect the coasts of the Indies, and I have also made it public in order to restrain them somewhat from carrying out their intention of sailing thither for plunder. I have declared that the fleet is extremely strong, and try thus to increase their fears of these voyages.—London, 4th May 1581.

4 May. **87.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote in my last letters that Randolph had arrived at Berwick. He has now arrived here, and the details of his flight from Scotland are known, as well as the substance of the plot which he had made with Archibald (?) Douglas, a great friend and councillor of Morton's. They had agreed to set fire to the castle and town of Stirling and to kill D'Aubigny in the confusion. By aid of their accomplices they had obtained false keys of the gates of the castle and of the King's apartments, and they intended to seize him, or kill him; murdering D'Aubigny, Mar, Herries, and the rest of Morton's enemies. They had agreed with Lord Hunsdon to come from Berwick on the same night with a force of horse and foot to aid them in the execution of the plot. One of the accomplices was a brother of Douglas called Whittinghame, who divulged the plot to the King and D'Aubigny. This caused the escape of Douglas to Berwick, and the retirement of the earl of Angus, Morton's nephew, to Carlisle. Randolph also fled at once. Whittinghame likewise divulged the place where Morton had hidden his money, which has now been seized by the King, to the amount, it is rumoured, of 40,000*l.* sterling.

The king of Scotland sent John Seton (?), who they tell me is a gentleman-of-the-mouth to your Majesty, to give an account of Randolph's proceedings and to complain of them to this Queen. He arrived at Berwick on the 12th ultimo, and was badly received by

1581.

Hunsdon who would not let him pass, whereupon he reported his arrival to the Queen. She replied that he was to inform the King that she was pleased with the embassy but not with the ambassador, and he had better send another person. The King therefore recalled him and appointed Lord Herries, who is now expected here.

At this juncture the Queen summoned Lewis (Claude ?) Hamilton, to whom as I have already mentioned, she had granted a pension, to persuade him to get his kinsmen to take up arms in Morton's cause.

When he was given some of the money for this pension he replied to the earl of Leicester, who first spoke to him upon the matter, that he would on no account take up arms against his King, but would serve the Queen against anyone else. She herself spoke to him afterwards and had long conversations with him, as she was informed that both he and his younger brother in France were strongly attached to the queen of Scotland. The Queen told him that the enmity of the English would injure the king of Scotland much more than the king of Spain's money would benefit him, whereupon he replied that, as he was an exile from his country he could give no opinion about it. Walsingham afterwards told him to send word to Scotland that if the King had any communication with your Majesty he would lose all chance of succeeding to the crown of England, as the Parliament would immediately declare him not the heir. Before Hamilton returned to the border, where he lives, he pointed out to the Queen that for many years past she had promised him and his brothers that she would cause them to be reinstated in the possession of their property in Scotland, which had been confiscated ; which promise originated in the following circumstances. It will be necessary for me to be somewhat diffuse as I have to go back for some time. The Hamiltons are three brothers, the first being the earl of Arran, the second this Lewis, the third brother being in France. They have all followed the queen of Scotland's cause, and when she left the country they went to France.

In order to assure herself of Scotch affairs (she at this time not having yet gained over Morton), this Queen, thinking that the best way to do this was to entirely crush the Catholic religion there, sent Thomas Randolph secretly to treat with these Hamiltons in France, and to offer the eldest brother that, if he would promote a change of religion in Scotland, she would marry him, this being the ordinary lure with which she baits her traps, as she did with Arundel and Norfolk. It was represented that the King, who was then very young, could easily be killed and the countries united, he, Arran, being one of the nearest heirs to the crown ; and he was promised that this Queen would maintain and support him and his brothers in their claim to enjoy their revenues and offices in Scotland. This promise of the Queen to marry Hamilton influenced him so much that it caused him to forget his religion and his loyalty, and he resolved to go with his brothers to Scotland, where his great influence enabled him to do away with the exercise of the Catholic

1581.

religion. By this time the Queen had gained over Morton, who was Regent, and, as this enabled her to do as she liked, she took no more notice of the Hamiltons. On the contrary, in order that they might not be strong enough to resent her treatment of them, she persuaded Morton to oppress them, on the pretext that their great following made them dangerous. When the Hamiltons insisted that the King should not take possession of the government, as was urged by the Guises, Morton joined hands with D'Aubigny and besieged the castle of Hamilton, where the brothers were. Two of them fled, Lewis coming hither and the other going to France, the eldest alone remaining in the hands of Morton; he being idiotic and out of his mind in consequence of the Queen's treatment of him. He was kept prisoner by Morton until the latter was arrested, when the King released him and appointed a guardian for him. As this Queen now sees that all her efforts to bring about a civil war in Scotland and overthrow D'Aubigny have failed, and that Morton is in such desperate straits, she wishes to take the opportunity of sending these Commissioners to inquire why the property of the two brothers Hamilton is confiscate; not so much because she wishes them to obtain possession of it, as for the purpose of raising dissension and giving a pretext for an appeal to arms, in order to overthrow D'Aubigny. This is her way—to sustain civil war everywhere without declaring herself.

Catholics here assure me that they have news of the entrance of Scotch priests in Scotland disguised as laymen, as the priests are here. Amongst them are members of the Society of Jesus, who are beginning to produce great fruit. God grant that it may continue.

The queen of Scotland has written to me, full of gratitude for the message I sent her. She says that in view of the interest your Majesty shows in her affairs and those of her son, she is making every effort to bring the latter to submit to the Catholic Church. With this end she has sent him a Papal brief and some Catholic books to read, which, she is told, he begins to like. She says that an English gentleman named Liggons, formerly a servant of the duke of Norfolk, and to whom she is under great obligations, has been deprived of the favour your Majesty formerly showed him, since the departure of the Spaniards from Flanders. For this reason he has retired to Paris, and she asks me to pray your Majesty, with your accustomed munificence, to grant him a pension for his maintenance. She also intercedes for William Paget, son of Secretary Paget,* who was a faithful and attached servant of your Majesty, and secretly acted for the queen of Scotland. In consequence of this, and because he was suspected of being a Catholic, he had to escape from here to save his life. She says she dare not support them out of the property she has in France, as it would reach the ears of this Queen.—London, 4th May 1581.

* In the King's hand:—"It will be right to do this, although I do not recollect who the first man is. The second one I do, or at least his father.

1581.
4 May. **88.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In former letters I advised the arrival at Dover of the Commissioners from France. A day before their coming hither, the Queen summoned the Treasurer, the earl of Sussex, Leicester, and Secretary Walsingham, and told them that for some time past, she had felt repugnance at the marriage, as she was a woman of middle age, and the ardent desire of so young a man as Alençon to marry her must give rise to grave considerations. She told them to discuss the matter, and if they thought she should not marry, that they should try to satisfy the Frenchmen. The latter heard of it and wrote to France, saying that this did not at all agree with the Queen's written undertaking. They arrived here on the 21st, coming from Dover with a great company, and were received here with grand ceremony. The Prince Dauphin comes to represent the King, the Duc de Bouillon and his brother the Prince de Sedan, both of whom are very young men, come only for ostentation, whilst the business is to be managed by M. de Lansac, M. de Crévecour, M. de Mothe Fénélon, formerly ambassador here, Secretary Pinart, and President Brisson of the Parliament of Paris. In representation of Alençon come Marshal de Cossé, Marchaumont, and M. de Vray, his secretary. They are all followed by trains of gentlemen, to the number in all of 500. The Queen gave them audience on the 24th and received them with great ceremony. On the following day she invited them to a feast, and on the 27th some of her councillors went to visit them, namely, the Treasurer, Leicester, Sussex, Bedford, Hatton, and Walsingham, these being the men whom she had chosen to manage the business. They asked the Frenchmen what commission they brought, and the Treasurer made them a long speech, in which he said that he, at first, had not been an advocate of the marriage; but, at the present time, in view of the state of the country and eventualities that might occur, he thought that nothing was of so great importance for the preservation of the Crown as that the marriage should take place. President Brisson answered with another oration to the same effect, producing the commission, which was in French, empowering them to arrange the marriage, and nothing else. After the Englishmen had seen this, they said that they had no written commission from the Queen, but only verbal instructions, as they thought the Frenchmen were only going to bring letters, but they would now request the Queen to give them powers corresponding with those of the French.

Every day since then, when they were not banqueting, they have had constant meetings, and the French have signified to the Queen their opinion that, as she had so deeply offended your Majesty in various ways, it was advisable for her to marry Alençon in order to gain the support of France, which it was most important for her to obtain. They enforced this by saying that your Majesty's money was being employed to raise trouble in Scotland and Ireland, to all of which the English replied that, if the Queen married, she would do so out of pure affection, and not from necessity, and if the marriage did not take place they suggested that the conclusion

1581.

of an offensive and defensive alliance should be considered against your Majesty, whose power naturally aroused the suspicions of both nations. They said they ought not to allow the opportunity of the Flemish disturbances to slip through their fingers, nor miss the chance of troubling your Majesty in Portuguese affairs. The French replied to this that their King would not enter into an alliance against any Christian prince. If the Queen married Alençon and the latter was king of England, he might attempt what he pleased against the Netherlands, and he, the king of France, would not fail to help his brother. In the meanwhile no formal commission has been given to the English Ministers, by which it is clear that the Queen is simply procrastinating about the marriage, in order to draw the French into an offensive alliance, without burdening herself with a husband, whilst the French wish first to make sure of the marriage.

They have signified that their commission was limited in duration, and they consequently could not waste any more time in banquets, but must come to business, after which there would be time for banquets and good cheer.

M. de la Mothe Fénélon, who, when he was ambassador here, was very intimate with Leicester, has sent to beg the latter earnestly to meet him privately, which Leicester has hitherto refused to do. La Mothe says he does not look upon this as a good sign for the success of the marriage. Things are therefore in this state with no resolution taken, and I have thought well to explain fully the position.

With these Frenchmen there came a Portuguese to press for aid for Don Antonio, who is said to be in Mazagan, and to have in his interests some of the isles of the Azores, which is confirmed by letters to me from the islands, and particularly from Terceira.

At the last fair at Frankfort a large number of heretic books were bought, with the intention of sending them to Spain, and as the heretics are thus busy in sowing their poisonous weeds, it will be much to the interests of God and your Majesty that great vigilance should be exercised in all the ports. Before the arrest of the heretics who were discovered in Genoa, I wrote to Don Pedro de Mendoza to report to the seignory that certain Genoese here and in Antwerp were living in such a way that, if they were not watched they might infect Genoa. I also wrote to Abbot Brizeño* to inform his Holiness, because these people serve as spies, which of itself would not much matter, if they did not try to transmit their errors to those with whom they correspond.—London, 4th May 1581.

May 4. **89.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

A week before the arrival of the French envoys in England the earl of Leicester and the Queen's Ministers endeavoured to discover whether I had any instructions from your Majesty to see her.

* The Spanish ambassador to the Pope.

1581.

This they did by means of persons who they knew would convey it to me at once. One of these persons told them that he had not heard that I had any such instructions, but that it was quite possible, even if I had, that I might not think fit to see her until after the Frenchmen had left. To this Leicester replied that, on the contrary, it would be much better that I should see her whilst they were here. I heard this before I received your Majesty's last despatches, and, as I know Leicester's character so well, he frequently resorting to such tricks as these in order to discover things, I thought well, after I had received your Majesty's last letters, to seize the opportunity thus offered, but without appearing to be very desirous of it. I simply said that if the Queen could spare time from so many ambassadors, perhaps she might receive me. This was said in the course of conversation with a confidant of Leicester's, with the knowledge that it would reach him, thus opening the door for them to seek me if they desired it. They understood this move, however, as I expected they would, saying amongst themselves that, even if I were to ask for audience of the Queen, it would be better that she should not grant it, but that I should get myself gone, as there was no English ambassador at your Majesty's Court. The people interested in Drake's plunder have been urging this.

The French ambassador heard from the French courier who brought me your Majesty's despatch that he had been specially enjoined at Calais to deliver it into my own hands, as it was from your Majesty. The ambassador informed the Ministers here of this, and asked whether, if I requested audience in view of my fresh letters, the Queen would grant it. They replied that, even if I was to ask for it, it was quite possible that she would not receive me, and the ambassador divulged this. Perhaps this may have been done with the same false intent as before, thinking that they will thus pledge the French to agree to what the Queen wishes. In order to uphold your Majesty's dignity, whilst at the same time keeping myself informed as to the best way of treating them without swelling their insolence by seeming to seek them, I am feigning illness, whilst spreading the report that the Ministers have been throwing out feelers to me to learn whether I had your Majesty's instructions to see the Queen. I give out that, even if I had such instructions, my poor health would not allow of my seeking audience, and I am thus gaining time until I see what success attends the French attempt to relieve Cambrai, and I discover how the Queen gets on with the Commissioners. Your Majesty will see by the other letter I write that they are not very close friends, which makes me think that, if they continue in their idea of refusing me audience, it may after all be a special mercy of God to harden their hearts, in order that affairs in Scotland and Ireland may become more and more strained. Most Englishmen are not well pleased with the marriage negotiations; the very heretics saying that, if the match takes place, there will be a revolt in the country. I am losing no opportunity of urging this view, although I do not see the Queen, but am moving secretly in every

1581.

possible way to promote your Majesty's designs, although really it demands more prudence than I possess to deal with people so evil-minded, cautious, and fickle. I thank your Majesty humbly for granting me leave; and although the necessity for my remaining here until matters are put into train may mean the sacrifice of my health, life, and what little sight is left to me, I reflect that all these have been granted to me by God only to be devoted to your service. I have received none of the remittances your Majesty has ordered to be sent for use, if necessary, in your service.

Although Antonio de Castillo is clever and learned, and properly zealous as a good subject in your interests, which has enabled him to render to me a good account of the business with which he was entrusted relating to Portugal, he would nevertheless be unfitting to attend to your Majesty's interests here as he is quite ignorant of the affairs of France and Flanders, and especially so of warlike matters, both of which subjects are most important for the minister here. Even if he were able to make himself acquainted with French and Flemish affairs, he could only do so after a delay which would greatly injure your Majesty's interests. Besides this, he does not speak French, which is very necessary here for Flemish affairs, whilst Latin and Italian are needful for English. He has, moreover, no knowledge at all of military matters, and could not, therefore, judge of the opportunities offered by affairs in the Netherlands for curbing or loosening the rein on this Queen. This can only be done by a man versed in warfare. It was this knowledge which allowed me to present a bold front to the Queen on many occasions after I saw how abashed she was when I gave her smart answers, and it has been of advantage in making her more modest than if I had treated her softly. Castillo will be very fitting to serve your Majesty in the legal affairs of Portugal, and it will be advisable to accede to his desire and withdraw him at once from here, sending him a letter for the Queen that he may request permission to leave as your Minister. I say this because he left my house in consequence of illness, and the English have already begun to gossip about it, saying that your Majesty cannot be very sure of Portugal, since you have a separate ambassador here for that country who does not live with me. These discourses are aided by the fact that there is no business to be done, and by the bad offices of the naturalised Portuguese Jews here, who were friendly with Castillo at first and now are spies on his actions.—London, 4th May 1581.

7 May. **90.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since I wrote on the 4th the only news is that the Queen has signed the commission for the Ministers who are to treat with the French, which is, word for word, the same as the French commission, it having been copied from the latter. Lansac and La Mothe Fénélon have secretly seen Leicester, who pointed out the services he had rendered to France, the only reward for which had been that Simier had set the Queen against him. They threw the

1581.

blame on Simier, and urged Leicester to continue his good offices, they making him many fine offers, and holding out grand hopes.

On the 5th the Queen, in conversation with La Mothe, at a supper given to them by the earl of Sussex, said she was glad that they had spoken to Leicester, and undeceived themselves of the false opinion which was held of him in France. She said he had done his best to promote the marriage, and to maintain a good understanding between the countries, of which he saw the necessity. La Mothe replied that it depended entirely upon her when the marriage was concluded. The Queen answered that, as for the marriage, that was in the hands of God, and she had nothing to say about it until she had received a reply from Alençon, to whom she had written, but in the meanwhile they might discuss other points. La Mothe said that he had no instructions to discuss anything but the marriage, whereupon the Queen appeared annoyed, saying that it was necessary to await the reply from France. This procrastination and suspense on the part of the Queen is beginning to annoy the Frenchmen, notwithstanding that she tries to cajole them with feasts and hunting parties to extend their stay here. The business is reduced to what the Queen has written to Alençon, which has only been communicated to Marchaumont and Sussex, and this naturally serves to increase the annoyance of the Frenchmen. I do my best by secret means to exacerbate this feeling, working under the current, as I see that that is the best way to bring the English to seek me and try to prevail upon me to listen to them. Your Majesty's wishes may thus best be carried out, because when they find me stiffnecked it piques them the more. By merely saying that I was ill and avoiding them, I know I have made them think that I am in treaty with the French, whose object they believe is to throw upon the Queen the blame for the failure of the marriage, in order to take advantage of it for Scotch affairs.

I have been informed that Leicester says that Casimir's having accepted a pension from your Majesty, was by his consent and advice, and that if France broke with your Majesty, as might be expected, you would employ Casimir, who would then be better able than ever to help the Protestants, repeating what Maurice did at Metz. He forgets that if it suits your Majesty you may hold him tightly, instead of employing him.—London, 7th May 1581.

7 May. **91.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After I had written the enclosed despatch, advising the arrival on the west coast of ships from the Azores, a Portuguese arrived here, a tall mulatto, whose name I have not learnt, to beg of this Queen to send aid for the holding of the Isle of Terceira, in the interests of Don Antonio. He assures her that if she aids them the rest of the islands will side with them. They offer to pay for all the arms, munitions, and stores, which may be sent to them.

1581.

The bishop of Angra writes to Antonio de Castillo a letter, of which I send copy, and I have therefore kept back the despatch until I see what the Queen will decide about sending the aid sought. It is a very old project, as I wrote to your Majesty on the 20th December, reporting that the islands had sent a ship hither about it, and that the vessels then ready to sail to the Indies for plunder were kept back in respect thereof.

Leicester and Walsingham, who have charge of the business, have discussed it with the Queen, apparently in accord with Count Vimioso in France, as an Englishman who was sent with Souza has returned. The Queen has decided that six of the ships, which are in Plymouth ready to sail for plunder to the Indies, shall leave by the first fair wind, under Drake, who has volunteered to conduct the succour in person, on the promise of the island to reimburse him the expenses. He will stay there until the rest arrive, and will be joined by the ships from France, when they will try to invest your Majesty's fleets, in co-operation with the other pirates. I am told that in Havre and Dieppe alone there are four armed ships ready to leave on the first spring tide, taking a large quantity of muskets and supports, which is a sign that the intention is to go to the Indies, as the persons who have fitted them out are private individuals, and it cannot be believed that they are being sent by the Guises to Scotland. Three private pirate ships have left here for Barbary, besides the ships which are being fitted out in Bordeaux and Nantes, of which Tassis will send an account to your Majesty. These Councillors are calculating that after the succour has been taken to Terceira the ships may go and fetch Don Antonio from Barbary to the Azores; where, if he can be maintained with help from here, they may be able to continue to prey upon the commerce of the two Indies, without having to make such a long voyage for the purpose as Drake undertook, the intention being to make their raids under letters of marque from Don Antonio, and to disturb all the Spanish coast and your Majesty's subjects. It may be feared that, even if the people at Terceira do not willingly welcome so many thieves in their island, the latter may invade the place by force, in order to establish Don Antonio there; and although I can only treat of the matter generally, as I have no particular knowledge of the Azores, I am of opinion that it will be well to take the matter in hand with all energy, and I send a special courier with the news, so that there may be time to provide for the security of the Indian fleets, as the ships that go to meet them leave Portugal at this season.

I have also taken steps in another matter connected with this. A Portuguese of Terceira, who was in communication with Antonio de Castillo before Don Antonio's rising, but who broke with him afterwards, and became intimate with Souza, has died here. He had two thousand crowns worth of cloth at Lyme destined for Terceira. In order to prevent those who may come from the island from getting hold of the property, and employing it in munitions or in fitting out ships for the succour; I have sent

1581.

to have it embargoed, on the plea that the duties payable to your Majesty on the woad, which this man exported, have not been paid, this being 13 per cent., for which Antonio de Castillo informs me they give security, to pay after their return and the sale of the merchandize.

This will prevent them from laying hands on the 2,000 crowns, and will secure your Majesty's dues, which I have proved as a debt, because if I were to have dealt with the property otherwise, and claimed it on account of rebellion, these people would not have given me the embargo.—London, 7th May 1581.

12 May. 92. Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The Portuguese who I informed your Majesty by special courier on the 7th had arrived from the Azores, have gone to France to convey to Count Vimioso the decision arrived at by the Queen and Ministers respecting the succour of Terceira, which is being pushed forward with frantic haste. I have news that there is a ship loaded with munitions in the port of Lyme, but the weather is against them, and none of the ships can sail. Although I do not speak to the Queen, I have pointed out to some of these Councillors the danger they run in not remedying this matter. I have reported the departure of these Portuguese to Juan Bautista de Tassis, in order that he may take necessary steps in your Majesty's interest.

On the night of the 7th, Marchaumont, by order of the Queen, dispatched M. de Vray with a letter written by the Queen herself in the sealing-wax of which was embedded a diamond. Vray's departure was not communicated to the other envoys, who are murmuring thereat. I am told that Marchaumont sent a document signed by Leicester, the Treasurer, Sussex, and the rest of the Commissioners, saying that they are of opinion that the Queen should marry Alençon. Marchaumont managed this, understanding that it would be the best means of bringing Alençon hither, which is what the Queen wishes. I cannot help thinking, however, that this sudden resolution of the Queen's to send de Vray (the French after having almost given up the marriage having now made up their minds that it will take place) may indicate rather that some great disagreement exists between Alençon and his brother, and this demonstration of the Queen's may be for the purpose of preventing the decline of Alençon by proving that she is prompted only by affection for him, and makes no account of the King or his Ministers here, thus pledging him (Alençon) in a way which may prevail upon him to come hither, when, if she please, she may marry him; and if not, may satisfy him (as she told Leicester she could) in a way which would prevent his being offended; which he probably would be if the thing was done through Commissioners.

She has also arranged for Marchaumont to go and live in a house adjoining her gardens, and in one of the rooms they are making an appearance of having a man hidden, taking in his meals, and so forth. The Queen herself has twice come alone, to the garden; and this has given rise to the belief that there is some great personage there: some say Alençon, others Don Antonio, or

1581.

Count Vimioso. They are so certain about this, indeed, that I have thought well to report to your Majesty, in case it should come to your ears by other channels, but it is nothing but a cunning trick of the Queen's to learn how the people would accept the coming of Alençon, and also, in case he should come, to have a place ready where she can see him without his being known. With the same end she has deferred from the 7th to the 15th some great entertainments which were to be given to the Commissioners.—London, 12th May 1581.

14 May. **93.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In conformity with the orders contained in your Majesty's despatch of the 17th, I have ascertained the price of wheat in this country, and whether merchants would be willing to send it to Lisbon, in consideration of the profit they would make. I find that the price has greatly risen recently, in consequence of the heavy rains of last month, and the fears of a poor harvest. The Queen has therefore ordered that none is to be exported. The quarter, which is equal to five Spanish fanegas, is quoted at 23 to 24 shillings equal to 45 to 48 reals, whilst in Lisbon, by last advices of the 10th April, the price was equivalent to 15 reals the fanega. English wheat, with cost and freights would stand the merchant in 26 shillings the quarter, or ten and a half reals a fanega, the rest being profit. They will not risk it at this time of the year with such a merchandise, as they are not sure whether the demand for it in Lisbon, arises from the continued westerly winds, which may have prevented the arrival of the ships which ordinarily carry wheat from France, Flanders, Holland and England, or whether from a short harvest there. I understand that if the scarcity there arises from the non-arrival of wheat ships, the loss the merchants would suffer is certain, as is the profit which would accrue if the scarcity is in consequence of short harvest. They will not therefore risk the export, having regard also to the Queen's prohibition, and the fact that this is not the time when a return freight could be obtained from there. I have secretly treated with a merchant, and pointed out to him that this is a business which might produce great profit, as I am convinced, that when the Queen learns that there is to be a short harvest here the prohibition of exports will be made much more severe, and that not a grain then could be sent, excepting to the enormous profit of the English themselves (in which case they would manage somehow to export it), and I have therefore asked this merchant whether, on the assurance being given to the English that a certain price shall be paid for all wheat placed in Lisbon within a given time, in good order, he would undertake to supply a quantity. He assures me that he will, if the payment is guaranteed by a private merchant. They are to deliver the wheat at their own cost and risk, and if it do not arrive within the time specified, they are not to be paid for it. I thought it well to give your Majesty an account of this, as if the scarcity arises from a bad harvest, provision might thus be made at a reasonable price, because the English, if the quantity required is a large one, will be encouraged by the

1581.

amount, even though the profit per quarter is small. They will thus be sure of having a supply in Lisbon without depending upon chance cargoes sent from France, Flanders and here, as it is probable that both in France and here efforts will be made to prevent the exportation of food, in order that, by reason of famine the discontent in Lisbon may be increased, but I am assured by the merchants that if the guarantee of Diego de Marquina of Lisbon is given for the payment, there they will undertake to supply the quantity agreed upon. If your Majesty decides to make this agreement, it will be well to instruct me instantly, so that I may conclude the affair with the Englishmen and expedite the dispatch, which will be managed without the knowledge of the Queen and her officers, for certainly, if she hears of it, she will prevent it with all her strength. I have written to Flanders through another person, telling them to send wheat from there, and doubtless ships freighted by Portuguese will similarly sail from Holland and Zeeland.—London, 14th May 1581.

28 May. **94.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives. K. 1447, 49.

Thanks for advices about England, Ireland and Scotland, contained in letters of 6th and 11th April, especially about the great French embassy.

I am pleased to learn of the zeal and fervour of the English catholics, as I am so anxious for the restoration of the country to our Holy Catholic church and obedience to Rome. I have therefore favourably considered the reasons they give for desiring the appointment of an English cardinal, and the benefit that might be derived therefrom, and have decided to support the request. I have ordered the Pope to be written to in recommendation of the persons of Sanders and William Allen, who are mentioned in your letter. You may inform the Catholics of this, for their consolation; and it would not be bad for them to do as they suggest, and provide some portion of the money for the new Cardinal's fitting maintenance. I will not, however, for my part, forget to make a grant to them for the same purpose, and I hope his Holiness will do the same.

As regards the steps taken by Zubiaur on behalf of the persons interested in Seville to recover some portion of Drake's booty, you will have noticed that I have always left the matter entirely to your discretion. Your opinion as to the objections offered by the suggestion of allowing Zubiaur to come to terms with the English for the restitution of a small portion of the plunder, has been referred to the Indian Council for their consideration. The decision shall be communicated to you.—La Cardiga, 28 May 1881.

[*Note.*—In a marginal note the King instructs Idiaquez to write the following letter to Mendoza.]

28 May. **95.** SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives. K. 1447, 48.

His Majesty is replying to all your letters up to that of 11th April. He has resolved to accede to the petition of the English catholics, like the father and protector of all catholics that he is.

1581.

With regard to the appointment of an English cardinal, I can assure you that we here are of opinion that, not only one should be appointed, but that both the persons you name should be elevated to the dignity, so that one might remain in Rome and the other in Flanders or here. By this means the sympathies of the Pope might be retained by the man in Rome, whilst a more intimate understanding and intelligence might be kept up with the catholics in England by the cardinal in Flanders.

As we are uncertain whether the Sanders you mentioned is the same as the Sanders* who is in Ireland, I shall be glad to be informed on that point and any other that may occur to you, for communication to his Majesty.—La Cardiga, 28 May 1581.

2 June. **96.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The changes in the marriage negotiations have been so sudden and frequent on both sides that I have not ventured to give an account of them to your Majesty, but have waited until something was settled.† Although it has appeared several times that this was so, things have always changed the next day, and I am consequently obliged to report events as they have happened since the departure of M. de Vray, which I advised on the 12th ultimo The Queen heard from her ambassador Cobham that the king of France would not listen to the idea of an offensive and defensive alliance if the marriage were not effected, and this caused the English Commissioners to move, before Vray's return, the abrogation of one of the clauses already agreed upon, namely that Alençon and his servants might publicly exercise the catholic religion. They said that, in view of the condition of things here, although the Queen had previously conceded this clause, it was not advisable now that it should be accepted or that, either publicly or privately, Alençon or any member of his household should exercise his religion after the marriage; as they (*i.e.* the Council) did not wish to have any difference of religion in the country.

This appeared to the French Commissioners to be a great innovation, which the king of France and his mother ought, on no account, to allow; even though Alençon were to accept it. They therefore replied that the matter was already agreed to, and Lansac, la Mothe Fénélon, and Pinart, sent to ask Leicester to confer with them about it, and persuade the Queen not to alter the clause, and to agree to the marriage. He excused himself from seeing them, but sent to say that when the Queen decided to marry he should be pleased, but he would not persuade her to do so on any account.

At this juncture Vray arrived with letters from Alençon, saying that, for his part, he would do whatever the Queen wished, but

* There is in the Paris Archives (Simancas, K. 1448), an extremely eulogistic report upon the career and qualities of Dr Sanders, in connection with the suggestion to raise him to the cardinalate. It is sent by the agent of the duke of Savoy in Madrid to Don Juan de Idiaquez and is undated, but was probably written shortly before this letter.

† The letters from Pinart giving an account of these negotiations are in the Bibliotheque Nationale Fonds-Francais 3,308.

1581.

that his brother would not break with your Majesty, nor with any other Prince; saying that Alençon after his marriage could do as he liked. In view of the proclamation issued by the King on the 17th ultimo,* and the offer made to Alençon by the Queen-mother also, the French were of opinion that they ought to depart at once as the marriage could not now be effected. The French ambassador came to see me at a very unusual hour and, from what I could infer from his conversation, it was the wish of the envoys that he should come and assure me that the English were only aiming at inducing the King to break with your Majesty. He expressed himself as very indignant at the way in which they were treated, and I took care to increase this feeling, cautiously; replying to the rest of his discourse in general terms. I thus deepened the suspicion that the secret negotiations of the Queen with Alençon might result in her providing him with means from here for gaining over a port (in France) to his interest, through which the English might help him, if necessary. After the reception of the despatch, the Commissioners saw the Queen respecting their departure, and decided on the 27th ultimo in a conference with the English that it would be advisable, in order to guard Alençon's honour, to agree upon the negotiations. This the Englishmen consented to, and the Queen was to write a letter saying that when they thought well to marry, these articles should be the ones adopted, but that at present it was not desirable to effect the marriage, pending the discussion in Parliament of the question of the coronation and the alimony to be given to the consort in case of the Queen's death. The French made great efforts to prevent this letter from being written, whilst the Queen, herself kept delaying their departure. In view of this they said they wished to know why she refused to sign the capitulations, as, if the reason was that they had not sufficient authority to accept them on behalf of the King, they would be glad to be told so.

At this time the Queen received secret intelligence from Alençon respecting the anger of his mother when she left him, upon his telling her that he would not fail to relieve Cambrai in person, in accordance with the promise he had made to this Queen; and that, although he had asked all the nobles of France to help him to that effect, the King had prevented them from doing so.† Upon the receipt of this, the Queen told the envoys that Alençon and she were the persons who were to be married and they understood each other very well, so that there was no need for the signing of capitulations, nor for their acceptance by the King. It is to be believed that she took up this position in the certainty that Alençon was coming hither. He embarked at Dieppe on the 28th ultimo

* This was an order from the King to the provincial authorities to disperse by force of arms all the levies being raised in France for the service of his brother in Flanders.

† A letter from Catharine de Medici to Ferrier, the French ambassador in Venice (Bibliotheque Nationale, Colbert, 368), gives an interesting account of her fruitless efforts to dissuade her son from again entering the Netherlands. She expresses the deepest grief at his determination, "seeing him on the brink of ruin both of person and reputation."

1581.

at six in the morning, telling the Governor of the town not to inform his brother or his mother until after he had sailed, as he was going to visit this Queen. Contrary weather, however, drove him back to land and he left the town, although other people say that he did not disembark there, but in another port between Dieppe and Boulogne. All are agreed that after he landed he started with a crowd of horsemen, from whom, after a short time, he separated with only eight attendants, without its being known whether he travelled to Boulogne or Dieppe. Although some people assert positively that he has arrived here, I believe that this is not the case, but that the Queen is expecting him and that, at this moment, he may have landed on the coast. The Queen certainly is satisfied that he is coming, and has dispatched Marchaumont and de Vray to meet him. This step has taken the King's Commissioners here by surprise, as, indeed, it has the English also. When Leicester and Walsingham told the Commissioners that an English merchant had seen Alençon embark at Dieppe they were much perturbed, and the certainty of his coming has caused great sorrow in the country. I will give an account of his arrival to your Majesty with all speed.—London, 2nd June 1581.

2 June **97.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In conformity with the orders contained in your Majesty's despatch of the 24th April, received 31st ultimo, I have already advised with regard to Ireland that the Viceroy was negotiating with some of the insurgents, but he could not prevail upon them to submit on his promises alone. The Queen therefore sent the pardon which I mentioned in my former letters, but it has not been taken advantage of by any of those who are in arms. O'Neil had postponed his interview with the Viceroy, but when the day arrived he did not attend, but marched eight leagues inland to avoid him. The Viceroy was constructing a fort to prevent the raids which were made upon the English territory by the people of Baron Grangas (Clancar or Baltinglass?), and the insurgents had slaughtered two companies of Irishmen who were on the side of the Queen, and with them some Englishmen who were engaged in building the fort. I have no communication with the insurgents, as I am without instructions from your Majesty,* and it would be very difficult for me to get into negotiation with them, but I understand from the news received by the Queen, and the English who are well informed on these matters, that although the principal people are mostly in arms they are not making so much progress as they might, in consequence of their want of harmony; the principal chiefs, namely O'Neil, Desmond, and Baron Clancar (?) remaining each in his own territory, concerned principally in preserving themselves from falling into the hands of this Queen and losing their lives. The result of this is that their forces are of little

* In the King's hand: "It will be well to consider whether he should arrange it, although it would be better to do it here."

1581.

service, disunited as they are, and unable to withstand separately the attacks of the English. For this reason the Queen is temporising, and delaying the dispatch of the large force which the Viceroy requests, fearing that the arrival of such a force would cause the Irish to unite, which might give her much more trouble than at present, when they are divided; and, in the meanwhile, she is gaining time and trying what can be done by promises and favours. In the interim too, she will watch whether his Holiness sends them fresh aid, in order to regulate her forces in conformity therewith. This is the present position; but little dependance can be placed on the people of the island by reason of their inconstancy and fickleness, which has been proved frequently by their repeated submission and agreement with the Queen and her predecessors, at times when they had least cause for it. For this reason it would be well, if his Holiness helps them again, that it should be in such force as to compel the Irish to co-operate with him, and that the chiefs should be thoroughly informed as to the reason of the war, as otherwise no aid sent thither will be of much use, and the Irish will probably act as they have done in the past.

The Scotch proclamation which I sent to your Majesty was actually issued last year, at the time that Morton was paramount, but in order to make people here believe that it was issued this year they had it printed here, with the object I mentioned before, because here they reckon the beginning of the year from the 25th March, thus giving the impression that the proclamation was dated this year. The trick was seen through by Catholics at once, and they made known the fact that in Scotland the year began on the 1st January. As this opened people's eyes, the English had the proclamation again printed under date of 1581, inserting therein the clauses passed in 1566 in the time of the Regent James,* respecting religion. This heretical poison is so pestilential and artfully concocted that I have not dared to send it to your Majesty.

In addition to the plot divulged by Whittinghame, the latter has also declared that his brother Douglas, in order to overthrow d'Aubigny and arouse the indignation of the Scots against him, forged a letter in his name to the bishop of Glasgow, the queen of Scotland's ambassador in France, telling him to beg his Holiness to give a license to him (d'Aubigny) to pretend to be a heretic in order to take the opportunity of secretly doing what service he might to the Catholic faith in Scotland. This letter, he said, had been sent in a way which would insure its falling into the hands of the Ambassador Cobham in France as if it had been intercepted, as Cobham believed it had been, and instantly sent it to this Queen, who forwarded it to Morton's friends in Scotland. The fraud having been divulged, however, has increased d'Aubigny's credit and justified him before his enemies.

The Queen is informed that the Scots were hastily fortifying

* The Earl of Murray. The National Covenant had, in fact, been signed in 1580. Dr. Robertson confuses it with the Bond of 1588.

1581.

Leith, the port where the French were in the year /62, and notwithstanding that the English had withdrawn all their troops from the Border, the Scots had left 600 picked men there. She also has letters from the king of Scotland complaining that she had not allowed the ambassador John Seton, whom he sent, to pass. The King says that as he received her ambassadors, even after he knew the bad objects with which they came, he was astonished that she should repulse his. This was really an artifice of the English to prevent the Scots' envoy coming hither whilst the French Commissioners were here.

This Queen sent Master Harrington to Scotland with a message to the King, to the effect that she would receive his ambassadors, but that the person he had sent was a pensioner of your Majesty, and consequently was not pleasing to her. This mission is only a pretext to allow of an effort being made with Lord Argyll, Chancellor of Scotland, to prevent the condemnation of Morton at Dumbarton, and to have him brought to Edinburgh. The King received this Queen's envoy extremely well. Lord Seton, who is the father of John Seton, has been made admiral of Scotland, and this has caused some suprise here, seeing the slight they put upon his son at Berwick. Although the Chancellor has always been a deadly enemy to Morton, the Queen's envoy bought him over by gifts and promises, so that, when they brought for his signature the patent for the twelve men who, according to the law of the country, were to sentence Morton at Dumbarton, he refused to sign it as was agreed. It was brought to him by Sir James Douglas,* guardian of Lord Arran, the eldest brother of the Hamiltons, and Morton's most persistent persecutor, and when he found the Chancellor would not sign it, he told him that if he had as many teats as horns he would make a better cow than a Chancellor, which remark they say is very appropriate to the person of Argyll. As the patent was not signed Morton was ordered to be brought from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 27th ultimo, and at the same time 158 burgesses, who were understood to be in his favour, were ordered to go out of the town, leaving their wives, children, and property. It is understood that Morton will be condemned, but these people are convinced that the King will grant him his life and imprison him in the castle of Dumbarton, even though he may be condemned to death. I am told that this will be done upon the petition of the queen of Scotland, it having been negotiated by the councillors here, who held out hopes to her that it might lead to her relief and possible liberation. I have written to her upon the subject, and when I get a reply will communicate it to your Majesty, as, in conformity with your orders, I continue to keep up a correspondence with her, and am trying to gain over through her the King and his friends to look favourably upon your Majesty's interests.

* The person referred to is doubtless Captain James Stewart, of Ochiltree, who had obtained for himself the title and lands of his lunatic ward. The anecdote here related of him is quite in keeping with the character for coarse insolence given to him by his contemporary, Sir James Melville and others.

1581.

I also learn that the earl of Angus, and other of Morton's friends who had fled from Scotland, went to ask for the aid of Sir John Forster, governor of Carlisle, on the frontier, who told them that, as this Queen was at peace with Scotland, he could not receive them, but sent them word secretly that they were to remain in the houses of certain gentlemen who are chiefs of parties. This was done by order of the Queen to see whether men would flock to them for the purpose of making an armed entrance into Scotland whilst she helped them underhand, and thus to cause civil war in the country. She has still hopes of this, especially if Morton be saved, and she is pressing this point warmly.

The king of Scotland has ordered the arrest of a very confidential servant of his who belonged to his chamber, called Roger Austin, who had been sent to the King formerly by his grandmother, the countess of Lennox. The reason of the arrest was that certain letters were intercepted from him to Lord Hunsdon at Berwick, which letters, although they were not signed, were declared to be his by the messenger who bore them.

Movements in Scotland were considered both here and in France to be of the highest importance, having regard to the suddenness of Morton's arrest, and to the haughtiness with which the King replied to the messages upon the subject sent to him by this Queen; and also to the spirit with which the Scots flocked to the Border as soon as this Queen began to collect forces on her side. When, however, the slowness of the proceedings against Morton was seen, and no change was made in religion, it was recognised that the events were not prompted by a design to bring the country to submission to the Catholic church, so much as by private rancour and d'Aubigny's wish to consolidate his party by getting rid of Morton. This view is supported by the fact that d'Aubigny is accused, both here and in France, of having pandered to the heretics in going to their preachings and in other ways, which on no account should he have done being a Catholic. This shows the power which the heretics possess there, and the small trust which can be placed in Scotsmen, who moreover are people of notoriously weak faith. There are indications that the belief that the seizure of Morton by d'Aubigny was at the instigation of the French is incorrect, as this Queen is so intimate now with the French, and withdrew her troops from the Border so unhesitatingly, saying that Spanish money was the origin of the Scotch troubles.

These considerations are supported by the absence of any indication that the principal Catholics here have any secret communications with those of Scotland, as well as but little connection with the Queen (of Scotland). It is certain that if they be not united with regard to her release and the conversion of Scotland, the Scots will not break with this Queen unless they are supported by foreign troops, who will not be admitted by the heretics, unless indeed a large number of the Catholics declare themselves. This is my interpretation of the position. I think that the movements were most important at the beginning, and

1581.

would have so proved if they had been continued with the same firmness as at first. I try by all means to forward them secretly through the queen of Scotland and some of her English Catholic adherents, but I have not ventured to open direct negotiations with the Scots without orders from your Majesty.*—London, 2nd June 1581.

2 June **98.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As soon as the wind served two or three of the ships sailed which I said were ready to go to Terceira, and now four more are ready to follow them, the largest being of 300 tons burthen and the smallest 100; as well as seven little vessels being fitted out by Drake. I understand that five hundred corselets have been brought from Antwerp, many of them proof, a thousand harquebuesses and muskets, a thousand morrions, and 27 proof roundels. I do not know whether the ships are taking more provisions than are necessary for the voyage to Terceira. News has arrived from there that French pirate ships had already begun to collect, and particularly two which had been captured by Frenchmen from English merchants, one being called "The Jonas," a very swift ship, which had chased a ship from St. Michaels as she was coming to England with woad.

Juan Rodriguez de Souza has returned from France. Before he arrived in London he stayed a week in Canterbury, on the pretext that he was awaiting Count Vimioso, but seeing that the latter tarried so long, Souza came on to London. The earl of Leicester is caressing him as usual, inviting him now publicly to his house, which he did not do before. They tell me that there are signs that he brings much money, and he affirms that Don Antonio is alive and safe in a secure place. He is seeking a large house wherein to move, in order that he may lodge Vimioso when he comes. London 2nd June 1851.

2 June. **99.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA, to the KING.

I wrote to Don Juan de Idiaquez on the 24th ultimo for your Majesty's information that these councillors had decided that it would be unadvisable for this Queen to give me audience whilst the French envoys were here, which caused me not to ask for an interview, but to temporise in various ways with them, pretending at first to be ill, and saying that, until the Queen were released from the entertainment of so great an embassy, I would not trouble her. This was said as if the avoidance of an audience was at my instance. I have been approached by hints as to whether I would have a secret conference with Leicester, the only object of this being to raise him in the eyes of the French, and to learn from me what instructions I had from your Majesty with regard to speaking with the Queen. As I was of opinion that your Majesty's interests would be best served by my avoiding such a conference, I replied that it would injure him seriously if the French were to learn that

* In the King's hand, "Note.—Consider what had better be done in this."

1581.

he had secret interviews with me, besides which he would waste these fine presents and entertainments which he had given to them and would forfeit the good opinion they had formed of him. I thus left it to be inferred that I avoided seeing him in his own interest, and I took care that his approaches to me reached the ears of the French envoys secondhand. In order to find out how the land lay, I also sent to ask Lord Burleigh, who is the principal minister, whether it was true, as I had been informed, that the Queen was feasting the ambassadors so splendidly that it was believed they would delay their departure as long as possible, in order to enjoy such a welcome. I begged him to let me know if they would shortly leave, as I had business to communicate. He replied that he understood that they would soon depart, and that the Queen would then be at liberty to receive me. In the meanwhile the other events which I have related have happened and I have thought it best to say no more about an audience. I am therefore sailing with the sheet-line in my hand to shorten or loosen sail according to the wind; thus attaining the end desired by your Majesty and giving time to see what success attends the treaty about which I have written, which could be ill carried through if I were not here. I have news from the Hollanders* that they had got together the men they wanted, as well as the men on shore, and I have reported this to the prince of Parma, although I have not learnt whether the men he is to send are ready. This leads me to believe that the attempt cannot be made until the 15th, as there must be a full tide. I again assure your Majesty that my advices from the place convince me that, if these men are conveyed thither secretly, the business will be accomplished, and may be looked upon as done.—London 2nd June 1581.

5 June. **100.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the second that there were manifest indications of the duke of Alençon's coming, in addition to his having embarked at Dieppe. He arrived at this place on the 4th instant at midday, coming up with the tide, and although a number of Frenchmen were on the watch for him at various points, doubtless by the orders of the King's envoys, he dodged all the spies and entered the house which I have already described, as being destined for his reception, where Marchaumont is staying, adjoining the Queen's garden. Shortly afterwards one of Alençon's most intimate gentlemen entered the presence chamber, as if he had just come from France with letters from Alençon to the Queen, which letters he handed to her. On his leaving the room he was recognised by a son of the controller† who was formerly a page to Alençon, and who told his father, who sent word to me, saying that I might with confidence write to your Majesty that he had come.

* The Hollanders with whom he had arranged for the betrayal of the port (Flushing) on the isle of Walcheren. As will be seen in subsequent letters, the affair was a trap into which Mendoza was led.

† Sir James Crofts, a member of the Queen's council in the pay of Spain, and controller of the household.

1581.

I have also news from another source, that the moment Alençon arrived Marchaumont sent to Leicester a jet ring, which was to be the signal of his arrival. Leicester and Walsingham could not believe it, and they were, according to all accounts, justified in their incredulity, for there was no reason which demanded his coming. He had no passport, the King his brother not having been consulted, and the ambassadors here were ignorant of his intention. Marchaumont has been very shy of the envoys, both in this matter and others. No man, great or small, can believe that he (Alençon) has come to be married, nor can they imagine that the Queen will marry him because he has come, and it may be suspected that her having persuaded him to come with the hopes that they two together would settle matters better than could be done with the intervention of his brother's ministers, has been the motive which brought him. No doubt this has been helped by the annoyance which Alençon publicly displays against his brother for the proclamation he has issued and the demonstration he has made against his subjects going to the relief of Cambrai. Alençon's plans may not have been looked upon as serious at first, but the meeting of the nobles which he summoned, and the suspicion that the raising of an expedition in Germany might be with a different object than the relief of Cambrai, have made the king of France more suspicious and determined that Alençon shall not collect an army. This has increased Alençon's anger, as he could not compel the King, and has driven him (Alençon) to make this visit here, as he thinks that it concerns him vitally to assent to the Queen's requests. One of his reasons may be to convince himself about the marriage, and to prove that he, for his part, had followed the Queen's advice in all things.

It is also evident that none of his designs against the Netherlands, or rebellion against his brother, could be carried through without money, which this Queen would the more readily find him if he asked for it in person, on the ground that he undertook the enterprise to please her, especially as Marchaumont will have informed him that, on the occasion of the king of France saying that, on no account, would he declare war against your Majesty, the Queen said that, if he would do so, she would help him with 500,000*l.* sterling. Although these words were used with an object, they would doubtless arouse hopes in Alençon's mind that he might get something from the Queen if he asked for it himself, particularly as the Queen-mother only raised 150,000 crowns in Paris to give him.

He may also have been prompted to come by the many difficulties of repeating the attempt to relieve Cambrai, and may have adopted the device of coming to this Queen in his desperation to ask for aid as a sufficient excuse to the States, as well as exalting himself in his brother's eyes by his influence with this Queen, who publicly declares that her friendship to France is only for the sake of Alençon. It is true that these considerations would have no weight with any one but such a person as he, but I set them forth here because his flightiness makes them important in his case.

1581.

The Controller has also informed me that he learns that they are preparing with great energy the ships to send for the succour of Terceira, and to meet the flotillas from the Indies. He says that eight fine ships, besides the small ones will go, and amongst them two belonging to the Queen. Besides which Leicester and Walsingham, who are the two principal adventurers, have almost arranged for another ship of 500 tons, a beautiful vessel, which was bombarded by two of your Majesty's galleys some months ago in the port of Cadiz, when she was escaping from an attempted embargo on the part of the Mayor. The Controller tells me that the best way for your Majesty to prevent these things and the sending of help by the Queen to the Flemish rebels will be to land 2,000 men in Ireland under cover of the Pope's name. This will be the best of all bridles to prevent the Queen from allowing a single man or ship to leave her country.

I should not be fulfilling my duty to your Majesty if I did not state here with what zeal he (Sir James Crofts) treats of this, and all other matters which concern your Majesty, advising me instantly of what happens. As he is understood to be a Catholic at heart, moreover, the Queen shows him no favour, and he therefore suffers greatly from poverty. I gave him what your Majesty ordered, but he serves so zealously that it would be well in your Majesty's interest for him to be again given a similar sum, and further hopes held out; because, if he be not thus supported, want will drive him away from Court, and whoever represents your Majesty here will be without any assistance at all.—London, 5th June 1581.

6 June. **101.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The Hollanders I wrote about have evidently divulged their plot to Orange, and it is a great mercy the men who were to be sent to help them were not ready on the 5th, when the spring tide was full at 6 in the morning and the attempt was to be made. They wrote twice urging me not to allow this opportunity to be lost, but their object was to murder the men when they came. On the 4th instant, at 9 at night, a secretary of the prince of Orange, four or five men of his guard, and two London constables came to the door of my house whilst I was visiting the French ambassador, and took from the hands of my servants and a woman who had the care of him, the son of the Hollander who had been left with me. The boy, who is 11 years old, was taken away by one of the constables and hidden; the people of the neighbourhood being told that it was done by order of Walsingham and the Council, and warned to keep the Queen's peace, as they call it here. My servants began to show fight, when, fortunately, I arrived in the midst of the turmoil, and was informed that a secretary of the prince of Orange was there. I had also heard that morning that neither of the Hollanders had been in the place to be taken three days before, and that they had not raised the men they said. On being told by the constables that they were acting under order of the Council I at once prevented any further disorder. I judged that the matter had been arranged between Walsingham and Orange, in order that the boy might be got out of

1581.

my hands, at the same time as the boatloads of men were to leave Gravelines, so that I should not possibly be able to send news in time to stop their departure, and in due course their arrival at the place to be attacked,* whilst at the same time I was deprived of power over the boy. God inspired me, seeing that it was for your Majesty's service, and that the plan had been discovered; and I therefore gave no opportunity for any disrespect to be shown to my person or household on the part of the multitude of people who were gathered, and who were as insolent as ever. Controlling myself, therefore, I said to the constable that, since he assured me that the order came from the Council and Walsingham, I required that the boy should be detained and he must be answerable to me for him, Walsingham and the Council being at once informed of the matter. The next morning I got a message from the Council, to the effect that as I had given out that I held the boy because he was the bastard son of a friend of mine, born whilst we were in Flanders together, they would arrest the constables. As I thought, however, that this was a good opportunity for me to see the Queen now that Alençon was here, I took advantage of it, and said that this was no excuse or fitting explanation of so daring an insolence. I then called angrily for my garments, and said I would at once go to the Queen and leave for Spain. They took this message to her, and she sent to say that I was not to complain until I knew what justice had been done, as she had sent to close all the ports, and had ordered every possible effort to be made to recapture the boy. She said that I was to excuse her for not receiving me at once, as she had promised audience to the French ambassadors, but that I could go and see her the next day, which is to-day, my anger having doubtless softened her to this extent. The anger itself was feigned, and I will adopt a similar course during my audience. I could not keep the Hollander's son in my house more securely than I did, and they would never have got him out of it unless they had come with the Queen's authority. I can assure your Majesty that until the departure of the Hollanders from here when they left the boy with me, they were acting straightforwardly, but, being heretics, they must have changed their purpose afterwards and must have divulged the matter to many others. Orange is such a perverse and knavish scoundrel that perhaps he planned to punish the father of the boy and the other man, although they had divulged their plot, in order to prevent such attempts for the future.—London, 6th June 1581.

15 June. **102.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I have received your Majesty's despatch of the 8th, ordering me to report what persons from Terceira had come hither, which I have done in my letters of the 7th ultimo by special courier. Since then there has been nothing fresh in the matter, excepting the sailing of the ships with munitions, which I reported to your Majesty, the rest having been delayed, in consequence of the rumour

* The men who were to start from Gravelines to co-operate with the pretended betrayers of Flushing fell into the snare and were sacrificed.

1581.

which I had secretly spread to frighten them, that your Majesty had ordered 40 galleons to leave Seville and Lisbon, in May, for the purpose of punishing Terceira, and to await the flotillas. I also gave out, in accordance with some information I had obtained from those who came from the island, how difficult it would be to hold the place, and the lack of shelter for ships, which made it necessary for vessels which load there to keep under sail the whole time. I replied also to those who told me that succour was to be sent thither, that when they arrived they would find forces there to bring them to account; and all this has caused hesitation. This has been increased by reports sent by Englishmen in Spain that ships were being fitted by your Majesty's orders, to make the voyage. As I did not see the Queen, I took care that the merchants trading with Spain should represent to her the great risk which was incurred to their property in that country, as well as to the ships which they were sending for the wine harvest, seeing that Drake's plunder was still un-restored. Such was the alarm caused by this, that the principal members of the company met together, and went to tell Walsingham that they had heard that, by his aid and countenance and that of other Councillors, Drake and Bingham, who was his servant, were arming ships with the object indicated. They said that they had no other livelihood than their trade with Spain, and would not now dare to send ships thither, seeing that vessels openly left here to help the rebels and injure your Majesty's subjects. If the hope of gain moved him, Walsingham, to be interested in these adventures, they would give him ten thousand marks, of 26 reals each, to desist therefrom; and, if not, they pointed out the injury it would cause to the country for their trade to be stopped. They were told that Drake was his friend, and Bingham his servant, but that they were acting without his consent. The merchants replied that, without the countenance of him or other Councillors, they were sure that it would not be attempted; whereupon he replied that the matter had been decided upon for fitting reasons, and they must have patience. I again increased their alarm, and the merchants thereupon brought individual pressure to bear on some of their friends in the Council, saying that if they had to lose their property they wished to hear from the Queen's own lips, whether it was necessary in her interests. This has somewhat slackened the fury, and the ships are not to leave until the end of August, so that Terceira will be unprotected, and we have thus gained time, for your Majesty, to reduce it with greater ease, and for me to see the Queen, and take fitting steps to prevent the going of the ships altogether.—London, 15th June 1581.

15 June. **103.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 6th I wrote to your Majesty that Alençon was here. In addition to the assurance from the Controller that I might write this, I had other information, and saw plain indications that he had arrived, so it was impossible to disbelieve it. The English, great and small, began to murmur about his coming, saying that

1581.

if he came to marry the Queen, it was fitting that he should come as the brother of a king ought to do, and with proper means; whereas, if he did not come to marry, they did not want poor Frenchmen in this country. All this is said so boldly, that probably the Queen may have feared that some disturbance would result; these fears being promoted by Leicester and Walsingham and their friends. It may well be imagined that this would cause the Queen to change her course. She gave many fine promises to Alençon and begged him to return at once, saying that when he came back here publicly she would marry him. It appears he did as she desired without having been seen by any of the Frenchmen, and I am assured that he only stayed here two nights. This has given the French an opportunity for saying that he has not been here. They announced their departure at this time publicly, saying that they might meet the Duke of Alençon and return hither with him. Their departure, however, was deferred from day to day, and on the 12th, after they had shipped their belongings and taken leave, they sent to ask for another audience, which delayed them until the 14th, when they departed without any other decision, excepting that they and the English Commissioners have signed the capitulation about which I have already written, to the effect that when the Queen and Alençon marry these conditions shall be adopted, the Queen reserving three or four points by letter to Alençon. These are, as to whether he may exercise his Catholic religion here, the question of his being crowned, the alimony he is to receive if the Queen dies, and the liberation of the Queen of Scotland. The Queen says that these points they will settle between them, without the intervention of anyone else, a period of six weeks being given for this purpose, during which it is to be decided whether Alençon is to come and be married or not. This seems quite incredible, and to be only a device to preserve the dignity of Alençon, after so solemn an embassy. The negotiations are thus left open and Marchaumont still remains here to keep up appearances, on the pretence that he is awaiting the expiry of the six weeks.

The Frenchmen assured the Queen in their last audience, that if the marriage took place, she should receive from the King of France whatever she desired. She is urging Alençon greatly to succour Cambrai. I cannot hear that any alliance was concluded, or that they or Alençon raised a loan, although both sides opened the door to some such arrangements, and hopes were held out concerning them. It may be judged from what has passed, that this communication may lead to ill blood rather than friendship between them, because Sussex, and those who promoted the marriage, have assured the French that Leicester and his friends have been the cause of its failure; whilst he, Leicester, tells them that he has never seen any desire on the Queen's part to marry Alençon, and that those who professed that she wished it had no other object but to drive the French into enmity with this country. I am assured also by confidants of the French, that they are in reality much offended at the Queen having enticed them here on the assurance of the marriage; whereas they are going back with empty words, and

1581.

she has made use of their coming to magnify her own importance and diminish that of France, saying that they wished to make an alliance with her and nothing else. They resent this, and with reason, as people judge that the French power must indeed be decayed if they are obliged to send so great an embassy for this purpose alone. I have made use of this, and have extended the rumour, without showing my hand.

The English have also become suspicious at the execution of Morton, whilst the ambassadors were here, inasmuch as the King of Scotland had only a few days before written the Queen a letter [illegible] promising that he would do nothing except to [illegible]. All this was merely artifice, in order to make sure of [illegible] and thought that owing to the steps that had been taken [illegible] towards the Queen of Scotland, even if the King, for a rearance sake, condemned Morton, he would not take [illegible] in order to avoid offending her. As she now sees the [illegible] Morton was executed with so much boldness, [illegible] and her suspicions aroused that the [illegible] by the French, by means of [illegible] to the Scotch Borders that [illegible] and held in readiness until further [illegible], not commencing until [illegible].

[illegible] in the presence of a squadron of eight [illegible] men as a guard, for having been the principal actor in the [illegible] which, having been proved, the King, [illegible] to be investi- [illegible]. From this it is seen that his only object was to establish [illegible] of his mother of the [illegible] accusations brought [illegible] and the English [illegible] against her. I am expecting a [illegible] particulars, which I will at once send [illegible]. Thank God it has turned out much better than [illegible] with which the king of Scotland [illegible] clear that this was only sagacity and [illegible] his design. This, too, is a great [illegible] from which we may hope for the submission of the country that God should have decreed that this pernicious heretic should be removed with so exemplary a punishment.—London, 15th June 1581.

15 June. **104.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

As I wrote in my last, the Queen had appointed an audience for me on the following day, I having requested it on the occasion of the boy having been taken from my house by the constables, which I resented as a disgraceful insult. On the day appointed she informed me that the French ambassadors had received a courier which necessitated her receiving them that day, but said that if I would come on the following day she would be glad to see me. The hour fixed was two in the afternoon, but when that hour arrived, she sent to request me to wait until three, when she

1581.

would send and summon me. I thought that all this ceremony was in consequence of the French ambassadors being here.

The secretary who had brought the messages came as arranged, and said that the Queen did not wish to put any slight or jealousy upon the French as they had been so long here, and she requested me as a Queen, and a lady, to be good enough to defer my coming until they had left, when I should be very welcome. I had heard from various sources that when, after receiving your Majesty's dispatch, I had signified that I would not trouble her by requesting audience whilst she was so busy with the French, Leicester and other ministers had urged her to refuse it if I asked for it, saying that this would be a good opportunity for getting rid of me, and that the French would be annoyed if she received me. She was persuaded to this view, against the opinion of Cecil, who told her that on no account was it advisable that your Majesty should be so openly flouted, and as I now saw that your Majesty's dignity had to be considered, she having appointed three audiences for me, and when I was ready to go, suddenly stopping me, and as I also knew how timid and pusillanimous the Queen is by nature, I replied with spirit that I was astonished that a minister of your Majesty should be treated in such a way. I said the French could have no reason for complaint at her receiving your Majesty's ministers, since peace and harmony existed between her and your Majesty. There was no cause, moreover, from jealousy, since my reason for seeing her was unconnected with the marriage, and I was only respecting the recent events which had happened to me. She knew that I had delayed other affairs until she had settled her business with the French, avoiding asking her for audience until they were gone, but the present treatment was apparently prompted by a desire that I should go back to Spain, since she gave me no opportunity of communicating with her on matters concerning your Majesty's interests, and this being so she might send me my passports and I would comply with that wish.

The reply she sent to this was, that sovereigns did not often make such earnest requests of ministers as she had done to Don Bernardino de Mendoza, and she was astonished that I, being a Spaniard and a Mendoza, who had assured her many times of my wish to serve her, should have refused the petition she sent to me as a lady. She would, however, be very sorry that I should leave her country in anger. My reply to this was, that I should never dare to show my face again before ladies in Spain, if I refused to comply with such a request as hers, who, besides being a Queen was such a great lady; and not only would I oblige her by delaying my visit until the French were gone, but four days afterward, during which time I could satisfy myself as to whether she really wished to receive me or not. I could assure her that this was not by any means the smallest service I had rendered her. She thanked me greatly, and said that as soon as the Frenchmen were gone, which would be within two days, I should be very welcome, and I should have no cause to complain after the audience. I have therefore delayed matters, as your Majesty directs, having insured an audience, although I doubt not that Leicester and the others would have prevented it if they

1581.

could, as they did in fact, as long as possible, the object being to keep me in suspense until the end of the six weeks, in order that I might not stop their tricks and dodges by verbally pointing out to the Queen the many evils which might result to her from them, without any corresponding advantage. The knowledge that I was ready to leave the country, greatly influenced her, as she did not wish to break with your Majesty. To cope with the evil minds of her ministers, with all their falseness and fickleness much greater prudence and understanding than I possess are needful, but all the dexterity and artifice, that I can employ shall be used to conduct affairs fittingly, and although I consign these affairs into the hands of God, as being especially for His service, my own sinfulness makes me fear that they may fail to turn out so successful as we all desire.—London, 15th June 1581.

24 June. **105.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 15th I wrote to your Majesty what had passed between the Queen and myself respecting audience. On the 17th, which was the fourth day of the time I had fixed, she sent to say that, if I wished to see her, I was to go by water and she would await me in a gallery overlooking the river. I arrived there, and landed at a private door, and on ascending to the gallery was met and entertained by Hatton, Captain of the Guard, being shortly afterwards joined by the Queen, who was accompanied only by the earl of Sussex, and had no lady with her. The others retired to the end of the gallery, leaving me alone with the Queen. I suspect that the reason why she did not give me audience before her ladies and other courtiers, was for fear I might be very angry, which she did not wish them to see. She therefore took me so far apart that no one in the gallery could hear one word of what passed.

After receiving me with many endearments, she began to complain that the soldiers who had been sent to Ireland had come with your Majesty's consent. She said she did not want to quarrel with anyone, but if she saw that people were disturbing her she would find means to do the same to them. This was set forth in a wordy harangue, tracing the troubles in the Netherlands from their beginning, and setting forth her good offices therein. I listened to it all, as I saw that she had been well armed for the fray by her Councillors, and then I replied that she evidently wanted to be beforehand with me, and to prevent my complaints by her supposed grievances about Ireland. These I said I would leave until I had another opportunity of seeing her, as they were as groundless as they were numerous. I would therefore at present only deal with the treatment which her officers had extended to me, to the prejudice of her own Crown, since they denied me the rights of nations, which even savages recognise as inviolable. I said that certain constables and officers of justice of hers, professing to act by order of the Council, had taken the boy from my doors, he being a subject of your Majesty and a domestic servant of my house. I pointed out the scandal of the matter in this way, and said that the constables had told me that they acted by her express orders,

1581.

which I could not otherwise than believe, seeing that they did not hang the men the next morning for having used her name without warrant; nor could I believe that I could stay here with security for myself, since, neither on my part nor that of the boy, had anything been done to the prejudice of her realm. I said this because Walsingham had told her all about the agreement with the Hollanders, and had shown her the arrangements I had made with them, which had been sent hither by Orange. She then sent and summoned the earl of Leicester and Sussex, and told them that they were to make strict inquiry into the case and to report the result to her, in order that she might give me full satisfaction. She then again raised the question of Ireland, and said that she thought my desire to see her arose from my having received special orders from your Majesty with a letter of excuse about Ireland, since she had sent to tell me that, until there was some message about this she would not receive me. This is the exact contrary of what the two secretaries told me, as I wrote on the 23rd of October, which was that, as I was a Minister of your Majesty, she would not receive me until she had ascertained whether the soldiers who came to Ireland were sent by your Majesty's advice, for which purpose she would send a special envoy to your Majesty, or otherwise. I said that, in consideration of this, I had no reason to repeat what I had often said upon the subject, but had only to wait until she had satisfied herself by inquiry, giving her time to do this, as I had, by not requesting audience. She now knew that, not only had confessions been obtained from soldiers in Ireland, but the men had been brought hither, and some of them had been released who had expressed a desire to speak with her. I judged, therefore, that she would now be fully informed upon the matter, and have received a reply from Spain, which might have convinced her that the succour was really sent by the Pope to the insurgents. She replied that she had in her possession an order signed by your Majesty for the raising of the troops, and as I had certain information that this was a lie, and that the prisoners had not confessed such a thing, but had only said that they were sent from the Pope, I replied that I could hardly believe that, unless I saw the paper itself. She replied that it was true, and she had the memorial which Cardinal Riario* had given to your Majesty on the matter. I asked whether she knew the answer, whereupon she said there was no reason to tell me that, if the business was not to be discussed now, but she would do so later. I told her that in plain Spanish it was a decided negative, and your Majesty had given such a reply in order to set her an example not to help the rebels in the Netherlands with troops, munitions, and provisions, such as went from here daily, and also that she might restore Drake's plunder and punish the pirate, as well as refusing to lend ear to Souza or helping the rebels in Portugal. I said, in this way the evils of the past might partly be remedied, but if she did

* Filippo Sega, Bishop of Piacenza, Papal Nuncio] at Madrid. This document with the King's reply will be found in the B.M. MSS. Add. 28,420. See Vol. 2 of this Calendar, page 666.

1581.

not act thus, and further irritated your Majesty with new causes of complaint, she might consider what would happen. I did not wish to go further into details, in order to leave her in suspense and to give me another reason for seeing her. My object had been simply to touch lightly upon the three points to see how she took them, and the result of this was her saying that she did not wish to break with your Majesty, and that the king of France had done more harm than she had done in the matter of Portugal. To this I replied that the fact of the king of France doing evil was no reason why she should do so likewise.

It is impossible for me to express to your Majesty the insincerity with which she and her Ministers proceed. In addition to repeating to me the very opposite of the message she had sent, she contradicts me every moment in my version of the negotiations. I understood from her and Cecil, whom I afterwards saw, and who is one of the few Ministers who show any signs of straightforwardness, that they had learnt that your Majesty was going to write to the Queen assuring her that the succour had not been sent to Ireland on your behalf, and although I assured them that the matter concerned the Pope alone, he said they wished to see a letter from your Majesty on the matter. I replied that, after I had, as your Majesty's Minister, given them the assurance, no more affirmation was required. If I had not shown spirit, which is the thing which moves the Queen and her Ministers most, I have no doubt, such is their insolence, that I should never have been able to get conference with them. This alone has enabled me to hold my own with them until now, thus gaining time for matters to develop themselves.

I understand that the boy they took from me has been sent back again hither from Zeeland at the instance of Walsingham, in case the Queen should press him very hardly upon the matter. I know where he is lodged, but I have not made any efforts to claim him, as I am of opinion that, the plan being discovered and the money irrecoverable from the sureties, it will be more to your Majesty's interest, if the Queen do not offer proper official reparation, that I should not press especially for the boy to be restored to me.—London, 24th June 1581.

24 June. **106.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In my former letters I have informed your Majesty of the condition of the ships which were being made ready here. At the same time as the communications were going on between the Queen and myself, Drake and Bingham and others opened negotiations on behalf of some of the councillors, with the merchants here who owned the best vessels, with a view of purchasing them and sending them on the Indian voyage. This referred not only to those which were actually in England at the time, but also to others which the owners are expecting to arrive from Spain and the Levant ten or twelve of the best vessels being specified. They also said that three of the Queen's ships which were being purchased by merchants were to be supplied with long boats, and that ground glass and

1581.

other things against the ravages of worm were to be put in them. All these preparations were made so hurriedly and ostentatiously that it occurred to me that they had some artful end in view, for the following reasons amongst others.

Now that they have lost confidence in the relief of Terceira, their object in fitting out ships would probably be one of three; namely, to go to the Indies; to intercept and attack your Majesty's fleets from the East Indies, Tierra Firme and New Spain, the best time for which is the end of August; or else to molest the fleets from the Mina and Cape de Verd which usually arrive at the end of October. As in the negotiations for purchasing the ships, they talked about waiting for those which were coming from Spain and the Levant, and having regard to the work commenced on the Queen's ships, they could hardly get away before some time in August at the earliest, and it cannot be believed that they would attempt to leave on the long voyage to the Indies at the beginning of the winter. Nor could they expect to do much against the Indian fleets, as they would not leave here until the time they usually arrive; and they would not go to the expense of fitting out twelve ships, as they say, which will cost at least 60,000 crowns, for the purpose only of taking the flotillas from Cape de Verd and the Mina. It was evident to me, therefore, that their object in making a show of arming at the present time, was that the knowledge of it would reach my ears, and that I might be beguiled into losing sight of everything else, and address the Queen on this subject alone; upon which she could quickly reassure me, and put me off the scent of other things by saying that she would see that no ships were fitted out. I perceived the design and would not address her upon the subject, as there would be plenty of time to do what was necessary if the preparations were proceeded with. When they saw that I took no notice of it the talk about purchase and preparation of ships soon slackened after my interview with the Queen. Although I am told that Drake himself said that he had been ordered to suspend the fitting out of the ships, and I see no possibility of their being able to leave for the next two months, I am still keeping my eyes open so as to lose no opportunity of acting in your Majesty's interests.—London, 24th June 1581.

24 June. **107.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since reporting the departure of the French ambassadors, I have heard that Leicester suggested to Secretary Pinart that they should keep up a private correspondence about affairs, and that Pinart told him that the secretaries of France were not in the habit of doing such things, and he had better not write to him, for he would not answer. When there was any business about which he wished to treat with the King his master, he might communicate it to the ambassador here, who would write it in due course without his, Pinart's, mediation.

When the ambassadors left, the Queen hinted that she might send a great Embassy to France in return, and Leicester has approached Marchaumont to persuade him to write to Alençon and to France

1581.

urging the King to ask the Queen to send Leicester as ambassador. Marchaumont has sent M. de Vray to Alençon about this, and the Queen has also dispatched Somers, one of her secretaries, with letters for him. The marriage business has taken a fresh turn, as the Queen says now that, if she marries, it will be for the purpose of giving peace to Europe by pacifying France, bringing the Netherlands to submit to your Majesty, and releasing the Queen of Scotland; under cloak of which she is pressing more than ever for the relief of Cambrai. She has been much grieved at the advice she has from her ambassador in France of the issuing of the proclamation by the King ordering Frenchmen who go to the Netherlands to be punished as rebels, this being an artifice to keep the marriage matter pending and prevent the downfall of Alençon.

She has given leave, as usual, to the Queen of Scotland to go to the baths and allows her to have a coach, which is a greater privilege than she has hitherto enjoyed.

An English ship which went with merchandise to Zante left there without a cargo, with the intention of robbing at the entrance of the Gulf of Venice. She took two Turkish vessels with Indian and Greek goods, with which she went to Malta. The news has arrived here, and it is impossible for me to exaggerate the energy displayed all round the coast to arrest the ship, as they have already done the merchants who loaded her. This has been done without any complaint being made in the matter, and only in the fear that the Turk may arrest all English goods there as soon as he hears of it. Your Majesty may well imagine therefore, that if you were to allow this course to be taken in your dominions,* how quickly they would restore the plunder they take daily. They are not now content with stealing merchandise alone, but maltreat and even kill many men whom they capture, and for months past I am constantly sending back to Spain sailors and other subjects of your Majesty, who are arriving at these ports and are expelled without any form of trial; and clamour as I may, the Council will provide no remedy.—London, 24th June 1581.

26 June. **108.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 24th that I had learned of the arrival here of a Portuguese with two trunks and a black velvet cushion, braided with gold. He went to stay in the house of Juan Rodriguez de Souza, his guide being a Portuguese physician of the Queen called Dr. Lopez, who has been the leader of Souza all through. Although Dr. Lopez came with this Portuguese, he did not come to London, but went straight to Nonsuch, where Leicester was hunting, and the latter saw the Queen immediately afterwards. After Souza and Lopez had seen Leicester and the latter had conferred with the Queen, they started for Dover, Lopez telling a great friend of his, an Italian, that he was going to meet Don Antonio who was already in England, having come to Calais and landed with the eight or ten Portuguese who accompanied him disguised as sailors.

* In the King's hand:—"It will be well to consider this. Remind me of it."

1581.

Doubtless Souza, for this reason, went over to Calais, as he did with the Frenchmen. Although I have on other occasions reported the arrival of Don Antonio in France and other places, it now appears more likely to be true than before, as I have been informed that Lord Cobham also told a certain Fleming that Don Antonio was very shortly coming to supper with him, and that if he, the Fleming, would pretend to be his, Cobham's, servant, he would see him for himself. I have also learnt that eight or ten Portuguese did land at Dover, and the person who told me came with them as far as Rochester. They seemed to him to be persons of position, and could not have been Count Vimioso's people, as he was known to be at Tours. All this has set the rumour afloat that the man is Don Antonio himself. In case this should be so, as I have already prepared the Queen in the way your Majesty ordered, I have sent to ask for audience, and in the meanwhile will ascertain if it be he or not. The person who has seen the man describes him as being under the middle height, with a thin face and very dark, the hair and beard being somewhat grey, and the eyes green, which description tallies with Don Antonio, both in Antonio de Castillo's opinion and mine, as I saw him 16 years since in Madrid. I will instantly send a special courier to your Majesty when I have ascertained, and will address the Queen as your Majesty orders. If it be not he, I will speak to her on other subjects.—London, 26th June 1581.

4 July **109.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In accordance with your Majesty's orders in the despatch of 28th May, I have communicated to the heads of the Catholics here the favourable reception you have given to their request; this has been a great consolation and encouragement in the persecution which afflicts them so heavily, and they hope that God will, through your hands, extricate them from their cares. I understand they have written to his Holiness on the matter, and they will, on their part, do their best to maintain the Cardinals. From what I can gather, I believe it will be of the greatest advantage in converting this kingdom, for them to see their own countrymen in such a high position, and it seems as if God himself had inspired them to beg this favour of you, although they did it so timidly that they feared even that I would refuse to send the petition to your Majesty.

In pursuance of the Act of Parliament they have made inquiries in the parishes of London as to those who absent themselves from church, and they find that 1,500 people refuse absolutely to attend. In addition to these, there a great number schismatics, who listen to their preachings, although they know they are false, rather than incur the penalty, although this place is more infested with heretics than any in England. Some of the imprisoned Catholics are allowed to go to their homes, but under such terrible conditions that they prefer to remain in prison. The first is that they should pledge themselves to go to the preachings once a month, under penalty of 20*l.* for each time they fail; second, that they may not go more than three miles from their homes; third, that they are not to

1581.

converse with any other Catholic, even though he be a relative; fourth, that they are to have no Catholic servant, and they may not even converse with any clergyman or other person who may have come from Rome, nor may they harbour or associate with any one who may have given shelter to such a man. All this is to be punished as high treason, but nevertheless God allows the same to happen here as we read of in the early Church, and there are people, even though they be heretics, who are so faithful to the many priests who are here in disguise that, for their sakes, they disregard wives, children, and possessions, saying that they are good people and they will not betray them. There has not been a man hitherto who has denounced any of them as Catholics.

The viceroy of Ireland has been in treaty through the earl of Ormond for the reconciliation of a gentleman who had taken up arms. Ormond had pledged his word, on behalf of the Viceroy, that he should be pardoned when he presented himself. The Viceroy, distrusting him, placed an ambuscade of 300 men on the road by which he had to pass. This being discovered by the gentleman's troops they attacked them, and the Viceroy with the rest of his men came to the help of his ambuscade. But the Irishmen fought with such fury that the Viceroy had to retire with the loss of over 200 men and part of his baggage. If it had not been for Captain Fuller (?), an Englishman who held the rear guard and was wounded, not a man of the Viceroy's force would have escaped. Ormond is much annoyed that, under shelter of his word, such a thing should have been done, and he is on bad terms with the Queen's people. Lord Grey is said to be so unpopular that the Queen thought of recalling him, but Leicester and his party, being as great heretics as he is, have insisted upon his retention, and have persuaded her to send another general pardon. The Queen has written to France, offering a large sum of money if they (the French) will openly break with your Majesty whilst she stands on the expectant. She has news that the king of France had seen Alençon, which has caused her much surprise and increased her suspicions about Scotland.—London, 4th July 1581.

4 July. **110.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 26th ultimo I informed your Majesty that I had requested audience, in consequence of the suspicions I entertained that Don Antonio had arrived here. At the end of my last audience the Queen was very gracious, and told me that, when I saw her next time, I could speak to her of the various other affairs. Since then some other Ministers have altered her so that the reply she sent to me was a refusal, in a very different tone, the earl of Sussex giving the message to my servant publicly. In consequence of this I determined to have no more *pros* and *cons* through third persons, because I see that their method is simply to talk nonsense and then repudiate what they say, throwing the blame on the messengers. I judged that the change had been brought about by Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, who are those most interested in Drake's robberies, and endeavour to persuade her not to allow a Minister

1581.

from your Majesty at her Court, as she had none resident in yours. I therefore resolved to write her a letter, copy of which I enclose, conceived in the same spirit as her answer to me, so that she might be obliged to show it to her Council, where, I was sure, some of the members would point out to her the danger she was running in refusing to receive me, and thus irritating your Majesty. Cecil, particularly, who is the person upon whom the Queen depends in matters of importance, had seen me a few days before, and had said how sorry he was that these things should occur, and that he should be unable to remedy them, as he was sure that I could not avoid being offended. I told him that I had fallen ill in consequence of the message sent to me.

My secretary handed her the letter at the end of last month, when she was coming from hunting at Eltham, in a very good humour, Marchaumont, Leicester, and Hatton being with her. She seated herself and read it twice over, and it was generally noticed that it caused her to look very sad. Hatton replied to the man who delivered it that if, in consequence of my own health, or any private reason connected with your Majesty's interests, I wished for my passports, the Queen would give them to me, but that, for her part, she had not the slightest desire that I should leave her Court or that she should break with your Majesty. He told him to return the next day for a reply as to when I could have audience. They ultimately fixed the audience for 3 o'clock, but as soon as the servant had gone this fickle folk sent after him to call him back in a great hurry. They made him wait for an hour, whilst they hastily held another council, the result of which was that they confirmed the reply which they had given him.

The Queen received me in her private chamber, to which I was conducted by a secret staircase. She ordered the room to be cleared of all but Leicester, Sussex, Hatton, and Walsingham, and her first words were that it was not much to expect your Majesty to write to her giving some satisfaction about Ireland, this being said in the course of a long speech to me. I replied that she should recollect that she had, through me, sent a letter to your Majesty last July on that matter, and that your Majesty had commanded me to reply thereto that the affair really concerned the Pope alone. I had for the second time requested audience, saying that I had fresh letters from your Majesty for the purpose of giving her this reply and for other business, this being at the end of October last, and to my request she had sent a reply that she would not receive me or any other of your Majesty's Ministers until she had thoroughly investigated what troops had gone to Ireland, and whether they went by your Majesty's orders. This message was confirmed by the two secretaries on the 22nd October when they came to see me, and I had therefore given her time to make such inquiries. She immediately called Sussex and Walsingham, and began to speak loudly to them, saying that she had not sent such a message, and called Walsingham to witness that she had said that, until I could tell her something about the matter in your Majesty's name, she would not receive me, and she thought that

1581.

she had not done me any disservice in keeping silent with regard to the answer I had given her, which she considered was prejudicial to your Majesty's interests, as she believed your Majesty would also think. I replied that if I had failed in my duty to your Majesty, I had a head to pay for it, and although, as your Majesty's Minister, I was bound to render an account of my actions, God had granted me such an honourable descent that this alone would prevent me from failing in my duty to my King, if for no other reason but to leave unsullied the escutcheons of Coruña* and Mendoza. She screamed out louder than before at this, saying that I was to blame for everything that had happened, and I smilingly told her that she was speaking as a lady; those of her sex usually displaying most annoyance at the things that were done in their interest, and I said that it was no small service that I had rendered her to await her pleasure so long. I reminded her that at the last audience I had said, in answer to her interrogation as to the capacity in which I spoke, that I spoke as your Majesty's Minister. She said that ambassadors often invented fictions out of their own heads for the purpose of their mission, to which I replied that I always spoke the truth, as she had seen during the three years that I had been here, and I would on no account say a thing in my capacity as Minister which was not in accordance with my instructions. If, I said, I had no such instructions, I was not such a simpleton as to be unable to say that I knew nothing about the matter.—London, 4th July 1581.

4 July. **111.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In addition to the conversation reported in the enclosed letter, the Queen asked me during the audience, what I had to say to her in virtue of the letters which I had received from your Majesty. I signified that I had heard of Don Antonio's arrival here, and repeated your Majesty's instructions to me with regard to his arrest and surrender. She thereupon summoned the Councillors to hear what I said. She asked me how it was possible that your Majesty could know that he had arrived here, to which I replied that as his agent, Juan Rodriguez de Souza, had from the first been so much caressed by her, it might well be supposed that when Don Antonio embarked at St. Ubes he would come hither. She wished thereupon to know the dates of the letters I had at the time that I had asked for the first audience, and where your Majesty was at the time. I told her that they were dated on the 28th of May, but that that morning I had others dated at Villafranca on the 12th ultimo, which was partly true, as with the duplicate of that of the 28th I had received a note from Don Juan de Idiaquez of that date, although I said it was from your Majesty. She replied that she knew couriers ran, but she was sure they did not fly, and that what I said was impossible. I pointed out to her that, from the 12th of one month to the 5th of another, was 21 days, and that it was nothing miraculous for a courier to come from Lisbon hither in 14 days. Don Antonio had not been in such a

* Mendoza was the son of the Count of Coruña.

1581.

hurry to come to England that advice could not arrive of his departure from Portugal, as he embarked on a Flemish sloop at St. Ubes, and, on approaching the coast of England, offered them two hundred crowns to be put on shore at Plymouth. After having been some days in Calais, he embarked for Dover on the 22nd ultimo. I said I was not so thoughtless as to speak to her on the matter unless I was sure he was here; they might tell her any man was Don Antonio, but that would not do for me, as I knew him by sight. She said that, as I gave so many particulars, he might be in her country, but that your Majesty had entertained the earl of Westmoreland, who was her rebel subject, and had taken part in the duke of Norfolk's rising with the intention of depriving her of her crown and giving it to the queen of Scotland. Notwithstanding that she had many times written to your Majesty about it, Westmoreland had not only been received but maintained and pensioned. She said she did not know yet whether she should help Don Antonio or not, but she would not arrest or surrender anyone to be killed; and, if she did not think fit to give him up, she would not be the first who had broken the treaties of alliance she had with your Majesty. Whereupon I repeated the formal words, as I had been ordered, calling upon her to fulfil the engagements to which she was bound. She replied that such a request could not be made verbally by the ambassador, which view, if I mistake not, was founded on Article 5 of the general treaty, which says that any demand for the surrender of a rebel or outlaw shall be made by letter, and that, within a month of its presentatioon, the prince shall expel him from the country on 15 days' notice; and if not, may proceed against him as if he were a rebel against the country in which he had taken refuge. If this be the case, it would be well for your Majesty to have a written demand sent for the surrender of Don Antonio, because, even though she may not consent to fulfil the treaties, it will be a great check upon her aiding him in any other way. When I was in the Netherlands in the time of the Grand Commander (Requesens) a similar matter was discussed on your Majesty's behalf, when it was advanced that, if the persons declared to be rebels by this Queen were expelled from those States, they might be properly received in your other dominions, as the treaties were only with the House of Burgundy, whereupon this Queen's envoys replied that the treaties did not refer to one but to all of your kingdoms, as the clauses stated that such rebels could not be received in any of your territories. I thought well to state this point to your Majesty, and to say that in the treaty with Portugal the matter was not mentioned. Antonio de Castillo tells me moreover that there is no treaty in the Tower of Tombo touching upon the matter, so that Don Antonio must be demanded by virtue of the treaty with the Low Countries.

He is here; and although they say that the Bishop de la Guardia came with him, the signs do not confirm this, as the oldest man in the company is tall and thin and wears glasses, and may therefore be Diego Botello. I am quite certain about Don Antonio, even if the Queen had not confessed it, as I have seen a person who has

1581.

spoken to him. The rest of them have changed their names and keep close, like their master. When they passed through Rochester he went to see the Queen's ships, and gave the man who took him only once round in a boat, 40 crowns, and 4 to the oarsmen. I do not hear that he brings much money or jewels, as they have had even to supply him with shirts here. There are six or eight men with him, for whom cloths and silks have been brought for clothing, part being paid for in cash and the rest owing, a thousand crowns being all that has been spent hitherto. The Queen has had him lodged two miles from Greenwich at a place called Stepney in the house of an alderman who was Lord Mayor* last year. I understand that Leicester and Hatton went there to see him, at night, when the Queen was at Eltham, at the end of last month, and he went secretly to see her the next day. In the afternoon he was with Leicester and Walsingham; and Captains Drake, Winter, and Hawkins, who are pirates and seamen, were present, and a conversation took place about their going to the island (Terceira ?) encouraged by the hopes which Don Antonio held out to them. The matter of the succour has been dealt with very energetically in consequence of the arrival here of a ship with letters from St. Michael, dated 11th ultimo, from the Bishop of Angra for Antonio de Castillo: saying that the Terceira people are still obstinate, having refused to admit the Governor sent by your Majesty with a general pardon for all, excepting only the Mayor of the island and two other persons. The other islands have submitted to your Majesty, and the English sailors who come in the ship confirm this. They are determined to send help thither at once in four vessels which Winter had got ready to go with Drake, which are now at Plymouth ready to sail. I told the Queen, in order to alarm her, about the galleons and troops which your Majesty had ordered to be sent to Terceira and I am doing my best to stop the sending of this succour, although I cannot imagine by what artifice I can contend with these people, as I find them different every day; their venom being such that they only think of troubling your Majesty by every means. Notwithstanding all my efforts, the only thing I succeed in doing is to retard somewhat the execution of their designs, and this gives me time to advise your Majesty and for a remedy to be adopted, or for events to change. In order to stop their fury in sending assistance to the Indies, it is important that your Majesty should instantly write to the Queen regarding the surrender of Don Antonio, sending the letter hither with all speed. Although I have known that Don Antonio was here for five or six days, I have delayed writing until I sent an account by this special courier of what passed at my audience.

The Earl of Leicester went this morning to see Don Antonio, and told him what had passed between the Queen and me. He (Antonio) said that he was at Tomar at the coronation of your Majesty, and the taking of the oath of allegiance to the prince; and that he had spent 20,000 crowns upon those who concealed him and contrived

* This was Sir Nicholas Woodrowe, a member of the Haberdasher's Company. Walsingham had a house at Bow, hard by.

1581.

his escape, which he said was most difficult and dangerous, as he was being hotly pursued. All this is only to persuade them that he has many adherents in Portugal, although he confesses that the duke of Alba pressed him so closely that he could hide himself no longer, and he therefore had to escape under such perilous conditions.—London, 4th July 1581.

14 July. **112.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 4th instant by special messenger an account of what had passed with the Queen about the surrender of Don Antonio. I hear that he and his people say that they were hidden for a long time in St. Ubes, before they embarked, and had left Bishop de la Guardia there. The men who accompany him, are known are Manuel de Silva and Diego Botello. It is said that after they had sailed they were nearly forced back to port again by contrary winds, and although Don Antonio had not disclosed himself to the ship master, when he saw his determination to put back, he had him told who he was; and four hundred crowns were given to him not to return to St. Ubes or to any of your Majesty's territories. He was also promised a perpetual pension of 2,000 crowns if Don Antonio was successful. The master thereupon made great efforts to keep at sea, and brought him to a port between Boulogne and Calais, where he landed, and the Dutch sloop continued her voyage. Antonio then went to Calais, and this gave rise to the idea that he had come all the way by land. He is now here publicly, as any one may see him, although the Portuguese avoid him unless they are forced to meet him by the rest. He has sent one of the servants who came with him, to Vimioso in France; and is trying to insure there, at Antwerp, and here, 200,000 crowns which it is said are coming for Don Antonio in two ships, from the island of Terceira, in the name of an Italian merchant, with whom Vimioso has made an arrangement. Although I have tried my best to discover the name of this Italian, and what is the amount of the loan, I have been unable to find out anything, which makes me believe that it is all a fiction, and that they will lose the ships and claim the amount. There will be some difficulty about this, however, there being but few merchants who would insure it, as they know little of Don Antonio, and he could hardly pay them the premium in cash, as is usual in some places, and this would amount, on the 200,000 crowns, to at least 25,000.

There is also some talk of his giving letters of marque against your Majesty's subjects, and to leave here with a fleet, of which a statement is now enclosed. He has already paid in cash for three or four of the ships, and has agreed for the fleet to be ready on the tenth of next month, which is hard to believe, notwithstanding that the Queen may assist him warmly. I cannot help suspecting that when they put to sea they will rather go to the coast of Brazil, than anywhere else, as Don Antonio says that there are no forces there to withstand him. He signifies to the Queen, and to Leicester and Walsingham, who manage the business, that he left more than a million in money and jewels hidden in the hand of his friends in

1581.

Portugal, and I gather from certain ambiguous words that it is in St. Ubes and Oporto, and may be transported with ease in small skiffs, and then sent overland.

Certain Englishmen and Portuguese are going over in vessels being sent for cargoes of oranges; they are to serve as spies and take letters, and it will be to your Majesty's interests that every ship from France or England should be strictly overhauled on arrival, and the persons on board examined, with the letters they bear. Two days since Don Antonio sent a Fleming, who is very well versed in Portuguese and Spanish, to Lisbon with letters. I have not discovered particulars about him, as my informant only saw the money and despatch given to him at night time in the house Gonzalo Jorge who is the father-in-law of Dr. Lopez, and helps Don Antonio and Souza. This Gonzalo Jorge corresponds with a son of his called Jacob Anes* who is married in Lisbon, as well as with Henry and Paul Sebastian, Portuguese. This man will probably take letters for some of them, as I am told that letters have already passed through Jacob Anes to Don Antonio and Souza. An Englishman named Botolph Holder who lives in Lisbon will say who these persons are. He has sent many letters from Don Antonio under cover to Wilson, and as he has therefore offended since the general pardon, he will deserve punishment. Another Flemish lad bred in the Azores has also been sent by Don Antonio with letters to Terceira.

I understand the Queen gave a draft for 5,000*l.* a week ago, which I am assured is for the purpose of fitting out this fleet, and munitions are being secretly brought from the Tower for the same. Leicester has sent his silver plate to Don Antonio for his use, and said that the King Don Antonio was very welcome to England, as from what he, Leicester, understood, he had a better right to the crown than your Majesty, and would find in England 100,000 men willing to help him in his claim. He said that there was no question of treaty rights in the matter, as a King was not a rebel, and your Majesty could therefore not claim him. Don Antonio very frequently sees the Queen, and Walsingham instantly sends to him any news they get from Portugal. Although I pointed out to the Queen what a good opportunity she now had of obliging your Majesty by surrendering Don Antonio, and how important it was to her that no help should be given to him here, such is the insolence and arrogance of the Queen and these people that I cannot describe the effrontry with which they speak of it. I have represented this to Cecil and to other ministers with every possible artifice, and have done everything that a human being can, but as they receive and welcome Don Antonio as publicly as if they were doing nothing against your Majesty, it will be necessary to treat the Queen in a different way; and it will be well for your Majesty

* This name is very diversely spelt in the correspondence, and I have adopted the above spelling for the sake of uniformity. I have been unable to trace the name in connection with the family of Sara Lopez, but an Irishman named Anias was indirectly connected with the Lopez plot. The family of Mrs. Lopez are supposed to have been Portuguese Jews in Antwerp, and were probably related to the Felipe Georgio who is mentioned in the Hatfield MSS. Part IV. Gonzalo Jorge is elsewhere called Loneston Anes.

1581.

to write to her making this clear. Up to the present, she has not imagined that your Majesty would resent anything she thinks fit to do, on her bare assurance that she knows nothing of the matter, and says that your Majesty has more need of England than of any one else. Besides this helping of Don Antonio, not a day passes without boat loads of Englishmen going over to Holland. The Ghent people have taken from here 4,000 crowns worth of cast iron artillery, and when I complain they tell me that the Queen considers the States her friends.

They have sent John Hawkins to Plymouth, Drake and Souza accompanying him for one day on the journey in order to expedite the succour for Terceira. From the latter place there arrived here on the 8th a ship loaded with sugar, and with her one of those mentioned on the 12th May as having gone from here with powder and munitions, which she discharged there. They report that Esteban Ferreira de Mello,* and his son-in-law, who had been released from prison in Lisbon by your Majesty in consideration of the services they promised to render as natives of the island, had arrived at Terceira on the 13th ultimo. They were met by a French ship with 50 Frenchmen, which the Mayor of Angra had sent out for the purpose, with orders to capture them. This was done and the Mayor delivered them to a French captain there that he might take them over to France in his caravel and surrender them to Don Antonio, and if he were not there to Brito Pimentel, who sent the French ship to Terceira. The caravel bringing these Portuguese was sighted near the English coast by one of the ships which arrived here, and Ferreira and his son-in-law told another Portuguese on board that they were taking them to Nantes. I have advised Juan Bautista de Tassis of this, to try and get them released, as they were serving your Majesty.

The arrest which I obtained of the property of the Terceira Portuguese at Lyme, was raised as soon as Don Antonio arrived, by a private letter from the Queen's attorney, notwithstanding the injustice of the proceeding, as an attorney on my behalf will prove to them, it being against the laws of the land as the debt for which the embargo had been placed was acknowledged. It was ordered that, even if the goods were not detained, the embargo should only be raised on surety being given, but they decided that the embargo should be raised unconditionally, to the surprise even of the Judge of the Admiralty himself, who said that it was a manifest injustice. This will prove how they help Don Antonio's interests, and I have no doubt that he will get possession of this property.—London, 14th July 1581.

14 July. **113.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As soon as I had my last audience with the Queen, some of the London merchants asked me to give them passports to send ships

* This man is perhaps identical with Esteban Ferreira da Gama, alias Domingo Ferrandis, who was one of the principals in Dr. Lopez's plot to murder the Queen, and was hanged with him and another Portuguese called Tinoco at Tyburn on the 7th June 1594.

1581.

with goods to Spain. I told them, that until I saw the form in which the Queen was going to restore Drake's plunder, I would give none, as I understood that unless it were promptly and wholly restored, your Majesty would accede to the request of the Consulate at Seville and order the seizure of all English goods, without detention of persons, to recoup the loss of Spanish property. They went and told Walsingham that if I would not give them a passport as usual they could not safely send their ships and merchandise to Spain; and, as this was the time when the wine harvest was being prepared for them, they wished to know whether the Queen was going to do justice in Drake's affair, as, without my passport, they would not send their ships to Spain. He told them to do very little trade this year, and they replied that they would not do either little or much, excepting on the guarantee of the Queen and Council, and all the merchants trading with Spain would meet and tell him so. He ordered them not to discuss the subject until they received a further answer from him, and said that the Queen would appoint Commissioners to examine the documents I had against Drake. My reply has had a great effect upon the merchants, who have also set the sailors saying that they should like to know how they are to live, if trade with Spain is stopped. This is the only way to make the Queen restore the plunder, and I have therefore adopted it. If this fails your Majesty should order the arrest of all English goods, that the loss may be recouped, which is of the greatest importance at this time, as those who persuade the Queen to keep the booty argue that with this money she may keep your Majesty at war for two or three years; and then a peace may be made in which in all she has done against you will be forgotten; whereas if there be no war in the meanwhile, her offences against you cannot be passed over. They think that upon this plea the Queen will keep the plunder, and that Drake's principals will get most of it.—London, 14th July 1581.

14 July. **114.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since I sent my last intelligence about Scotland the King has convoked Parliament for the 16th proximo, and has summoned thither the earl of Angus, Lord Carmichael, (and) the two bastard sons of the Regent Morton, for the purpose of their exculpating themselves from the following four accusations, namely, that they were accomplices in the murder of the King, that they attempted by force to release Morton from Dumbarton Castle, that they fortified Tantallon Castle, which was the King's property, and that they confederated with the earl of Huntingdon, Hunsdon, Thomas Randolph and Robert Bowes, to capture the King and dispose of his person. They are to free themselves of these charges or the King will hold them as rebels and traitors to his person and realm. Most of them are on the borders of England with but little credit or company.

Secretary Walsingham says that the king of Scotland has restored the property of certain Scotsmen who had fled, they being Catholics. I do not know whether it is true although I hear

1581.

from France that some of them have left there on the strength of it.—London, 14th July 1581.

17 July. **115.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Juan Bautista de Tassis has written by special courier to say that the despatches that I sent on the 4th to your Majesty by Paris had been lost, the courier who had gone from there with them having been rifled. Duplicates had already been sent by sea; I now send third copies enclosed.

Since I wrote on the 14th, bills of exchange on merchants here have arrived, payable to Juan Rodriguez de Souza, "Ambassador of the King of Portugal." One of them, I know, is for 1,000 crowns drawn by a Portuguese in Paris named Capay, on Hypolito Beaumont, and although I have not been able to discover the total amount, I do not think that it is large, as the men upon whom the bills are drawn are not very wealthy. In order that funds may not reach Don Antonio in this way, I have had these men informed at secondhand, that they are exposing themselves to great danger in accepting or paying such bills, and from what other merchants are already saying about it I expect there will be some difficulty in recovering even these amounts, as they are payable to the "Ambassador of Portugal." The furious hurry in the fitting out of the ships continues, and Don Antonio has bought, to send to Terceira, 700*l.* worth of muskets, harquebusses, and some balls and powder. The Queen and Council have also secretly ordered 500 men to be raised for the expedition, who, I understand, will be recruited and shipped in the neighbourhood of Plymouth.

I learn from Hamburg that they have brought from there powder for these ships, it having been bought by a merchant in the name of the Queen. Don Antonio has sent to Orange one of Dr. Lopez's men, and he has been informed that ships are being fitted out at Rochelle to join him. The only Portuguese who came with him, besides Diego Botello and Manuel de Silva, are Constantine de Brito and Tomás Cachero who they tell me are his private servants Four Portuguese arrived yesterday with letters from Vimioso, and I am told they brought a tremendous packet.

The Queen-mother sent orders to the French ambassador here to visit Don Antonio on her behalf, which he did two days since. Don Antonio had already sent to salute Marchaumont but not the ambassador.—London, 17th July 1581.

22 July. **116.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K 1447. 55.

With regard to the French embassy to the Queen, and the negotiations being carried on, there is nothing to say but again to enjoin you to discover whether, underneath all this, there is any private league or understanding between them, and if so, for what purpose, and what forces they would employ. The arrest of Morton in Scotland was of good augury, but things seem to have slackened since. If you have no other means of helping forward our interests in that country, you will at least miss no opportunity of assuring the Queen of Scotland of my goodwill towards herself and her son.

1581.

Urge her to keep her son on the alert for himself, and to submit to the Catholic Church, making himself master of his kingdom and curbing and keeping in order those who oppress it. Assure her that she will always find support and help from me.

Continue to advise about Ireland, the number of the insurgents, and of the Queen's troops, and how long the former will be able to hold out without being compelled to submit or come to terms.

You did well in not pressing for the audience, on the excuse of illness, whilst the French embassy was there, and I trust you will have been able to adopt the best course with regard thereto since their departure. I again urge upon you not to leave there, if you can stay without flagrant objection, at least until a successor arrives. We shall remain quite in the dark about affairs there if you, who manage things so well, absent yourself, and the new man would arrive quite uninformed and unintroduced if you went away before he came thither.

I thank you for your private advice with regard to the qualities needed in the person who may be appointed to succeed you, and will keep it in view. In order that the absence of the person of whom you speak as giving you such valuable information should not be necessary, I send enclosed a credit for 2,000 crowns, which you may give him in one or more instalments and as you think convenient, promising him continued reward commensurate with his services.

You did well in making public the intention of sending our fleet to the Straits of Magellan, in order to alarm the corsairs. You can act in the same way, so as to detain Drake and the other expeditions if necessary, with regard to the ships I am sending to the islands. The first fleet, under Pedro de Valdez, consisting of six ships and a good force of infantry, has already arrived there, and the other under Don Lope de Figueroa will take 27 sail, and the flower of the Spaniards and Germans who had served in Portugal. We expect to hear shortly that all these matters at sea are at last amended.

According to our news from France your information about Alençon's secret arrival at the English court must be incorrect. The news that Antonio landed at Calais on 11th June with the intention of going to England has arrived here by some Dutch sailors. You will doubtless have obtained information of this and sent it by special courier, advising me also of the reception he gets from the Queen, the aid he requests, and what he offers in return, the treatment he receives, whether they are going to aid him to make an attack, and, if so, when, where, with what forces, and with or without the co-operation of France and Orange.

Advise me on all these points, and as much more as you can learn on the matter, with the utmost vigilance, promptitude, and dexterity.

You did well in reporting the entrance of forbidden books in this country, and you will continue to do so in any future case. Due action has been taken to avoid the evil.

I thank you also for your action in respect of the provision of

1581.

wheat for Lisbon, and, if it be necessary, to do as you suggest and ensure the English merchants a certain price, secured by bond and bills of exchange for the wheat they may bring, we will advise you in order that you may take action.

I note the plan suggested to you by the Hollanders about the island of Walcheren, and the arrangement you had made with them, as you have advised the Prince of Parma, in order that he might send the necessary troops; and also that the affair had been discovered and had failed. I also note how the secretary of the Prince of Orange and others of his company had taken out of your house the son of one of the Hollanders who had been left as a hostage. Although the plan has failed I recognize your zeal, diligence, and care; and thank you highly for them. I approve also of the resentment you show at the outrage they have committed. We shall see whether the Queen takes any step in the matter, even out of compliment, for we can hardly expect more.—Lisbon 22nd July 1581.

23 July. **117.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my letter of the 17th, M. de Vray, who had been sent by Marchaumont to France has arrived here. On his arrival he and the Ambassador saw the Queen and requested an answer, as the six weeks had expired. They said if the marriage took place the king of France would accede to anything she might desire for the conclusion of an alliance against your Majesty, and they wished to know whether she would marry or not, without any further delay. Although the Queen gave them to understand that the reply should be given to them, she has now decided to send Walsingham with it to France. When she told the Ambassadors this, they instantly dispatched a courier with the news.

M. de Vray brought letters from the King, the Queen-mother, and Alençon, for Leicester and the other Ministers, who also received letters from the French Commissioners who were here, the substance of all of them being to beg them to continue their good offices in favour of the marriage.

I understand that Walsingham is going to prevent the marriage negotiations from being broken off, and to represent to the King and his brother how important it is for their ends that the need for the immediate settlement of the marriage question should not stand in the way of the prompt relief of Cambrai and the projected invasion of Flanders, instead of delaying it until the end of September. The reason why the Queen has chosen him for the mission (much as she needs him in England) is that he was in France before, and is therefore the most fitting person to inform her as to the feelings of the King and his brother, and whether the show of preventing the relief of Cambrai is sincere or not, which Walsingham, through the Huguenots, could elucidate better than anyone. He is also to ascertain what foundation there is for hopes of a rupture between the King and your Majesty, and for the assistance to be given to Don Antonio; Walsingham and Leicester being the persons who press this most upon the Queen, and persuade her that she can only

1581.

insure her own safety by troubling your Majesty in all ways, and preventing peace in the Netherlands and your other States. Only the other day they both of them said that, whilst the queen of Scotland lived, and I was in the country, the Queen could not be sure even of her personal safety, much less of that of her crown.

I recently wrote to the Mayor of the Province of Guipuzcoa to forbid, in virtue of the edict of your Majesty, the loading of an English ship called the "Salamona," which belongs to Alderman Bond here. My reason for this was that the owners are dreadful heretics and make every possible effort to injure your Majesty, with the aid of their kinsman Walsingham. Although the authorities refused to let the ship load at St. Sebastian, she came to the coast near Fuenterrabia, and there shipped her cargo, with 40,000 ducats in cash, of which only 6,000 are registered. The ship has now returned thither and will bring (if she be not confiscated for her last voyage) another equally large sum. As it is greatly against your Majesty's interests that these large amounts of money should leave the country, I write to the Mayor of the Province, saying that he should on no account allow this ship to load, and should carefully watch whether she went to St. Juan de Luz, and there received her cargo in pinnaces, and, above all, that she should not be allowed to ship coin, as she has done before.—London, 23rd July 1581.

29 July. **118.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since I wrote on the 23rd, this Queen received a despatch from France which caused her to delay Walsingham's departure, although he was quite ready to leave. Nearly every point of his instructions has been changed, and, after a Council with Leicester, Cecil, and Sussex, the Queen had orders sent with great secrecy to Alderman Martin to pay 50,000*l.* of the Exchequer moneys, on two warrants for 20,000*l.* and 30,000*l.* respectively. Before Walsingham left, they brought out from the Tower the 30,000*l.* in gold, secretly, at night by water, and I have been unable to ascertain if Walsingham took this sum with him to Calais or whether it went to Flanders; except that the constable told a friend of his that Orange had now money to help Friesland, and the French to relieve Cambrai. It may therefore be inferred that the 50,000*l.* will be divided between them. I have written to Juan Bautista de Tassis about it, because, if Walsingham is taking this money in specie, its weight will be so great that it will be impossible for him to conceal the fact. I believe that most of it, if not all, will be for Alençon, as Marchaumont has been more pressing about money for him than anything else, but the Queen had refused to accommodate him, until she learnt that the King of France was not apparently earnest in his attempts to stop his brother from going to Cambrai.—London, 29th July 1581.

12 Aug. **119.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In accordance with the laws, which I said had been passed in this Parliament, they have now begun to persecute the Catholics

1581.

worse than ever before, both by condemning them to the 20*l.* fine if they do not attend church every month, and by imprisoning them closely in the gaols. The clergymen they succeed in capturing are treated with a variety of terrible tortures; amongst others is one torment that people in Spain imagine to be that which will be worked by Anti-Christ as the most dreadfully cruel of them all. This is to drive iron spikes between the nails and the quick; and two clergymen in the Tower have been tortured in this way, one of them being Campion of the Company of Jesus, who, with the other, was recently captured. I am assured that when they would not confess under this torture the nails of their fingers and toes were turned back; all of which they suffered with great patience and humility. At the end of last month they martyred a clergyman who would not acknowledge the Queen as head of the Church, of which only three years ago he had been an heretical minister, and had been converted by conversation with Catholics, and confirmed in the faith at the seminary of Rheims, and there ordained a priest. He returned here voluntarily, to aid the imprisoned Catholics, and say mass for them secretly. He died with invincible constancy and fortitude, greatly to the edification of the Catholics, and the surprise of the heretics themselves. The great number of Catholics there are and their fervent zeal are proved by the fact that two days after his martyrdom there was not a bit of ground left which had been touched by his blood, it having all been taken by the faithful, who also offered large sums of money for his garments.

None of the Irish insurgents have submitted to the Queen's fresh pardon. It is reported that the Viceroy, seeing that John O'Neil would not declare for the Queen, had favoured O'Neil (?), who is his enemy. They were going together to attack John O'Neil on one side, whilst Captain Malby was to attack him on the other. John O'Neil was awaiting them in his own country with a large force, and it is thought that he will now consequently openly declare himself against the Queen, as he hears that Desmond and his men are coming to his aid. The Viceroy has given so much license to the English in the slaughter of Irishmen that they not only kill men, women, and children, of the insurgents, but they treat their friends in the same way. I am told that a councillor, condemning this behaviour, said that they had intelligence that one of the most intimate captains of the Viceroy had invited 17 Irishmen to supper, and as they arose from the table he and another man had stabbed all of them to death.—London, 12th August 1581.

12 Aug. **120.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

When I took leave of the Queen the last time I saw her, I said that if every time I had to ask for audience there was to be all this discussion I should like her to tell me so verbally at once, and if she did not mean in future to give me audience as freely as she formerly did, I would salute her and take my departure. She replied that I should have audience as often as I desired, and that

1581.

when she came back from hunting, in a few days, I could return and she would tell me the names of the Councillors she would appoint to deal with the matter of Drake's robbery. On this pretext I sent and asked for audience, and she replied by the Lord Chamberlain what I conveyed to Don Juan de Idiaquez for your Majesty's information on the 23rd ultimo. I allowed a fortnight to pass after her return from hunting, and then sent word to the Vice-Chamberlain, as the Lord Chamberlain was absent, that I had business to communicate to the Queen, and wished to know, in conformity with the message they had sent me, whether she would give me audience or not. The Vice-Chamberlain replied that the Queen did not well see how she could receive me, since your Majesty had not paid her the compliment of writing to her, explaining the affair of Ireland, but only sent a message by one of your servants as if to slight her. If I had such important business I might communicate it to two of her Councillors. As I understood that the Treasurer, when he had been asked why audience was not granted to me, had replied that he did not know that such was the case, but that he did not think it wise that I should be refused; and as he is the most important of the Ministers I thought well on receiving this reply, to send and tell him the answer I had received from the Queen. I said that it was not for me, or any other ambassador, to object to monarchs referring affairs to their Ministers, and consequently I would not refuse to do as she said, but if any other business were shortly to need my communicating with the Queen and she refused to see me, referring me to her Ministers again, I wished to be prepared at once for it, and should like to see him, Cecil, as such a reply would indicate a desire on the Queen's part that I should leave the country. He replied that, while he was absent from Court, he had heard that I asked for audience, but did not know what reply had been sent; he, however, would convey my message to the Queen, and would see me on the first opportunity.

In a few days, he sent to say that he had come from the Court to Leicester House in order to see me, his gout having prevented him from coming further. I went thither, and found him and Leicester together. The first thing they said was, that I had sent to ask the Queen, when she could not receive me herself, to order some of her ministers to hear me; and in accordance therewith, the Queen had sent them to see what I wanted. I replied that I had not for a moment thought of saying such a thing, but since they were here I was glad of the opportunity of ascertaining whether the Queen had decided to give me audience or not, notwithstanding that she had told me, the last time I saw her, that I should have audience whenever I desired it. Cecil took up the conversation, saying that the Queen had refused to receive me, pending the receipt of a letter from your Majesty giving her satisfaction about Ireland, in the belief that I should have requested your Majesty to write. All this was said with a lengthy rodomontade, as if to make out that it was my duty to write and ask your Majesty to send such a letter, and that it was through my own

1581.

fault that the Queen had not received me for so many months, the letter not having arrived. I saw which way he was tending, and taking advantage, as I always do, of his own perverseness, I answered that, although I was most desirous of serving the Queen, I could not do so to my own detriment; and after your Majesty, ten months ago, had instructed me what to say upon the matter, I was not so thoughtless or foolish as to write to your Majesty again about it. I had done quite enough, I said, in waiting so long in order that the Queen might ascertain, as she said she would, about Ireland, and I, consequently, had nothing more to write upon the subject. They again returned to their former point that it was my duty to write as they had said, and I replied as before. I said that, as we were together, they might tell the Queen that the reason why I wished to see her was to learn what course she was going to take about the restitution of Drake's plunder. It ended in their saying that they would convey my remarks on both points to the Queen, and would send me her reply. I thought well to raise first the question of Drake, as it is the worst matter against your Majesty now in hand, and I do not wish them to think that we have forgotten it, particularly as all other things hang upon this. People here are in great fear, lest your Majesty should order the seizure of English goods in Spain and thus stop trade, which they will feel more than anything else, and about which they will clamour loudest. The damage thus done will fall upon all of them, whereas the profit of the robbery comes only to a few individuals. I did not care to urge the matter of the ships they are arming, as the preparations are going on slowly; more for appearance sake than any other reason, until they see how the French alliance turns out, upon which will depend whether they help Don Antonio or not. Whatever step I might take before then would be fruitless, and only make them think that your Majesty was distrustful of the Portuguese; since I was alarmed at a few ships and small forces, such as these. They cannot have them ready, moreover, in time to prevent the necessary steps, and in the meanwhile your Majesty's letter demanding the surrender of Don Antonio will arrive, and will strengthen my hands when the moment for action comes. I am however working always with muffled tools to prevent these people from helping Don Antonio. On the 6th instant the Queen ordered that no ships or goods should sail for Spain without forther orders. This step has been taken at the request of the merchants, in order that single ships should not go, but that they should sail together; and the merchants in the meanwhile have sent to ask the council whether they may safely send merchandise to Spain. The reply was that they were to wait for a fortnight, when the information they requested should be sent to them; the meaning of this being, no doubt, that they expected to know in the meanwhile the decision about France. The general stop was therefore decreed to prevent ships from leaving other ports until the London merchants were informed.—London, 12th August 1581.

12 Aug. **121.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 19th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty the reason of the Queen's delaying Walsingham's departure. After he had left she

1581.

received a letter from her ambassador, Cobham, saying that the question of the alliance with the French King was now so far advanced, that it would be well to send an experienced person to draft the articles, and a person of greater parts than Walsingham. This has aroused great hopes, now that they see the King of France will not stay his brother from going to Cambrai, with greater probabilities than before of his breaking with your Majesty. They consider this view to be confirmed by Cobham's information that the King of France was recalling his ambassador from Spain, and replacing him by an agent.

Of the 30,000*l.* which I mentioned in my last, 8,000*l.* were sent to the rebel States and 22,000*l.* were taken by Walsingham, the assertion being that they would be used to bring over to their wishes some of the ministers of the King of France; but this is only an artifice of Walsingham and the rest to induce the Queen to give the money, in which she would have been very hard if they had asked her for it openly for Alençon, but on the excuse that it was to buy ministers, in order to get the King of France to break with your Majesty, she would consent more easily, as this is her most cherished design. Now that Walsingham has got the money it will find its way into the hands of Alençon, on the plea that it was necessary to give it to him for the succour of Cambrai.

At the time of Walsingham's departure a great show of haste was made in the arming of many ships by Don Antonio. A large number of captains for the raising of infantry were appointed, and preparations of meat, biscuit, and other provisions made. Eight waggon-loads have been sent from the arsenal here for the ships which are being fitted in Southampton, as well as some arms, such as muskets and harquebusses; as well as those sent to Bristol. They have brought out eight bronze pieces from the Tower, to ship on the "Galleon," a merchant vessel formerly belonging to the Queen which they have sold to Don Antonio. All this is to prove to the King of France the Queen's intention of succouring Don Antonio and breaking with your Majesty, if the French would join her with that object.

The real fact is, however, that Don Antonio has bought certain ships, for which he has paid in part here, and undertakes to pay the rest at Terceira, whilst for others he has given security for the payment here within a year. He has likewise freighted other ships, and Leicester has paid sums of money belonging to the Queen, on the pretence that they are his, to some captains to raise a few troops. It is all being done slowly, and it is clear that the 25 ships will not be ready to leave so quickly as they say. The provision of meat and biscuit has been made with the money sent from France in the name of Souza, which I mentioned in a former letter, and as this is not the time of year in which meat salted now can be kept, it is evident that they do not intend to make a long voyage. Four ships have started down the river, saying that they were to meet at Southampton and ship their stores there, but there will be some difficulty about it, as fourteen of such ships are to go thither in all, and it seems strange that they should go so far for victuals, to a place where they are much dearer than here, particularly if

1581.

they had been bought in the Queen's name, in which case Don Antonio might have got them at the cheap price which she pays. From all this I deduce that not a half of the 25 ships will be ready to leave on the 20th, as they say.

On the 5th the captains who had been selected to raise troops met and went to Don Antonio for the purpose of asking him to tell them clearly whither he wanted them to go, who was to be their general, how much they were to be paid, and to whom they were to look for payment. He replied that, as to the place he was going to with the fleet, he had arranged that with Drake, who was to be the Admiral, and was the only person who was to be informed of the destination; whilst as to the other questions he would discuss them with the Queen and let the captains have an answer before they left. They have begun to grumble at this, and most of them say that they will not go under Drake unless their pay is secured. So far as I can understand, Don Antonio's destination is still undecided, excepting that they have discussed going to succour and fortify Terceira, and thence sailing to Brazil, where they think they can do more without resistance than elsewhere. This view is confirmed by the fact that, however much they may hurry in the fitting out of the ships, they will not leave, even if the weather serves, until the beginning of next month, at which time of year they could hardly attempt any other voyage than that mentioned. It is generally admitted that they will not carry stores for more than three months, and the evident intention of most of the Englishmen is simply to plunder under the name of Don Antonio, as, indeed, they openly state. Some of them have even sent to tempt me to give them passports enabling them to capture the property of the Flemish rebels, with my assurance that they may take their prizes safely into Spanish ports for sale, as here and in France, they would not allow them to do so, and there is no harbour for them at Gravelines. They say that if I would do this they would desert Don Antonio. I have kept them in hand, saying that M. De la Motte* gave such passports by your Majesty's orders, and that when I am authorised to do so, I doubt not that most of the men contracted by Don Antonio will leave him for the other side, which offers a more assured profit than he can do. The English will by this means be embroiled with the rebels, seeing the damage that they will do them. The jewels which Don Antonio has tried to dispose of here are 150 pearls, of the value of 12,000 crowns, and seven diamonds set in gold, worth 7,000, as well as other diamonds and rubies estimated at 6,000 ducats. They summoned a Portuguese silversmith here named Amador Rodriguez to value all these. As I knew this man in Antwerp, he refused to go without my consent, and assures me that they are not worth more than 25,000 ducats, and were formerly all the property of the Infanta Maria, in whose possession he had seen some of them. Don Antonio brought with him a diamond formerly belonging to the King Don Manuel, weighing 80 carats, but it is not limpid, being

* The Governor of Gravelines for the king of Spain.

1581.

rather turbid, and they are told that there will be no sale for it here, although Don Antonio values it at a great sum.

The number of Portuguese who have joined him hitherto do not exceed 20 persons, of no note. There arrived in a ship from Lisbon recently a young Commander of St. John named Silva, and Vimioso sent from France another young man named Geronimo de Silva, who has a sword mark on his left cheek and another wound on the right. With him came a Portuguese pilot named Gaspar Alvaro, a little man of 50, and they both returned to France together two days afterwards.

The insurance which I wrote they were trying to effect on property being brought from Terceira is again being attempted, the insurers being Simon Centurion, a Genoese, on behalf of another Genoese, Biagio Rinaldo, who lives in Terceira. The insurances are on the merchandise, gold, silver, pearls, and jewels, coming in the ships "Pelican" and "Jacques de Ocana" to Bordeaux, or any port in Brittany or England. Some merchants here have already underwritten 2,000*l.* of it at 8 per cent. premium, on condition that if these ships should be seized by your Majesty's fleet they are not to pay. As this is not a great business centre they will not get much more underwritten here.

Whilst I am writing this the afore-mentioned silversmith tells me that Don Antonio himself showed him another table diamond of the purest water, weighing sixty carats, from which he took the lead in his presence. He has pawned it to a Genoese with the 150 pearls for 30,000 ducats, as the money he was expecting from Terceira has not arrived, and he has to make some payments here. The man tells me that this diamond is worth more than 50,000 ducats, and says that Don Antonio sent him with a letter to Dr. Lopez, telling him to allow the man to take the lead from the 80 carat diamond and from another of 90 carats, both of which must be in the possession of Leicester, as Lopez told the man that it was necessary to speak to him first, and that he would have to go seven miles off to see the stones. Don Antonio also showed him a perfect pearl, weighing 26 carats, which he valued at 3,000 ducats. It is not yet decided whether Don Antonio himself will go in the fleet nor what number of soldiers will be sent, the only provision being made are some stores, ostensibly for the 25 ships already mentioned, and Orange is being requested to help Don Antonio with some ships, but I cannot learn that any are being fitted out in Holland or Zeeland.—London, 12th August 1581.

12 Aug. **122.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After writing the enclosed letters, I learn that the Queen has received a dispatch from Walsingham, reporting what had passed with Alençon, to whom he had said that, as he had declared himself so openly against your Majesty, she could not now marry him without adopting a similar course, which the people of her country opposed, and recommended her rather to make masked war on you, with other things of the same sort. Alençon answered Walsingham that he did not accept this as an answer, and would receive none

1581.

as regards the marriage, excepting from the Queen's own lips, for which purpose he would come to this country as soon as he had finished the business he had in hand. He was quite sure, he said, that such messages as this were not in accord with the Queen's own will, judging from what she had said and written to him many times. He also said that, even if his brother made an alliance, unless he married the Queen, he, Alençon, would break it. He went to such a length that Walsingham reports that if the Queen-mother had not been present he thinks he would have lost his composure entirely.* I am told that when the Queen heard this she wept like a child, saying that she did not now know what to do, nor into what trouble Leicester had drawn her. She sent Lord Howard to Alençon to mollify him, writing most sweetly, so as not to lose him altogether. Walsingham also reports that the king of France was much annoyed that, after having sent so many personages here, Walsingham alone should be sent to him in return, *and that if he could manage to have him put out of the way he would attempt it.* They have agreed, in view of this news, that Don Antonio's armaments shall be delayed until they hear more from Walsingham. —London, 12th August 1581.

13 Aug. **123.** The KING to QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Paris Archives, K 1447 . 61. Latin.

Has been informed that his rebel subject Don Antonio has taken refuge in her country, and there continues his machinations against the tranquillity of his (Philip's) dominions. Has specially instructed the ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza to request her to surrender him. Signed, Philip. Countersigned, J. Idiaquez.—Lisbon, 13th August 1581.

[*Note.*—This letter was enclosed in the following one to the ambassador.]

14 Aug. **124.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives. K. 1447. 62.

I note what passed between the Queen and you about the audience both before and since the departure of the French embassy, as well as your letter to her when she postponed the audience, and the answer you gave to her complaints about Ireland. You have acted well in all this, and especially in frightening them with the fleets that have sailed from here, and so checking the corsairs, who are fitting out in England. Do your best for the continuance of the steps taken by the merchants in their own interest, to prevent the Queen's ministers and others from sending expeditions towards the Indies, and use all your efforts in every way with this object. As you say nothing about the recovery of Drake's plunder, I suppose nothing has been obtained yet, and every day diminishes the chance of it, as the money is doubtless being spent.

I am glad to hear your news from Ireland, and that the King of Scotland is plucking up heart and making himself respected.

* This interview took place at La Fère in Picardy, and a full account of it and Walsingham's other negotiations during his visit to France will be found in the "Walsingham Correspondence." Consult also Le Laboureur's addition to the Castelnau Memoirs.

1581.

Adopt the best means you can of letting the queen of Scotland know how pleased I am at this, and try to keep her well disposed, and her son also, through her. Assure them of my goodwill and point out to the mother what a signal mercy it would be, if God were to bring about the conversion of her son to the church, and urge her to strive for this with all her influence.

You did well to pass over the matter of taking the Hollander's son away from you, since the first steps having been so fruitless, any subsequent action would doubtless also have been in vain. All this would be forgotten if you could induce the Queen to give up Don Antonio, or at least to expel him. As she said the matter must be dealt with in a letter from me to her, and you also think I should write (in accordance as you say with a clause in the treaties), I send you the enclosed letter which you will deliver to her and address her in support of it. Press upon her how much she would please and oblige me, if she will accede to my request, and paint in vivid colours my displeasure if she refuse ; both on account of the offence to me, and also on account of the foolishness of leaning upon such a weak reed as the vain hopes of these people. As you think well to keep her in fear and anxiety, you can adopt the course you deem most likely to be successful. If she again tries to retaliate by complaints of the reception of some of her outlaws in Flanders, you may give her every satisfaction, and so cut away this cause of complaint. Indeed you will meet her in every way, for the purpose of managing this business of Don Antonio, of which you see the importance. (If you cannot get her to accede to my request you may tell the Queen that, even though she do not wish to break with me, if Don Antonio leaves her country for any of my dominions, or to injure any of my subjects, I shall understand it to be a declaration of war. This is so important that I need not urge it further upon you)* Send me full and frequent reports of all that may be done or discussed in favour of Don Antonio.

You have been written to about the fleets I have sent to Terceira, and as the news sent to England about the damage that they have received will probably reach there distorted and exaggerated, I think well to send you a true account of what has happened. Don Pedro de Valdes landed 300 men, who did great damage to the enemy, but were afterwards withdrawn as their number was so small, one half their number having been lost. Don Pedro, however, was still cruising round the island and Don Lope de Figueroa will now have arrived with the other fleet, which by God's help I hope will make matters smooth.—Lisbon, 14th August 1580.

23 Aug. Paris Archives. K. 1447. 66.

125. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I send herewith the letter you request for the queen of England, but have thought well to send you two separate letters,† one stronger

* The passage in brackets has been added to the draft by the King.

† The two draft letters in Latin, for the Queen, accompany the above letter, both protesting against any aid being furnished from England to Don Antonio, but one much more strongly than the other, and threatening to consider the furnishing of such help as a declaration of war.

1581.

than the other, and you will use the one you think most appropriate, as you know the temper and disposition of those people so well. I leave the matter to your discretion, but will only observe that in addressing the Queen firmly and haughtily, you may take higher ground, if at the time this letter arrives the aid for Don Antonio should not have sailed, and you think that your more emphatic action may stop it. But if the fleet for him you mention should have gone, it will be better for you to moderate your tone, and to smooth things down, so that I shall not be obliged to make a greater demonstration than the time and circumstances may render advisable.—Lisbon, 23rd August 1581.

23 Aug. **126.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives. K. 1447. 65.

I note the minute intelligence you send about Don Antonio, and the ships and men being prepared for him. I sent you as requested the letter for the Queen, asking her to surrender or expel Don Antonio, but in view of your opinion that I should write to her strongly myself, and not refer the matter to your credence only, I send you enclosed another letter which you may deliver, and you may address her in the same tone, if the first letter shall not have sufficed. If they both arrive together, it will not matter as you can deliver them in their order. You will take such a position as you may consider advisable to alarm her and the merchants with the fear of a rupture, and this is a much greater reason for it than was Drake's robbery, about which you frightened them before. If the Queen adopts the attitude foreshadowed by Leicester, in saying that the case does not come under the treaties as a King cannot be a rebel, you will meet it with the arguments you know of, namely, that Don Antonio was always reputed and acknowledged to be a bastard. (A full statement of the case against Don Antonio here follows.)

With respect to the ships being fitted out for the islands, I hope to God they will do but little, if they go thither, because, in addition to my other two fleets there, I have a fleet of 20 sail and 3,500 men in Seville, which will sail at once to meet the ships you mention. Use this intelligence as you think best to stop Don Antonio's aid. Scotch affairs are tending well for the King's popularity, and the discrediting of the queen of England. Continue your assurances to the queen of Scotland and her son.—Lisbon, 23rd August 1581.

27 Aug. **127.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 11th instant saying how slowly the armament of Don Antonio's ships was proceeding. Recently the Queen openly remarked in her chamber that things never came to her ears until they were on the point of being effected, and this had happened with regard to the fitting out of Don Antonio's ships. She said that none of her people were to enter the service of Don Antonio, the object of this being that it should be made public; which is an ordinary artifice of hers when she wishes things to be known. In view of this display on the part of the Queen a Council was held, and it was decided that the three ships which Don Antonio had bought, namely, the galleon "Buena Ventura," of

1581.

600 tons, and two others of 160 and 150, with a pirate ship commanded by Vaughan now in the Isle of Wight, and four of those fitted out by Drake in Plymouth, should be allowed to sail, with Drake as admiral. After this decision had been adopted, and the last preparations for the sailing of the eight ships were being completed, a change was made, and Drake, with his ships, was ordered not to go, but only the two of Don Antonio's and the pirate ship, which were however slow in making ready for sea. I understand they only carry stores for two months, and not more than enough men to plunder unprotected ships at sea.

As I wrote before, I did not move on the mere appearance of great armaments being fitted out, as I knew these people and understood their object. It is often to your Majesty's interests that they should be allowed to proceed without interference, but I had men spread amongst the sailors and shipmen to convince them how much safer it was for them to go on their ordinary voyages for merchants, and this has not been without its effect. I have at secondhand also approached the ministers with a similar end, as I was sure that, if only to oppose Leicester, they would dissuade the Queen from a business which he was advocating. I am informed that the Queen and Councillors have expressed their surprise that, in the face of the marriage negotiations and the arming of the fleet, I should be so serene as not to have spoken to the Queen. If affairs in France do not alter, it may be concluded that even the four ships I have mentioned will not leave, as the admiral has not yet been appointed.

I have tried by every means to ascertain the offers made by Don Antonio to the Queen, and whether their ideas were directed against any particular point. I find, however, that nothing but generalities have as yet passed between them. They say that if she aids him, your Majesty will be disturbed and obliged to spend a great sum of money, and to this end he pretends to have a large number of Portuguese on his side and speaks of the power he formerly possessed in the country. With relation to this he told the Queen that Antonio de Castillo had been his councillor years ago, whereupon she sent an Italian, through the earl of Leicester, to tempt Antonio de Castillo, and tell him that Don Antonio was greatly in want of councillors and persons of quality, and that if he would be on his side he would not only oblige the king of France and herself, but Don Antonio would reward him much more highly than your Majesty. He told the messenger, a Lucchese named Velutelli, who is a creature of Leicester's, that if he were not an old acquaintance he would throw him out of the window for having dared to bring him such a message, and that he was to tell Leicester that in the mountains, from whence the Castillos came, no traitor was ever known, and he for all the world would not be one. He was to tell the Queen that he would not be a Protestant for the two hemispheres, and that his having followed your Majesty's side was because God had chosen you for his sovereign, and of right the throne belonged to you. He understood this so well that he would prove it legally to any lawyers

1581.

whom she might appoint, or the king of France either. He thus answered as a good vassal should; but doubtless the reason why these people thought they could tempt him was that they saw he was needy and had left the shelter of my house, although he had done so without my wish. Since then I have offered him what I possess, as he has not received his wages as your Majesty ordered. I humbly beg you to favour him, and grant him his petition that he should be allowed to leave here. This would not only be a favour to him, but would be greatly to your Majesty's own interest.

There was some talk of attacking the island of Madeira with the fleet which was to leave here, after it had succoured Terceira. It is believed, to judge by the talk of Portuguese who favour Don Antonio, that they have some understanding there, and it is thought they would go thence to the coast of Brazil. As the initial project has now fallen through, the others must naturally cease, but it may be worth while to advise the Madeira people to be on the watch.

Don Antonio sees the Queen nearly every day with Leicester. He goes from London in a boat, with two or three men. I am told that he is beginning to complain that the Queen is cooling towards him, and that he would like to get possession again of the diamonds he entrusted to Leicester.—London, 27th August 1581.

27 Aug. **128.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The Queen has received advice of the entry of Alençon into Cambrai, neither she nor her Council being so pleased at the news as was expected, although she is sending to congratulate Alençon, who informed her of the intelligence by a gentleman of his, and begged her for 300,000 crowns,* as he had spent all his own money in the relief, and neither the States nor his brother would give him a real. If she did not provide him with the money he should be obliged to return with his army to France without going any further. I will report what reply she may send him, but she is very suspicious that the relief of Cambrai may have been effected on an agreement that Alençon should return from there to France, as she was informed by Walsingham. This suspicionhas been confirmed by the seizure by the king of France of the best town possessed by the Marquis de Turenne, in accordance with his edict proclaiming all those who went to the Netherlands as traitors, and also because the King had allowed 400,000 crowns to pass through France for payment to the prince of Parma, which he certainly would not have done if he had meant to break with your Majesty in union with this Queen. Alençon advises that they had fixed up to the 1st proximo as the period when he and the king of France's Commissioners, with Cobham representing the Queen, should discuss the question of the alliance, which, Alençon says, will mean the ignoring of the marriage negotiations and the contract made here by the French Commissioners.

* The request that Elizabeth would furnish this sum to Alençon had first been made to Walsingham at La Fère by Turenne, before Alençon entered Flanders.

1581.

The Queen has not yet sent me a reply to what I had conveyed to her ministers, and I have sent to ask them whether they had been able to communicate with the Queen on the points. I am temporising as much as I can whilst maintaining fitting dignity.—London, 27th August 1581.

4 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1447. 71.

129. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA. [EXTRACT.]

There is no sign of the Fleming you said had been sent hither. The other persons you mention as being the means by which Don Antonio's correspondence is carried on have been arrested, and are being proceeded against. Report every sign or indication you can learn of the matter, so that we may clear it up.*

The countess of Vimioso, Diego Botello's wife, and some other persons, have been banished to Castile, as correspondence might pass through their hands.

I hear from Juan Bautista de Tassis that an ambassador has arrived in France from Scotland, to ascertain whether his master will be addressed as King, and they (the French) have sent to ask the queen of Scotland what they shall do. Report what you hear of this and continue your action in Scotch affairs, in accordance with previous instructions.—Lisbon, 4th September 1581.

4 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1447. 73.

130. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The prior and consuls of the city of Seville have written to us, saying that they learn from Zubiaur that the business of the restitution of Drake's plunder is progressing favourably, and that persons have been appointed to examine his claims. He is in hopes of success and they (the prior and consuls) beg me to write to the Queen asking her to have the property delivered to Zubiaur, with as little delay as possible, in virtue of the powers and instructions sent him. As I set forth in the despatch of 23rd February, it is of the highest importance that this property should be recovered, both on account of the great damage to trade by the robbery, and the loss suffered by individuals, and I again ask you to consider whether it would not be well to let Zubiaur do what he can to recover the property that belongs to private persons, or whether you still think the whole should be asked for at once. The decision, as before, is left to you, but I urge you very warmly to do what you can in favour of these individuals, and so far as you consider fitting, to help Zubiaur with the zeal and diligence demanded by the importance of the matter.—Lisbon, 4th September 1581.

7 Sept.

131. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since I wrote last, this Queen has received several despatches from Walsingham, and as they were pressing the king of France in

* In the King's hand—"You (*i.e.* Idiaquez) had better write, saying that the Englishman is looked upon here with much approval and his imprisonment causes great surprise. Tell him (*i.e.*, Mendoza) to try to discover really whether he is to blame, so that otherwise he may be released. This refers to a certain Botolph Holder an English merchant resident in Lisbon.

1581.

the matter of the alliance, which they wished to be offensive and defensive, your Majesty being broken with at once, the French asked Walsingham what the Queen offered on her side, whereupon they were requested to state what they thought she ought to do. To this they replied that if they were to break with you at once, she should immediately disburse 300,000 ducats and contribute 500,000 a year to the cost of the war. As the Queen thinks that her country will not supply so great a sum, she slackened in her demand for a rupture with your Majesty, and adopted another policy, namely, to effect an offensive and defensive league, on condition that, if your Majesty makes war on either of them, they shall be jointly bound to defend each other, but if France or England should make war without the consent of the other party, the latter should not be obliged to come to its aid. Walsingham reports that this is being discussed, and your Majesty will learn from Juan Bautista de Tassis if it be carried through.

Marchaumont told the Queen that it was on her account that Alençon had made peace in France, although he was not the King, and had entered into war in your Majesty's dominions without means; and this, he said, should be a sufficient proof of his desire to serve her and become her husband. He intimates, also, that Alençon will shortly retire to France, and will at once come thence to England in disguise to ascertain whether the Queen will really marry him or not. He will try to get his brother to delay Walsingham in the meanwhile, so that he should not be here when he, Alençon, arrives, as he looks upon him as the greatest opponent to the marriage.

Besides the 22,000*l.* which I wrote had been taken by Walsingham, and reached the hands of Alençon, I am assured that the Queen has supplied him with another 20,000*l.*, which sum has been taken in gold, most of it being carried by twelve men sent by Hatton, the Captain of the Guard, on pretence of their serving Alençon at Cambrai at Hatton's cost. The money spent by Alençon for the pay of his men and the victualling of Cambrai, was in the form of newly coined broad-angels, which are those sent from here. I am told that the Queen can let him have no more money this winter, as she has incurred a debt of 100,000*l.* by her two years' war in Ireland, and for this reason the supplies voted by Parliament were granted six months before the proper time. Most of the money she has provided was coined from the bullion brought by Drake.—London, 7th September 1581.

7 Sept. **132.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I have anticipated your Majesty's orders to advise you of the designs and movements of Don Antonio. Although he is making ready, it is announced, to go to France in ill humour with these people, he is still trying to arrange for arming ships. He saw the Queen the other day, and complained to her that the ships had not been allowed to leave as he had been promised. She replied that she would not on any account make war on your Majesty; to which he answered that if she would not let his ships go, he hoped

1581.

she would lend him the 30,000*l.* which she had promised him on his jewels. The Queen told him that this, too, would be warring against your Majesty, whereupon Don Antonio said that if she would do neither the one thing nor the other she should let him have his jewels back. She asked him in whose possession they were, and he told her that Walsingham her secretary had them, and she promised that she would have them restored. Don Antonio thereupon went and asked Walsingham's wife for them, who said that her husband had left these jewels in her care, among them being the 60-carat diamond, with orders that she was not to give them up, except on payment to her of 2,000*l.*, for which he was surety, in respect of some stores and other things for Don Antonio. When the latter heard this, he asked the Treasurer to write a letter to Walsingham's wife about it, on receipt of which she said that she had since received a fresh letter from her husband in France, telling her not to give up the jewels unless she was paid a thousand pounds, besides the two thousand for which he was responsible. Don Antonio thereupon pressed urgently for a passport to allow him to leave. A certain heretic Spanish friar named Corro, who years ago fled from St. Isidro in Seville, and is now married here, and a professor of writing at Oxford, was brought to London by Leicester to preach to Don Antonio and try to convert him, whilst spying on his actions, and I am told that Don Antonio said to this man, when he found how he was being treated, that his coming to England had been a punishment for his sins, as the people were so fickle, only Leicester being his friend, and Walsingham slightly so. These words were said in great grief and desperation to Corro as a confidant. Don Antonio also tried to sell the ships he had purchased and the stores for them, the rumour being that neither they nor the pirates who were to accompany them would put to sea. On the 5th, however, they changed their opinion, and Leicester came and told him that the Queen would give him leave to send the three ships he had, and four pirates with them; the largest of 300 tons, and the smallest of 150. They are to meet at the Scilly Isles, and do not carry stores for more than two months, 100 soldiers going in the largest ship and 60 or 80 in the others. The design is to land them at Terceira, if the island should be for Don Antonio. The captains are Portuguese, and the commander, I am told, is Manuel de Silva, who will, after his arrival at Terceira, issue letters of marque in the name of Don Antonio, authorizing the capture of property belonging to your Majesty's subjects, thus freeing Don Antonio from the responsibility of paying any further wages for the pirate ships. If they find the island in submission to your Majesty, the letters of marque will still be given to the English, and they will all come back together, robbing on the way.

The Queen has already had signed a general passport for these seven ships as well as a separate one for each, allowing them to enter or leave any ports in the kingdom. It has been by her orders that Don Antonio has given no letters of marque here, which are to be issued by Silva on his arrival at the island. This

1581.

is to prevent any complaint from me of what is done, although certainly, if they take any prizes they will be brought hither. Their only design, up to the present, is to make your Majesty spend large sums of money in fitting out fleets in consequence of the sailing of these ships. It has also been decided that the Queen shall fit out three ships in the name of Don Antonio to sail to the East Indies, and try to effect a landing, with the aid of some of his adherents there, who he says are numerous. They would then stay there if they could, and if not, they would carry merchandise for trade, and go to the Moluccas. Frobisher will take these ships, which will sail at Christmas. I can only conclude that the Queen's change of course in letting the ships go must have been caused by her belief that the alliance with the French will be effected, particularly as she has aided them with stores and ammunition, which have been supplied by her officers under Walsingham's guarantee, as if they were not hers. In this way they think to keep the jewels for good, as Don Antonio can neither pay the sum advanced nor get the stones, a time being fixed for repayment of the loan, after which the pledge was to be forfeited.

These eight ships are ready to sail with the first fair wind, and they declare that, if they find any Spanish ships in the Downs, they will capture them in virtue of separate orders given to each ship by Don Antonio. I send a translation of this order, which has been given in this form, so that if they are separated each ship should know what to do at Terceira.—London, 7th September 1581.

7 Sept. **133.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I sent your Majesty a statement of the infantry and cavalry in the pay of the Queen in Ireland, but the truth is that the foot soldiers do not reach 2,500, with the Irish, and the cavalry not 300. The Viceroy only aims at holding the English portion of the country, and his sallies consist of a few men, hastily conducted. In the course of these raids he not only desolates the land, but kills all the people he encounters, whereby he thinks he will be able to finish with the insurgents, none of whom, however, have yet submitted, because the Irish never think of pardoning any one else, and consequently pardon for themselves does not enter their heads. The Viceroy constantly presses for more troops, but the Queen will not send them, in order to save expense, unless foreign troops come to the island, as she thinks that with the men she has there she will be able, in time, to bring the insurgents to submission. The insurgent forces are as follows. Baltinglas is at Dingle, a strong monntain near Dublin, with about 300 Irishmen to defend the place when necessary. The Queen has news, which I have confirmed, that the Viceroy had been informed that this Baron had gone to Spain and left in his place a gentleman named Feagh MacHugh, who had recently deserted the Queen's service with 500 men.

The earl of Desmond is in his own country with 500 men, but when there is any fear of his enemies he can gather 1,500, and with them hold his woods and fortresses.

1581.

Pelham, the General of Artillery who was acting as Viceroy before the arrival of Lord Grey, has, with other captains, petitioned the Queen to grant them the lands of the earl of Desmond, which they offer to conquer at their own cost and people with Englishmen. She has not granted this, but they are still discussing the conditions under which it will be granted.

O'Neil is in his own country, on the borders of which he has the men necessary for its defence. It is impossible to state his strength, as it is ruled by the behaviour of the Viceroy. The plan of the latter is to cajole him with fair words and secretly treat with his enemies.

If the Queen sends no more troops than she now has, it is improbable that any of the insurgents will submit, as they have not hitherto done so, and the Viceroy is powerless to make them, especially in the winter, as the Irish are then usually masters of the land, the English being unable to withstand the severity of the climate. If, therefore, they do not fall apart from mere feebleness and natural inconstancy, there is no apparent reason why they should not hold out much longer than next summer, unless much more energy is displayed by the Queen. It is expected that there will be a great famine in the island this year, in consequence of the Viceroy's having burned the land to prevent sowing of crops. The fanega of wheat was worth a hundred reals in Dublin last summer,* although the Queen allowed free export from England thither, and sent four thousand quarters for her own garrisons.

I received with the despatch of the 22nd July the credit of 2,000 crowns which your Majesty orders to be given to that person† for the care he displays in your Majesty's interest. I have told him what your Majesty orders me, and given him 1,000 crowns, taking the opportunity, of my knowledge, that he was seeking a loan on pledges. I told him that I had no reply from your Majesty about him, but in the meanwhile, as he was in need, I would lend him 1,000 crowns, which I thought would make him value the favour more, and bind him with the certain hope that he would get the rest. This is the only way that Englishmen are kept faithful, for if they do not actually see the reward before their eyes, they forget all past favours; and so, in this case, we shall keep him longer by giving him the money in two payments.

I have not pressed the Queen for an answer to the various points I had discussed with the Ministers, nor have I asked for audience, both to keep on the balance with them, as your Majesty orders, with my hand always on the tiller to change my course according to affairs in France, and because, Don Antonio being already leaving, I do not want them to make a favour of his going.

With regard to my complaining strongly of their having received him, notwithstanding my urgent protests against their allowing him to purchase and fit out ships here (which will be of no benefit to

* There were five Spanish fanegas to an English quarter of wheat, and the real was the *real plata* worth about 5*d*. The price of wheat in London at the time was 24*s*. per quarter.

† Sir James Crofts, the Controller of the household.

1581.

him as he has only spent in this way the little money he brought with him), it has been rather a favour which the Queen has done to your Majesty, besides disclosing the evil minds by which they are animated, that she should have always pressed Don Antonio to stay.

With regard to the restitution of the boy they took from me, the only thing done by the Queen about it was to direct Leicester and Sussex to inquire how it had come about, because a few days afterwards they sent him back to Flushing again, and released the constables.—London, 7th September 1581.

7 Sept. **134.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I received your Majesty's despatch of the 22nd of July, and will, on the first opportunity, convey to the queen of Scotland what your Majesty commands. I have hitherto entertained her as directed. I understand that she is well, but more retired than formerly, although they gave her leave to go to the baths. I have sent, through Cardinal de Granvelle, the letters which she forwarded to me for Sir Francis Englefield.

I have tried also to spread the view in Scotland of how advantageous it would be to the King if he were to submit to the Catholic Church, although this is a difficult thing to do without its coming to the ears of this Queen, as nearly all the Scotch councillors are declared Protestants, who would inform her instantly, and she would thereupon become more closely attached to the French. I have, therefore, had to wait until I could discuss it with some of the principal Catholics here, by whose means alone was it possible to attempt it. I pointed out to them that, in view of the present position of neighbouring countries and of the Netherlands, the first step to be taken was to bring Scotland to submit to the Holy See. This, I said, would cause this Queen more anxiety than anything else, since even if the multitude of heretics in France, and the wars forced upon your Majesty in your dominions, would allow of your Majesty sending any of your forces hither to help the Catholics, the desired end would not be gained in that way, as its only result would be to make war inevitable between your Majesty and France, which latter country would naturally oppose such a step, and take the side of the heretics in order to prevent, at any cost, your Majesty making yourself master of England under cover of religion. This was evident to them, as the Catholics themselves think that, oppressed as they are, they could not take up arms, or make any movement, unless your Majesty sent a great fleet with more than 15,000 men, which would be rather an army to conquer than to succour. For this reason, and because they thought that Irish affairs could only be made use of for the purpose of embarrassing the Queen and hindering her from helping the Netherlands by the waste of her men and money, they agreed with me that it was most advisable to lose no time in laying the foundation of the Scotch project. Even if Ireland were conquered, the movement in England would have to come from there through Scotland, and consequently the

1581.

idea of commencing with Scotland was considered the best. I laid all this before them, and asked them to consider the subject and tell me which they thought the best way to set about it, as not only did they know most of the principal men in Scotland and the humour of the people, but they would probably possess more recent intelligence of the state of the country from their Catholic friends on the Borders, with whom I knew they corresponded. My proposal was approved of, and six lords, who are the leaders and chiefs of the other Catholics, met for the purpose of considering it. One of them repeated to the others what I had said, and urged that the best way for them to shake off the oppression with which they were being afflicted by the heretics would be to attempt to bring Scotland to submission to the church. They took solemn oaths to aid each other and to mutually devote their persons and property to the furtherance of this end without informing any living soul of their determination excepting myself. They decided to send an English clergyman who is trusted by all the six, a person of understanding who was brought up in Scotland, to the Scottish Court, for the purpose, after he had made himself acquainted with the state of things, with their assistance and recommendation, to try to get a private interview with D'Aubigny, and tell him that, if the King would submit to the Roman Catholic church, many of the English nobles, and a great part of the population, would at once side with him, and have him declared heir to the English crown and release his mother. He was to assure him that the help of His Holiness, your Majesty, and it was to be supposed also of the king of France, would be forthcoming to this end, but, if the king of Scotland were not Catholic, D'Aubigny was to be assured that the Catholics would oppose him more even than did the heretics, and would endeavour to forward the claims of another person to the succession, without mentioning any name until D'Aubigny's intentions were understood.

If D'Aubigny give ear to the discourse and the person to be sent sees the matter proceeding favourably, they think of sending a brother of one of the six lords to his Holiness to give him an account of the matter, and to beg of him to request your Majesty to help them in their object. I have not yet opened out further with them, as the end upon which they have their eyes fixed at present is the conversion of Scotland to the Catholic church without going into further particulars. They are not to have the matter spoken of in France more than necessary, in order to prevent its being hindered, by the fear that it is a plan of your Majesty alone, and I have warned them to be vigilant on this point. They agree with me in this, as they are all Spanish and Catholic at heart, and do not wish to have anything to do with France, excepting with the concurrence of your Majesty's representative. When the king of Scotland has submitted to the Catholic church, these six lords, who most of them have sons of the King's age, intend to send them as hostages to assure him that, directly he enters England with his army, they will raise all the north country for him, will demand the restoration of the Catholic church in

1581.

England, proclaim him heir to the crown, and release his mother. In addition to his own forces, and the help they will bring him, he will have your Majesty's support, and, as there is now no hope of the Queen's having children, she being 49 years of age, the whole country will acclaim him as her heir, and, if necessary, as he will be so strong, the Queen herself may be deposed if she will not consent to the restoration of the church.

I do not write to your Majesty the names of the six lords, as they pledged me not to divulge them until they saw what reception their approaches received in Scotland. If this be not favourable as they desire, and their design falls through, they do not wish to be known, or for the business to appear as if it had been proposed out of mere compliment, and to bring themselves to your Majesty's notice. As this request seemed reasonable I acceded to it, knowing, as I do, their quality and zeal in the service of God and your Majesty. The business seems so well founded, and so much in accord with divine justice, that one cannot help hoping that God will bless it with success, its main object being to save such a multitude of human souls. So far as I can see, the success of God's cause and the conversion of these countries, besides being of such inestimable good in themselves, will also greatly benefit your Majesty's interests and tend to the quietude of your dominions, as when these two kingdoms are Catholic it is to be believed that they will endeavour more earnestly than ever to maintain their alliance with your Majesty for their own sake, and especially as the ministers who have to carry the matter through being your adherents will keep in view your Majesty's interests.—London, 7th September 1581.

10 Sept. **135.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Whilst I was handing the accompanying despatch to the courier, I heard that Don Antonio intended to take leave of the Queen next day, so I detained the man until I had heard what was the result of the interview.

There was news here that two valuable Spanish ships loaded at Antwerp had anchored in the Downs, the wind being against them. Don Antonio's three ships, which are at Blackwall, on the contrary, were favoured by the wind and prepared to drop down the river with the intention of capturing the two Spanish ships, which I had already warned to quit the port. I also sent to tell the English merchants who usually ship goods at Antwerp consigned to Spaniards, that if Don Antonio's ships carried out their design they, the merchants, would be the first persons to suffer for the damage done. This was the best course to take rather than complaining to the Council, as the merchants, in order that the property should not fall into the hands of Don Antonio, took such steps as procured a stop from the Queen, forbidding Don Antonio's ships from moving until further orders. He was notified by the Judge of the Admiralty that the Queen had prohibited the sale of any English ships to foreigners, and those that had already been sold were not to be allowed to leave port.

1581.

She hoped that Don Antonio would not take this amiss, but if he wished his ships to be allowed to sail he was to sign a bond, as it is called here, which the Judge of the Admiralty took to him in Latin, undertaking that his ships should do no injury to your Majesty's subjects. Don Antonio had had notice of the stoppage of his ships the day before, and after reading the bond brought to him by the Judge of the Admiralty at 8 o'clock in the morning, he started out booted and spurred, after dinner, with all his Portuguese, hastily putting his baggage into a boat, and went to take leave of the Queen. He arrived at the Court unexpected by her with the intention of at once proceeding on his journey, but the Queen spoke tenderly to him, although he was offended about the stoppage of his ships; and said that as he had now missed the tide and it was very dark, he had better return to London for the night and postpone his departure until the next day. He did so, and the same night she sent a gentleman of her chamber to tell Lord Howard and Philip Sidney to accompany Don Antonio. The four ships were ready to leave to-day by the midday tide, but a message from the Queen came at 10 o'clock, which further delayed them, and it is expected they will sail to-morrow. The Earl of Oxford has been ordered to accompany him, but I do not venture to assert that they will go, as it depends upon these fickle people, and I fear he may still be detained here. I do not know whether he will go to France or to the Prince of Orange; to whom he has sent two Portuguese, but I will let your Majesty know as soon as I can learn. I have advised Tassis some days ago of his intention of leaving. Four Portuguese came for him recently, having come in a poor boat from St. Ubes in 18 days. They landed at Dover, and wore false beards.

Alençon has sent back to the Queen her gentleman of the chamber, Sterling (Somers ?), who went over with Lord Harry.* He only brings a letter for her† and one for Marchaumont, dated the 4th instant at Chatelet, where Alençon was with 3,000 men, the rest of his force having broken up. Marchaumont says, since this man's arrival, that Alençon will certainly be here shortly in disguise, and will pretend he is going to see Orange, the better to carry out his intention. The Queen has sent Sterling (Somers ?) back again to Alençon to-day. She was not pleased with his visit.—London, 11th September 1581.

25 Sept. **136.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, R. 1447 . 48.

Walsingham's negotiations in France in favour of the treaty would probably have as little result as those about the marriage, besides which, as you say, the Queen was exhibiting fear of sending out a fleet to help Don Antonio. However this may be, you will be most careful to investigate and communicate everything you can learn, and, above all, try to discredit Don Antonio's people there. This should be done, not so much by direct action with the Queen, your former attitude of not making too much account of them

* Howard.

† This letter will be found in Part 2 of the Hatfield Papers, Hist. MSS. Com.

1581.

having been a wise one, but rather by indirectly letting the merchants and others know how poor and exhausted Don Antonio is, and how ruined they will be if they trust him or ship with him.

Although it would appear at first sight advisable to grant to some Englishmen the patents they desire enabling them to capture property from my rebels and bring it safely to Spain, yet, under cover of this, they might do more damage to my faithful subjects than to the rebels, and the matter needs deep consideration. In the meantime, you have done well in referring the men to M. de la Motte. Any similar offers you will keep pending in the same way, saying that you will consult me, and giving hopes of a favourable reply which may prevent the men from joining Don Antonio. This is important, and you will exercise in it your usual dexterity and sagacity.

You did well in pressing Drake's affair as you have done, and it will be advisable to keep alive the alarm of the merchants that reprisals will be used against them unless satisfaction is given. This will cause them to bring influence to bear upon the Queen to restore the booty, and moderate her attitude towards me in other things. I note the trouble you have had about the audiences, and approve of your action. It is a fine thing for the Queen to take offence that I have sent her no excuses about Ireland, considering that for years she has sent none to me for having succoured and supported my rebels in the Netherlands. We shall see what happens, and as they seemed so anxious to have letters from me, it will be interesting to note what effect will be produced by those I wrote about Don Antonio. The cruelty exercised against the Catholics is greatly to be deplored, and the constancy and firmness they show in their affliction worthy of all praise. Our Lord, for whom they suffer, will provide the remedy, and, in the meanwhile, you will continue to animate the Catholics. I hope soon to have a reply from Rome about the appointment of English Cardinals, in favour of which I have used the strongest possible influence.—Lisbon, 25th September 1581.

27 Sept. **137.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 7th and 10th that Don Antonio was about to leave, but he has delayed up to the present, although saying that he was going every day. The day following my last letter they raised the stop placed upon his ships, although they had made a show of taking out the sails and crew, on the ground that they would not allow them to leave without an undertaking being given that no damage should be done to the subjects of princes with whom the Queen was at peace; and also to secure debts which Don Antonio was leaving here, in respect of the purchase of ships and other things to be paid for in six or eight months. The object of this was evidently to drive him to borrow more money on the jewels he has here, which, the pledge being increased, the Queen would eventually keep. He has had to do this; Leicester having

1581.

seen him, and promised him that he would find some merchants to lend him 12,000*l.* more on the jewels, with which he could pay what he owed here and complete the preparations on his ships, in which case the Queen would give him leave to depart. Don Antonio agreed to this, and the Treasurer called together the richest aldermen and merchants of London, telling them in the name of the Queen that they knew how the injustice and extortion to which they were exposed in Spain were reducing their trade; that Don Antonio had a better right than your Majesty to the crown of Portugal, and that the Queen wished to help him. In order that their business might benefit by his obtaining possession of his country, she requested them to lend him some money on good pledges, and the Queen would make herself responsible for the repayment. The sums to be given were 1,000*l.* each by those of the grand-jury, as they call it, and 500*l.* by those of the petty-jury, which she knew they could easily afford without detriment to their business. They have lent the money ostensibly to Leicester and Walsingham on the jewels in their possession, and, if they be not redeemed within a certain time, they are to be forfeited. This trick of getting private merchants to find the money has been adopted so that if at any time the restitution of the jewels should be demanded, as belonging to the Portuguese crown, the merchants may claim their principal and interest, which will have grown to a very large sum. Don Antonio sent part of this money to enable three pirate ships to sail from Bristol, one large and two small, and three more from Plymouth, whither Drake is going to expedite them. The ships here are only waiting for a fair wind, and none of them take victuals for more than two months.

Don Antonio has been hunting with Leicester, and on the 13th went to see the Queen, when she gave him a signed document binding herself to help and support him in the same way that the king of France and the duke of Alençon may do. With this Don Antonio is determined to go to France, the intention being for him to cross in one of his own ships, as I am informed, not for greater safety, but as a means of getting the ships away, in the fear that, once his back was turned, these people would find some fresh pretext to detain them and keep them altogether. I send your Majesty a drawing of the diamonds that Don Antonio brought hither. I have not been able to discover whether they are all in the Queen's possession.

The Company of Merchants trading with Spain insisted upon Don Antonio's ships being stopped, for fear, as I wrote, that the two Spanish ships in the Downs might fall into his hands; and, although the Queen has given them leave to send their ships to Spain, they are afraid to do so now that Don Antonio's ships are released. They have tried to induce me to give them passports, but I have refused, because, although it may not have the effect of stopping the ships from sailing, the keeping of the merchants in a state of alarm will cause them to continue to place obstacles in the way of the departure of Don Antonio's and the pirate ships. These people are so changeable, and their minds so distorted,

1581.

that I can do nothing more advantageous to your Majesty's interests than to delay somewhat the projects they have in hand.

Lord Harry, whom this Queen sent to Alençon, has returned. He reports that Alençon was marching along the French frontier towards Boulogne, saying that he was going to Dunkirk for greater facility for his coming hither.

Walsingham has written that he had taken leave of the King and would see Alençon before he returned to England. Although they had discussed at great length the conditions of the alliance, nothing had been concluded, notwithstanding that he had dealt both with Catholics and Protestants for its conclusion, but that the French had refused to settle anything until the marriage was decided upon.—London, 27th September 1581.

1 Oct. **138.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Various despatches received, and new general cypher; also the letter for the Queen respecting the surrender of Don Antonio, which I have not yet delivered to her, nor the second letter your Majesty wrote.

I have been delaying asking for an audience or pressing the Ministers for a reply on the points I have mentioned in other letters, because they are slackening in their assistance to Don Antonio without any prompting from me, and it was therefore better to run out the line and dissemble with them, until your Majesty's letters for the Queen reached me; and so to avoid the risk of an audience being refused to me, and my being again referred to the Council. As soon as I received your Majesty's despatch I sent to the Queen, who is hunting at Nonsuch, asking for audience; taking this step in order that Cecil might be present, and Leicester and Hatton prevented from stifling my request as they have done before, persuading the Queen privately not to grant me an audience. I sent to tell Cecil that I had no reply to the points which I had discussed with him and Leicester; and had now some other business to communicate to the Queen by order of your Majesty; asking him whether she would be at liberty there some day, as I did not wish to interfere with her pastimes by requesting audience. He replied that the Queen would be there for some days, and that he himself would ask for audience for me, if I wished. My servant had been instructed to accept this offer if he made it, and answered that it would be a very great favour to me if he would undertake the commission. Cecil shortly afterwards called the man back and told him that it would be better that he, the servant, should ask for audience in the usual way, and he at once addressed himself to Hatton the Vice-Chamberlain, the Lord Chamberlain being absent. He was delayed there for three days, being told every morning and afternoon that he would be dispatched, and at the end of that time Hatton and Walsingham noticing him as they came out of the Queen's chamber, told him that they had no decision yet to give him. They then went to Cecil's room, telling the man to wait. After having been for an

1581.

hour in Council, the two, with Cecil, went back to the Queen, and held another Council with her, and at the end of another two hours, Hatton summoned my servant to his room, and gave him a letter for me in English, the purport of which was that I was to send word whether I had a letter from your Majesty to myself ordering me to communicate affairs to the Queen, as in such case, certain Councillors would come and listen to what I had to say. To this I replied that I had a letter from your Majesty to the Queen, with instructions to give her an account of certain matters. I had not, I said, received any reply to the points I had discussed with Cecil and Leicester at the begining of August, although I had requested it twice; and it was difficult for me to attend to your Majesty's interests here under such circumstances as these. The reply to this was that the Queen was moving to Richmond yesterday, whence an answer would be sent to me. I am now awaiting this, and will proceed in accordance with its tenour, delivering one of the two letters which your Majesty has had sent. I shall also be guided in my course by the departure of Don Antonio, the time for which is not yet known, and I shall tack according to this. I am every day getting further proofs that the Queen's refusal to receive me as formerly is owing to the bad offices of Leicester and Hatton, who, seeing that they have not been able to prevail upon her to refuse to acknowledge me as your Majesty's minister, do their best to annoy me personally. Leicester said, whilst he was at supper two days before he left the Queen, that he would either turn me out of here or lose his own life and property; whilst Hatton, in the chamber said before the Queen's servants that he would make every effort to expel me from the realm, for the Queen trembled every time that I asked for audience. When he was asked by a friend of his whether this was because I spoke to her rudely, he replied, No, it was not, for no ambassador was more courteous and respectful, but I communicated affairs in such a way to her that she trembled to listen to me. I will report to your Majesty how I find her, and whether the intrigues of these two persons, to whom she is entirely given up, have really alienated her so much as appears.

With regard to the restitution of Drake's booty, I am always striving in the direction I have advised in other letters, but I am not pressing the matter furiously, because of the reserve which has been necessary lately, in consideration of the arming of Don Antonio. I have always kept pegging away at the matter however, as it is so important, and the sight of so much money in hand incites them to try and attack your Majesty, and I do not want these people to think that we have forgotten it. The merchants are much more apprehensive of their goods being seized on this account, than for the arming of Don Antonio, which, after the first rush, it was seen would end in smoke.

I am continuing the steps which your Majesty orders with the queen of Scotland and her son on every possible occasion. This Queen is annoyed at D'Aubigny's having taken the king of Scotland to Glasgow for the Parliament. It is twelve leagues from

1581.

Dumbarton, and the Queen thinks that the intention may be to carry him to France.

Some of the chief heretics here have held a conference, and have resolved, in reprisal for the priests who have come to preach here, to send Englishmen to sow the weed of heresy in Spain. I have been unable to discover the number or the description of the men who are to go, but it will be of the greatest importance that this should be prevented, and your Majesty's dominions saved from infection with their errors, by the strict enforcement of the edict published many years ago, forbidding any stranger to lodge in the house of another stranger. In most parts the execution of this law is not rigidly enforced by the secular authority, under the impression that it is simply a matter of regulation, but in these evil times it is of vital moment for the cause of religion, and the Holy Catholic faith, and as such, your Majesty should deign to order the Holy Inquisition to insist upon the secular authorities carrying it out with great care, particularly in Seville, where the population is so large, and Englishmen, even though they be not heretics themselves, know that many of their lodgers are so.

Many Englishmen go thither at Holy Week, and other times, in which they should give an account of themselves, and they (the English residents) do not render particulars of their guests, being of their own country, and fail also to report if they use forbidden rites; which would not happen if these men lodged with Spaniards, nor in such case would they dare to live so freely as they do.

The persecution of Catholics here has reached such a pitch that they want to deprive the prisoners of human charity, and have ordered that the gifts sent to them should not be given to them alone, but divided amongst all the prisoners. They are mostly incarcerated with crowds of thieves, and are left to die with hunger amongst them, in order that their torment may be the greater. If any one goes to ask after one of them he is arrested, and consequently most of the gifts are sent through me, and are distributed amongst them by my own servants, the Catholics alone receiving them. In the same manner I take charge of the money sent by the Catholics who have fled the kingdom, and of the sums given by others for the maintenance of Englishmen in the seminaries of Rheims and Rome, in order to save the donors from the penalties inflicted, the least of which is to punish them as traitors. I get bills of exchange upon France for the money payable to the persons who have to distribute it, and so in this, and other things, do I help these poor people in their affliction for the service of God and your Majesty.—London, 1st October 1581.

1 Oct. **139.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Don Antonio left here on the 18th ultimo, as your Majesty will have learned from Don Juan de Idiaquez, to whom I instantly reported it. His intention was to go to France, whither he had sent a few days before Juan Rodriguez de Souza, with a message

1581.

to the duke of Alençon and the King, the Queen having ordered that no vessel was to be allowed to leave Dover or the neighbouring ports. The French ambassador accompanied Don Antonio in the barge from London to Gravesend, and on passing Greenwich he did not go ashore. He was joined shortly afterwards by Philip Sidney and Dr. Lopez with a message from the Queen. They entered the barge, and the French ambassador returned from Gravesend. Don Antonio travelled thence in a coach drawn by four Hungarian horses, which the Queen had sent to take him to Dover. He passed the first night at Rochester, where he received news that Walsingham was coming over, and said on the following day that he would not cross until he saw him at Dover. He and Walsingham put their heads together for a long time, despatches being posted off to the Queen constantly, to which she has sent frequent replies ever since he left Gravesend. As soon as Walsingham left him the rumour spread that he had told him on no account to risk going to France as they would kill him, for which purpose men had already been appointed, in confirmation of which Don Antonio went to the house of the custom house officer Smith, six miles from Dover, where he still remains, saying that he will not go over until the weather serves for his ships to come down the river. Some of them have been in the neighbourhood of Dover for days past, but two of them, one the largest of all, ran ashore below Gravesend, which has delayed the rest. But the weather since yesterday will allow them to sail. Two days ago a fly-boat belonging to the earl of Leicester joined them, this being the vessel which they sent from here with the intention of taking Souza to Portugal. News comes that the rest of the pirate ships, four in all, with two pinnaces, in his pay, both from Bristol and those belonging to the pirate Vaughan, are now at the Isle of Wight, which is the most convenient point for robbery, as they can attack any ship passing the Channel. They all carry plenty of Portuguese flags, but are only manned by sailors. If, however, they were full of soldiers, all they could do would be to plunder, as people here are now satisfied that the Terceira business is at an end. As they only take victuals for two months they can hardly, as some people think, go to the Mina, besides which the pirates do not relish going long voyages when they can get prizes so near at home, and run for England at once. It is to be supposed that the men in Don Antonio's own ships will do the same as soon as their provisions run short, for they have begun to desert already. This happens sometimes even when they are serving in the Queen's ships if they touch in any port before they get to Ireland, and in these ships of Don Antonio's there are certain men who are persuading the sailors to desert. These ten ships and the French pirates which join them could not keep together even if winter were not coming on, as may be seen by what happened nineteen years since, when there were at the Isle of Wight twenty armed Holland ships, and twice as many English and French pirates, and yet they broke up within two months without attempting to rob on the Spanish seas notwithstanding the large number of Spanish ships then to be met

1581.

with, which is not now the case, as trade is reduced to English, French, and Flemings. It will nevertheless be advisable that your Majesty should order vigilance to be exercised at the ports to overhaul carefully all ships arriving, and to arrest at once all those that are not obviously merchantmen. Some pirates bearing letters of marque from Don Antonio are to take some merchandise for Spain as a cloak, and either on the voyage out or home capture any vessels they find unprepared. It should also be ordered that no ships should be allowed to load excepting in your Majesty's enclosed harbours, as great evil is caused by their loading elsewhere. Only the other day the ship "Solomon," belonging to those heretics,* escaped from Pasages and loaded at Fuenterrabia, where I hear she shipped 30,000 ducats in cash unregistered.

As Don Antonio has shipped everything that he and his people have in his vessels, I am spreading the rumour that, as soon as he gets to France, he will take all his property out of the hands of the Englishmen and give it to Frenchmen, which people here have already began to fear and suspect.

I cannot assure your Majesty of Don Antonio's departure, as he is evidently pusillanimous, and these people whilst, on the one hand, they do not wish to keep him any longer now that they have flayed him, on the other hand are prevented by their malice from letting him go, because they think that he will always be a good tool with which they may disturb your Majesty in Portugal. Between these two ends they vacillate with incredible fickleness, and many people think that Don Antonio's mind has been changed by the fears with which Walsingham inspired him, and that, as soon as his ships arrive, he will go on board and sail to Flushing.

Orange (Don Antonio ?) has sent William, the son of Loneston Anes and a brother-in-law of Dr. Lopez, to Portugal, by way of France, with letters. He is a young fellow of 20, well built, with a fair and handsome face and a small fair beard. He is addressed to Jacob Anes his brother in Lisbon, of whom I spoke on the 14th of August; the pretext being that he is to take charge of a shipload of wheat sent to him from here, and bring back a cargo of goods. The three ships belonging to the Queen, which I advised on the 7th ultimo were being fitted out in the name of Don Antonio, to go to the East Indies, will not now be sent, in face of the news of the fleet having come from there with the submission to your Majesty. Only one is to be sent with Frobisher, a ship of 500 tons now being fitted out with great haste at Southampton. A vessel of 300 tons arrived from Portugal three months ago, whose captain is Alonso Mayo, with a good crew of experienced Portuguese sailors. Don Antonio sent them word that as he was their King and they his subjects they should serve him with their ship and persons. The captain replied that he would rather burn her than be a traitor, and came directly to Antonio de Castillo and to me to tell us what had passed, saying that as his ship was discharging in the Downs, Don Antonio and the English

* i.e., the London firm of Alderman Bond and nephew.

1581.

might seize it by force; asking me whether in your Majesty's interests he had better not sink her than let her fall into his hands, as in such case he would do so. I thanked him, and praised his zeal, telling him to persuade his sailors not to desert and go over to Don Antonio. Since then, I have heard of the great efforts that are being made by Don Antonio's people to seduce the sailors, whom they want much more than they do the ship, as they are all experienced in the Indian navigation, and seeing that if the ship sailed it could never get out of the Channel without falling into his hands, Antonio de Castillo and I, in your Majesty's name, have ordered the captain to bring the ship into the Thames, and not to sail without our license. We both thought this best in your Majesty's interests, in order that these sailors might not be forced to serve Don Antonio, to the injury of trade in your Majesty's seas; having in view Drake's experience with the Portuguese pilot, whom he took to Brazil, and who brought him to England, where he received fit remuneration as the traitor that he was.

Horatio Pallavicini, the Genoese, not content with injuring your Majesty by lending money, as I wrote years ago, to the Flemish rebels, and hunting after my despatches to divulge them to the Queen and Orange, is now helping Don Antonio, under cover of another Genoese, Mortara, a rebel who came here moved by the greed of dealing in Don Antonio's precious stones. Horatio is not only a declared heretic himself, but mixes usually with the worst heretics of all nations, serving this Queen in all that tends to damage the cause of God and your Majesty, and striving to disturb peace and quietness in Italy and his own country, being a spy and go-between for all evil work there.

Whilst writing this, early on Sunday morning, I have received the report of an eye-witness, that Don Antonio embarked on the night of the 29th in a tender and sailed for France on the following day, escorted by his ships. People here believe that as soon as he arrives he will go to Alençon.*—London, 1st October 1581.

1 Oct. **140.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Walsingham has arrived here and confirmed what I wrote to your Majesty, that nothing had been effected in France; and the Queen has consequently not received him very graciously, in view of the reports that he had made as soon as he arrived in France, to the effect that the alliance was easy of arrangement. When he conferred with Alençon on his way hither, he tried to dissuade him from coming to England; and in consequence of this, and of the inconvenience which the Queen tells Marchaumont might ensue by Alençon's coming, a rising of the people being feared, Marchaumont has written that the Queen does not wish him to come, and he should consequently demand a definite reply with regard to the

* The Portuguese had an interview at Calais with Alençon, who was on his way to England.

1581.

marriage. He did this, but no reply has yet been given; the Queen being extremely angry since the request came. In order to bring more pressure to bear upon her, the French ambassador and Marchaumont have declared publicly that Alençon was coming; and, as the people showed no discontent thereat, they say the Queen has nothing to fear. Leicester has left Court, in order that the French may not blame him for the obstacles offered to the coming of Alençon, but that it should all fall upon Hatton and Walsingham, but he did not go until he was quite satisfied with the effect of his own efforts upon the Queen.

Antonio Rosa, a Flemish subject of your Majesty, whom I knew as secretary of the town of Coutrai, is very learned in the chronicles of those countries, and has, at his own expense, come from Holland, whither he retired years ago, to tell me that the documents which were in the archives of Ripplemond had been taken by the burgomaster to Ghent, but that he had means of copying most of them, and sending them to me to be forwarded to to Spain; which would be the safest place to prevent these important memorials of old times from being lost. Although many years will be necessary to copy them all, yet, as the loss of these papers would be irreparable and the late Emperor was so careful always to have them transcribed, I gave this man written authority to return to Holland, in order to save the expense of his remaining here, and I said I would send him your Majesty's instructions for the diligent copying of some of the documents, assuring him that his living in a rebellious country should not injure him in person or estate, pending a reply from your Majesty or the prince of Parma. I am moved to this by the fact that this man has a natural aptitude for the preservation of such memorials, and even if he should be unable to get copies of them all, he will be very vigilant to see what is done with them, and keep watch upon them.—London, 1st October 1581.

8 Oct. **141.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 87.

Letters of 27th August received. Thanks for advices about Don Antonio's preparations; your steps to discredit him with the sailors are approved of. Although the preparations have slackened, things again may change from one day to another, so that you will be as much on the alert as ever to learn whether they have any idea of succouring Terceira and of going thence to Madeira and Brazil. Advise me of everything, and what answer Walsingham brought back from France, as well as the reply given by the Queen to the man who came to ask for 300,000 crowns for Alençon

I was glad to hear of Antonio de Castillo's answer to the man sent by the Queen and Leicester to tempt him from my service. Thank him from me, and tell him he shall not be forgotten.—Lisbon, 8th October 1581.

8 Oct. **142.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 88.

Although from our intelligence and from indications we see, the negotiations for the treaty with France seem to have cooled rather

1581.

than otherwise, still, to avoid the evils that such an alliance might produce, we think it will be well to try to prevent it by arousing the Queen's distrust of the French, and imbue her with some confidence in me, which her own conscience and acts must prove to her she deserves to have forfeited. You will therefore warn her from me of the ancient enmity between the French and English, and point out how little she can trust to Frenchmen, who are only too anxious to play her some great trick, which will be easy when once they have persuaded her to an alliance. They will then soon find a pretext for getting her to send her money and men out of the country, the farther off the better for their design, and they can then run over from France, which is so near, and take the greater part of her realm before she could help it, or obtain help from her old friends and allies. Out of my affection for England, and because it does not suit me that the French should gain a footing there, I cannot refrain from putting her on her guard against this great danger she is incurring, besides many others which she will see may arise from this feigned friendship. If she will keep the old treaties with me, I will forget all past offences, and be a good friend to her. If she thinks a ratification of the old alliances will be insufficient and desires a new treaty, I beg she will let you know what conditions she requests, and I will not depart a line from what is just and honest.

It may be that this will divert her from the French alliance, and you will add thereto whatever other arguments may occur to you, to arouse her distrust of the French. Let her think that I am not so implacably offended that, if she acts properly to me in future, I cannot forget the past or refrain from seeking revenge.

I send you a new credence, in case it should be needful. You will not descend to further particulars, in order to prevent them from making use of my offer elsewhere; and if the league with the French should either be concluded or entirely at an end when this arrives, I leave to your discretion, in such case, the fulfilment of the instructions or otherwise.—Lisbon, 8th October 1581.*

8 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 89.

143. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Duarte de Castro, who has been in prison in Valladolid, has been released in order that he may join Don Antonio in London and report his movements and intentions, in accordance with his own offer. It is believed that he will do so faithfully, as he has already shown his attachment to my interests by keeping up an intelligence with the duke of Alba whilst he was publicly serving Don Antonio. Favour and help him, but with the utmost secrecy, and forward his letters.—Lisbon, 8th October 1581.†

9 Oct.

144. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Don Antonio's ships have gone to rendezvous at the Scilly isles. I have not delivered any of the letters which your Majesty has

* The above letter is accompanied by a fresh letter of credence for Mendoza, in Latin, addressed to the Queen.

† A similar letter was sent on the same date to Juan Baptista de Tassis, the Spanish Ambassador in Paris.

1581.

sent to me for the Queen, as she has again postponed my audience, on plea of illness. They told my servant to return to-day for an answer, and until I know what this is, I cannot say how I shall bear myself towards her; but I judge, Don Antonio having now left, that it will be better in your Majesty's interest to give her only the letter of 14th August, requesting her either to surrender or expel him according to the treaties.

With regard to the Englishmen named Botolph Holder and Jacob Anes I can only say that Antonio de Castillo tells me that on one occasion, when in the course of conversation with Giraldo's secretary here, Pero Vaez, and Antonio Fogaza, he remarked that Botolph Holder was considered a very good Catholic in Lisbon, they assured him that seven years ago, when he came to England, they had seen him attend heretic churches; and he was hand in glove with Secretary Wilson, to whom he sent intelligence of everything that passed in Portugal, for the Queen's information.

He is a man of good understanding and sends a clear relation of events, and accordingly represented how groundless and foolish were Don Antonio's claims, advising also that the credits given to Souza should not be paid. Wilson often wrote to Don Antonio through him, as did the Queen to Don Antonio and the duchess of Braganza; and Wilson sent him a packet last July by a servant of Castillo's who was going to Portugal, enclosing, as I am assured, letters from Leicester and Wilson to Don Antonio and other persons. I therefore advised the duke of Alba and the marquis de Santa Cruz to seize the packet. Wilson before he died complained bitterly to Castillo that it had not reached the hands of Botolph Holder, saying that it was of the greatest importance, although Castillo had thought it only contained merchants' letters. The servant who took it is still at Castillo's house in Lisbon, and can say what was done with the packet. I am told that Botolph Holder, since Wilson's death, is in correspondence with Leicester and Walsingham, and this was the reason why I said that Don Antonio's letters might pass through his hands, as I am sure that letters of Don Antonio have been sent in English ships leaving here for Lisbon. I did not know how they were addressed, but for this reason I advised that Botolph Holder's packets should be watched.

Jacob Anes is the son of the man who has acted for Don Antonio here, and a brother-in-law of Dr. Lopez. Through him were purchased all the stores and ships, and he and his kinsmen were sureties for all of Don Antonio's transactions here. I am told by his own relatives that, even before Don Antonio left Portugal, jewels and letters were sent and received through Anes. I have already reported that Don Antonio was sending a brother of this Jacob Anes to Portugal with letters.

I hear that Leicester is repeating Don Antonio's assertion that your Majesty was expelling from the country the countess of Vimioso and other women, a very necessary step in your Majesty's interests, and for the quietude of the country. I also gather from

1581.

the Portuguese themselves here, the great efforts made, both in the Azores and elsewhere, by friars and priests against your Majesty; and Antonio de Castillo assures me how important it is that such men as these who have interfered in matters of this sort should be sent to other monasteries outside the country.

When Morton was Regent he refused to allow a French minister to reside in Scotland, in consequence of his, Morton's, attachment to this Queen, and the desire in France that the King should not be addressed as such during the life of his mother. Since, however, Morton is dead, and D'Aubigny all powerful, he has sent an Ambassador to France, in order that the King may ask the queen of Scotland whether her son shall be addressed as King or not. I believe that the king of France will be requested by her to do as he thinks best, the reason being that by this means he may be able to send a minister to Scotland, if advisable, without offending this Queen, as it has been the custom to maintain an Ambassador in Scotland, and the presence of one there now could not be otherwise than beneficial to the queen of Scotland. The country is not now so completely deserted and in the hands of the English as it was, and this step may strengthen those who are striving to bring the country to the Catholic Church; I am, indeed, under the impression that they may have been at the bottom of it. The imprisonment of so many Catholics has deprived me of three of my means of writing to the queen of Scotland, but, four days since, I received a letter from her through another channel, saying how much she rejoiced at your Majesty's goodness in restoring the pensions to certain Englishmen for her sake. She begs me to write in her name, expressing affectionate gratitude to you, and to pray that you will not forget William Paget, respecting whom I wrote before, at her wish.*

She says she has written to the Netherlands recalling the Scots who were there, and particularly Colonel Stewart, to whom she promised a good pension in Scotland. I replied to her as your Majesty instructed me. I am informed that most heretical Englishmen who go to Seville stay in the house of William Stelan (?), the servant there of the Alderman Bond. I cannot learn anything of his religious opinions, although he is supposed to be a Catholic, but many of these who stay in his house have, on their return to England, been open heretics; and say that there are many more of their way of thinking in Spain than is supposed. This is said with so much effrontery, that it will be greatly to the interest of God and your Majesty to prevent the spread of the infection by rigorously executing the edict mentioned in my last.†—London, 9th October 1581.

9 Oct. **145.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 4th to Don Juan de Idiaquez, for the information of your Majesty, that Alençon was at Calais, which news had been

* In the King's hand:—"Bear this in mind."

† In the King's hand:—"Copy this clause for Mateo Vasquez to send to the Inquisitor General and Council of the Inquisition."

1581.

brought by a man who had been sent by him with letters to the Queen, who said that he was expected to arrive there on the day that he left or the following day. I have since discovered that his design in saying this was, first, to get the rumour spread here, in order that the English might swallow his coming; and, secondly, to bring more pressure to bear upon the Queen to accede to Alençon's demands for money. He says he is so poverty stricken and driven, that he could not maintain the garrison of Cambrai, nor discharge the soldiers he had with him, unless she sent him some money, and only to get himself out of this tangle he would at once come over to England to see her, since his brother had refused to give him a penny (without having the excuse of poverty to fall back upon, for he had just spent a million in feasts). As soon as the man arrived the Queen ordered Sion House* near Richmond, where she is, to be got ready for Alençon's reception, and after much conference, as she thinks she will be obliged to content him with some money, she has decided to send him 15,000*l.* sterling. A gentleman of Alençon's was sent off yesterday with the despatch, pressing him very much, for various reasons, not to come hither. It is not known whether Alençon will do as they wish, but they think that he will hardly have started until this man got back to him. If he should insist upon coming they will welcome him, in order not to give him offence, and because they think he is in such urgent need that they can always stop his mouth with money, and thus prevent his resenting the Queen's not marrying him.

The Queen for the last several days has made an appearance of being very angry with Walsingham, in consequence of his having written to Sussex from France that Alençon was not fit to be the Queen's husband, or even her friend. Sussex read the letter to Marchaumont, who complained about it to the Queen, and the latter displayed great anger, although some people think that it is all put on, and that she herself had ordered Walsingham to write this, so as to hinder the marriage, as she is a woman very fond of adopting such tricks. At all events Walsingham takes very little notice of her anger, and Alençon turns a deaf ear to everything, and only asks for money, whilst Marchaumont keeps the negotiation alive by pressing for a decision with regard to the marriage.—London, 9th October 1581.

20 Oct. **146.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty on the 9th that I expected on that day to receive a reply from the Queen appointing the day for my audience. She has behaved towards me, both in this respect and during the audiences themselves, in such an insolent and outrageous manner that I must necessarily be somewhat diffuse in giving my account of it to your Majesty, which I will do in detail.

I had signified to Cecil that I had letters from your Majesty to the Queen, and my servant had been told that, when the Queen went from Nonsuch to Richmond she would give me audience.

* In the King's hand :—"It used to be a very beautiful monastery."

1581.

After my man had left Cecil's room, he had him called back and said to him, "Sir, I must tell you the truth, the Queen is alone just "now, without Councillors, and as Don Bernardino is to bring letters "to the Queen from so great an enemy to her as his master, it is "meet that he should be received as the minister of such a one." I expected from this reply that these people would change their course, and it was advantageous for me to have taken the steps I did with Cecil, as he had spoken to the Queen in the absence of Leicester. After the Queen had returned to Richmond I waited for some time in the expectation that they would send me an appointment as had been agreed, but as Leicester had now returned, and I heard he was still urging the Queen not to receive me, I sent again to ask for audience. They replied that the Queen was busy, and that if my servant returned on the 9th, he should have a reply. This was the day upon which I wrote to your Majesty last. My servant told me that he had seen the Queen go out in a litter, and on her return he asked the Lord Chamberlain when I should have audience, and was told that the Queen was not well, and my servant had better go back, and they would send me word when I could see her. Notwithstanding this, she passed all that day with Marchaumont, and the next day gave audience to the count of Embden, who was here. On the 11th the Lord Chamberlain sent a very low officer of the Queen's household to say that the Queen would give me audience at two o'clock. It was already past twelve, and it is ten miles to Richmond, but I made ready with all haste possible, and went to see her, suspecting that she had some bad news from Flanders, which would make her send for me in such a hurry as this. This turned out to be the case, as I learnt that at ten o'clock the same morning she had received intelligence that the Englishmen and the States troops had been routed in Friesland, which news had very much upset her and her Ministers.

When I arrived at Richmond I was met at the staircase by three pensioners, who said when they received me that I had come very late, which the Lord Chamberlain also repeated when he saw me. I replied that I did not get notice of the audience until past twelve, and that I could do no more than come post at once. They took me to the presence chamber, and after a short time there I was conducted to the Queen's chamber. I found her seated on a settee under the canopy with only two Councillors, namely, the Lord Chamberlain and the Admiral, and three ladies. She received me without making her usual demonstration of stepping down from the dais and advancing when asked for her hand to kiss, and saying, as she always did, "*V. S. sia il ben venuto, signor ambasciatore.*" Now, however, she took not the slightest notice of me when I approached to make my bow, the first words she pronounced being that she had a pain in the hip which had troubled her for some time past. I replied that I was extremely sorry to find her suffering in this way, and that, although she had delayed my audience so long, I should have rejoiced if she had delayed it much more, rather than give her the trouble of discussing business whilst she was in pain. She made no display of thanks at this, contrary to

1581.

her custom, and let me remain uncovered for a very long while. She then said, "How about the letter which you have from his Majesty?" I had all three of your Majesty's letters with me, to use according to circumstances, although I thought, unless I were forced, that it would be better only to give her that of the 14th, requesting the surrender of Don Antonio, in accordance with the treaties. My object in this was to have the matter formulated and the complaint recognised, in case he or any of his rebels should return, in which case I might take advantage of the steps I had taken as occasion might demand. My object was, moreover, to present my complaint in a general form, rather than to produce the belief that your Majesty was apprehensive that Don Antonio could leave here with a force large enough to give you any anxiety.

I therefore handed her the letter, and when she had read it she said that I knew Don Antonio had left her country before I asked for audience (which is not true), but that if she had been willing to help him, your Majesty's various Indian fleets would not be where they are now, and perhaps Portugal would not be so quiet; and all this with much hectoring and vociferation. She said that your Majesty referred her to me, in credence, and asked me what I had to say. Seeing her rudeness I replied that, as to the fleets, things of this sort were very much more easy to talk about than to do; as your Majesty's fleets were all so well prepared that, no matter how large and powerful were those that might go against them, the assailants would return well trounced. With regard to Don Antonio, I said that not only had she received him in her kingdom, but she had helped him with munitions, troops, arms, and money, which was all the support and aid that any prince could give to a rebel; and this was done so publicly that all could see it, and, in addition to her welcome hospitality to Don Antonio, whom she had dubbed "king" in England, the ships he had bought here had sailed down the river, with arms and munitions from the Tower, and had actually passed her own windows at Greenwich covered with pennants of the arms of Portugal. The merchants of London, too, at the request of her ministers, had lent him money on the jewels which he had left here in the charge of some of them, and no one better than herself could judge what harvest was to be gathered from such seed as this, considering the groundless and feeble hopes that Don Antonio had of really disquieting your Majesty. The only result would be to irritate and offend you, thus exasperating still more the feeling which had been caused by her constant action in Flanders, and recently by the great sums of money she had given to Alençon, without which he could not have relieved Cambrai or invaded the States. Besides the ships which had left here for Don Antonio, many English pirates had joined him and had gathered at the Isle of Wight, with no other design but to plunder your Majesty's subjects, as Knollys did two years ago. Although I had complained of this at the time, justice had never been done. I had asked her to restore the million and a half which Drake had stolen from your Majesty and your subjects, but instead of this, fresh ships were being fitted out by her own

1581.

Ministers to go on the voyage to the Indies. Some soldiers of M. de la Motte, moreover, had been driven by a storm into Norwich, where they had been arrested and cooped up in prison for six months, as if they were enemies, notwithstanding my having clamoured about it to the Council. I asked her whether it was possible for her to have done more than this if she had openly declared war against your Majesty. With respect to Don Antonio, she answered that she had helped him and would still do so, as would her subjects, and as for the other things she neither knew nor understood anything about them. This was said with the most terrible insolence, and as I saw her evil intent, I replied that I had been here for more than three years and a half, and had been constantly telling her of these things, but as it appeared that during all this time she had heard nothing about them, and would find no remedy for them now, it would be necessary to see whether cannons would not make her hear them better. She told me I need not think to threaten and frighten her, for if I did she would put me into a place where I could not say a word. This she said without any passion, but as one would repeat the words of a farce, speaking very low, and showing signs in her countenance that she had been instructed what to say. She then continued, that in future I could communicate my business to the Council, and be satisfied with remaining in the country, as she had no ambassador in Spain. I replied that what I had said was not intended as a threat, but only to repeat to her what your Majesty had instructed me to say. As for the rest, as I was in her country she could do with me as she pleased, what it was I cared but little, as I was certain that God had given me a King who would not forget to vindicate me, even if I were only his vassal, but much more being his minister, as she knew. After a little further talk she became more civil, and raising her voice said "*V. S. commande che vada forse il suo segretario,*" my secretary being only in the room with me. She then told the ladies to leave the room and called the two councillors, to whom she repeated, not what she had said to me, but only that I had said that, as she did not listen to my many complaints it would be necessary to bring cannons to redress them. She said this in a very hectoring way and repeated that I need not try to frighten her. I smiled to hear her relate this with so much fury and perturbation, and replied that I would not waste time on that point, as I well knew that monarchs were never afraid of private individuals, and above all she who was a lady and so beautiful, that even lions would crouch before her. She is so vain and flighty that her anger was at once soothed at hearing this, and she began to relate how much obliged your Majesty should be to her for having refused to receive the Flemish rebels. She said that what she had done was only for the purpose of preventing the French from getting possession of the Netherlands, in which statement she was aided by Sussex, and in payment for this, she said, your Majesty had sent troops to Ireland and had given pensions to her rebellious subjects, and Don Guerau de Spes had promised people here that, if they would rise against her he would furnish money, with other

1581.

like things of the past. She said, too, that I had plotted with some Englishmen to murder Don Antonio whilst he was in her country. I replied to all this that it was a fine way to prevent the French from taking possession of the Netherlands to provide money for Alençon to invade them twice over, as well as by every possible means helping the rebels to support the war. With respect to Ireland I had told her the truth about it many times, and and what she said about Don Guerau only referred to what he *would* have done, whilst I spoke of the bad offices which she *had* done and continued constantly to do against your Majesty. I dwelt upon these two points with many arguments, which would carry conviction to any impartial person, and said that with respect to murdering Don Antonio, I grieved that, although I had been here so long, she should yet fail to see that I was not born to kill men except in honest warfare, and I was not desirous of doing Don Antonio so great a favour as to shorten a life, the folly of which would be its own greatest [punishment]; but even supposing I had attempted such a thing, I would remind her that she had ordered an Englishman to be kidnapped in the Netherlands* in the time of the duke of Alba, and that she had executed the man and had pensioned his kidnapper. I said that, whatever was the case with the Netherlands, surely the French had nothing to do with Terceira, that she should send succour to that island, and that Englishmen should sally from there to attack your Majesty's fleets. It was no reason, moreover, why she should help Don Antonio with 5,000 men to conquer Portugal, but fortunately the men have been captured by your Majesty's admiral and taken into Lisbon, where they had made such declarations, proved by letters from her and her Ministers, which had been found in Portugal, as proved her complicity in a much worse form than I had said, and some day I would show her the proofs of this. I invented this to move her the more, but this was prevented by Sussex intervening with the remark that your Majesty's action in Ireland had been an extremely grave offence.

She thereupon began to hector again, saying that it was not much to expect that your Majesty would have written to her some explanation of such an injury. I asked her whether she recollected by what means your Majesty had expressed your regret. She said that he had done so through me, whereupon I remarked that she had therefore no reason to feel aggrieved, as I had told her the truth about it, and had spoken as I had done in your Majesty's name. She again said that your Majesty might well have written to her, and that she would not give a final decision, as I requested, in the matter of Drake until your Majesty had given her entire satisfaction with regard to Ireland, as it was only reasonable that she, being the person first offended, should be the person first satisfied, and after this was done she would see about Drake's piracy. I pointed out to her that, inasmuch as the consulate at Seville was so deeply interested in the matter, having lost more than a million and a half, even if your Majesty were to overlook

* Dr. Storey. *See* Vol. 2 of present Calendar.

1581.

the loss of your own Treasury, you could not avoid acceding to the requests of your subjects, in the manner which all princes did, and she in particular, namely, by giving letters of marque for the recoupment of their losses by the seizure of property belonging to the subjects of another prince. I said that I had no doubt that, in view of the answer she had given me, your Majesty would command the Seville merchants to recover their losses by the seizure of English property in your dominions and the arrest of all of her subjects. In order that she might not complain of me afterwards, as she had done of Don Guerau in a proclamation she issued at the time of the seizure of the money, to the effect that the duke of Alba had arrested goods of English subjects in Antwerp on the same day that Don Guerau had spoken to her, and consequently that the seizure would have been effected in Antwerp whatever her answer had been, I reminded her that the date was now the 11th of October. In order that not even the smallest of her subjects should have cause to complain of me, I told her my firm belief now, that if Drake's plunder were not restored, your Majesty would order the seizure of all English goods in your dominions to reimburse your subjects for their losses. She again replied that she had been first offended and should be the first to receive satisfaction, and thereupon took leave of me very drily. I told her that, in order to give her no more annoyance, I would in future communicate affairs to her Council. I said this so that the members of the Council present might understand that it was I who refused to have audience again. After I had taken my leave and was two paces away from her, I heard her say with a great sigh, "*Volesse a Iddio che ognuono avesse il suo, e fosse in pace.*"*—London, 20th October 1581.

20 Oct. **147.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

As I write in the enclosed letter, I took with me all the letters which your Majesty had written to the Queen, in order that I might use the one which might appear most appropriate. Although the Queen's rude and extravagant behaviour rendered it desirable that I should hand her the long letter after the other two, I thought better to retain it, so as not to pledge your Majesty unduly by giving it to her in public, and with more formality than the occasion demanded. But I did not wish her to think that the steps I had taken with her were matters of my own fancy, and determined to let her know your Majesty's feeling. I therefore adopted the course of writing her the next day a letter, of which I enclose copy, sending with it the longest of your Majesty's letters, my tone being that of sorrow that she should have used such words to me, and exonerating myself by enclosing her your Majesty's letter. This was a very convenient step, and, indeed, the last thing that was left for me to do, to prevent her and her Ministers from proceeding absolutely unchecked in their opposition to your Majesty's interests. By this means the Queen would see what

* "Would to God that each one had his own and was at peace."

1581.

your Majesty said, without pledging your Majesty more than you desired, as my letter was supposed to be a personal one to herself, although I am quite sure it will be seen by all the Ministers. I was moved to take this step by seeing the warmth with which she helps Alençon in his Flanders project; and although Don Antonio may have taken but few ships from here, a large number of English pirates are joining him, and many more are fitting out. It is true they are not strong enough to undertake any great enterprise, but your Majesty will be obliged out of suspicion (if Terceira should not have submitted, as these people fear) to maintain garrisons everywhere, besides which the action of the faithless Turk, so near to Spain, may incite these folks to proceed even more shamelessly in all these matters, unless I act more vigorously than by simply exchanging words with the Queen. I therefore embraced this decision, although I do not conceal from myself that the venom of this woman and her Ministers is so deep seated that there is no antidote which will enable me to do more than restrain them for the moment.

The Lord Chamberlain detained for three days the man who took my letter to the Queen, telling him every morning that they would deliver the letter in the evening, and every evening, that they would do so next morning. In the meanwhile the Queen sent Wilkes, the Clerk of the Council, to me, to ask me to put my complaints in writing, in order that her Council might consider them, the real object of his coming being for Wilkes to get into conversation with me and find out what the letter contained, as they wanted to know before it was accepted or opened. I briefly repeated my complaints, saying that I had already twice stated them to the Queen, who had assured me on each occasion that a decided resolution should at once be adopted. I said, if she had not understood them, I would once more go and lay them before her, but with regard to sending them to her in writing, I could only say that, when I first arrived in England, her Council had asked me to put in writing certain affairs which I had communicated to them, which I had done, and a few months afterwards I had requested that they should do the same with an answer that they had verbally given me. Cecil had thereupon, in the presence of the Council, told me that neither the Queen nor her Council were in the habit of communicating with ambassadors excepting verbally, and I therefore could not break through this custom, especially as I had conveyed to the Queen what your Majesty had ordered me to do. I therefore avoided doing as they wished, which was only to spin out matters by documents, and to make Drake's business into an ordinary lawsuit. I at once sent a servant to Court to speak with the others (*i.e.*, servants) to give the appearance of my recalling them, ordering them to make a show of returning. As soon as this was seen by a servant of the Lord Chamberlain, he told his master, and they were approached as if casually, and the man who took the letter was told that he could now deliver it. The Queen accepted it with an excuse that she had not received it before, in consequence of indisposition, and that a reply would be

1581.

given next day. I have not sent for this reply, as it was not necessary for the end in view, my only object being that she and her Ministers should read and ruminate over what your Majesty had written, which might be a means of recalling them from their evil ways. My efforts to turn the Queen remind me of an old rusty weather cock, which long use has worn away, and which will only move at a strong gust of wind, turning back again to its old point as soon as the breeze dies away. In like manner I always convince her to be on the side of your Majesty, with truth and reason, whilst I am with her, but the impression only remains whilst I am in her presence, after which she veers back again to her old quarter.

The day after she received my letter, she sent to summon Drake in a furious hurry, although I judge by the answer she gave me, and other indications, that they will never restore the plunder, unless your Majesty orders the arrest of all English property in your dominions. This, if your Majesty pleases might be done at once, whilst we see how they proceed on Drake's arrival, and in face of the recent steps that I have taken indirectly with the merchants. I have had the latter warned of the great importance to them and the country at large, of retaining their trade with Spain, now imperilled by Drake's robberies, and the murder of your Majesty's subjects. They have gone to Court to make representations to the Council, and when they return I will report the result to your Majesty, in order that any steps may be taken during the time of the vintage, when there will be more English goods and ships in Spain than at any other time.—London, 20th October 1581.

20 Oct. **148.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 1st instant of the efforts which were made by Leicester and Hatton with the Queen, that I should be expelled from here. What success has hitherto attended them your Majesty will see by my enclosed letter, and by my observations in the audiences I have had. The Queen is completely in the hands of these two men, and my suspicion is now turned to certainty by evident demonstration. Leicester thinks of nothing else, and on the day that I went to see the Queen he was heard to say, "Don Bernardino will get his audience, but a very bad answer." I was informed of this at once, but as I was travelling so hastily to Court, I had not time to hear the words themselves until the next day. At my audience none of them would be present, but when they saw afterwards how much I had altered the Queen's mind, Leicester said, "The Spanish Ambassador, forsooth, is a great "negotiator, but it will go hard with me if I cannot turn him out of "this." He has adopted various means by which he thinks I may be forced to complain, and his end be gained, such as preventing the Queen from giving me audience, and always introducing me by a back door, instead of through the presence chamber, but I have taken no apparent notice of it, and with regard to the latter step, I said that it was looked upon by a Spaniard as a much greater

1581.

favour to be introduced by a private door than by public ones, and so on with the rest of his plans. He is trying every day to invent new and greater excuses for my expulsion, and has gone to the length of causing a married Flemish servant of mine to be arrested because he had his infant son baptised in my house with Catholic rites, such a thing as this never having been done to a Minister before.

I have dissembled, as your Majesty ordered, whilst endeavouring by indirect means to get my servant released. Seeing the activity with which Hatton, Walsingham, and their gang are trying to get rid of me, and if necessary to break with your Majesty, which is the real object they have in view every hour of the day, together with the growing distaste with which the Queen looks upon me, in consequence of their ceaseless machinations, it is clear that they may, in the end, succeed, and my departure may be brought about in such a fashion that your Majesty may be forced to resent it sword in hand. This may happen at a season when it would be inconvenient for your Majesty to undertake such a matter, and, seeing that the Queen has refused to receive me, and refers me to her Council in all things, I cannot be of any service to your Majesty here now, with my hands thus tied, and her ears closed against me, excepting so far as her Councillors may choose to allow her to hear. For this reason, and to avoid trouble, it will be advantageous in your Majesty's interests, that my successor shall come hither at once, although at first not ostensibly to replace me. He should bring a letter from your Majesty and a specific power to deal with the investigation in the seizures of Portuguese goods, which will result, as I am told by Antonio de Castillo, in an amount of 100,000 crowns being due to Portugal. He should bring another letter, also, empowering him, if necessary, to treat of the robberies during the truce which was made between the two crowns on the 15th November 1579.

He should bring yet another letter, containing a statement of that which your Majesty wrote the Queen on the 11th April 1579, respecting complaints against her subjects in the matter of property concealed here, which had not been registered at the time of the seizures, with special power in the matter, as otherwise they will reply to him as they did to me in December 1579, demanding such a power, and they will not allow him to deal with the business unless he brings it.

Your Majesty will also do well to let him bring a special letter about Drake's business, and as all these matters are so important, any one of them, and much more the three, would form a good excuse for sending a special envoy. They are, moreover, of such a character, concerning questions of money, that these people cannot refuse to entertain a Minister who comes to treat of them, and thus your Majesty will be saved from the evils which might result from my staying here, and yet you will be represented. Your Majesty may withdraw him at any time you may consider advisable, but, in the meanwhile, your interests would not be entirely abandoned, nor the efforts for the conversion of Scotland quite dropped, to the dismay of the Catholics here, who in such case would lose heart

1581.

entirely. I humbly beg your Majesty to pardon my boldness for speaking thus, but my zeal in your service forces me to say what I think, without mentioning even my own illness, of which I make but small account, as I only desire health and life to be spent in harness, here or elsewhere, as your Majesty may deign to command. In order that I may have more time to initiate the man who comes into business here, it will be better that he should not be appointed to succeed me, but that his powers should constitute us jointly and severally your representatives, and I can then stay as long as may be needful, and leave when I like, on the pretext of my illness, a sufficient reason, without its being said that I was withdrawn. The Queen will not refuse the new man audience at first and he may, as I did when I arrived, do good service in diverting her somewhat from her evil course. In order to gain sufficient time for my successor to arrive, I purposely told the Queen in the presence of her Ministers, when I took leave of her, that I would not trouble her any more with business, but would in future communicate it to her Councillors. In this way we shall avoid the inconvenience of my being refused audience if I asked for it, in which case, coming after other things, I should be obliged to leave, or else put up with a slight upon your Majesty. If necessary I will feign illness until I get a reply to this, temporising with these people and avoiding communication with them unless I am obliged.—London, 20th October 1581.

20 Oct. **149.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The clergyman of whom I wrote on the 7th ultimo has returned from Scotland after a successful journey. He was conveyed secretly across the border and was furnished with introduction to the duke of Lennox, the earls of Eglington, Huntly, and Caithness, Baron Seton, and his eldest son, and Gray, of Fernihurst. They received him well and he bore himself prudently, avoiding an entire disclosure of his mission until he had assured himself with regard to religion, which was treated as the principal basis of the business. He said he wished to learn from them whether they would admit priests and friars into the country, who, moved by zeal in God's service and the salvation of souls alone, wished to preach and administer the sacraments. They replied unanimously, that not only would they willingly admit them, on condition that they brought money for their own maintenance, but they would quietly manage that they should preach to the King himself in their presence, and should, if necessary, hold a disputation with the ministers, by which means their doctrines might be presently preached in public, without frightening the people when they first arrived. He came back with this reply, after having assured them how important it was for the King's power and aggrandisement, and his inheritance to the crown of England, that the English Catholics who had fled for religion's sake, should be allowed to live in Scotland by consent of the Parliament. They told him that they would try to obtain this. He avoided opening out further to the duke of Lennox, as he depends upon France, and he found him

1581.

now avowedly schismatic, but in accordance with his instructions from here he went more deeply into the matter, by way of discourse, with Lord Seton, whom he found very well disposed. He said that the best argument to bring about the King's conversion to the Catholic faith, in addition to its being the true road to salvation, was to show him that it was the only means by which he could become a powerful king, uniting the crowns of Scotland, England, and Ireland, which could be brought about alone by his gaining the sympathy of so mighty a monarch as your Majesty. An alliance between you would be a renewal of the leagues with the houses of Burgundy and England, which were the solid foundation for the maintenance of the three kingdoms. This, however, need not mean his turning his back upon the French, who for so long had been friendly with Scotland, and with whom it was meet that he should still be kindly, but not so intimate as to deprive him of the greatness that the proposed alliance would give him, in which the French certainly would not aid him, as Alençon was trying to marry the Queen. Seton thanked the priest, and promised that when the King went on a hunting progress, he would have him told this privately, and would encourage him thus with brilliant prospects. He said that when this man returned with the priests, he would tell him how he had found the King, as well as the other ministers, with whom he would communicate.

As soon as this clergyman returned, the result of his mission was conveyed to William Allen* in France, and Father Persons of the Company of Jesus,† who was secretly here. The latter went to France for a few days to choose the persons to be sent to Scotland, and although the clergyman who went was of opinion that Persons himself, and Father Jasper‡ of the Company, who recently came hither through Germany, would be the best persons to go, as it was necessary that they should be very learned to preach and dispute, as well as of signal virtue. Father Jasper came many miles to see

* Allen was chief of the English Jesuit Seminary at Rheims, and was raised to the Cardinalate by Sixtus V., after repeated urging by Philip.

† This remarkable man, who for so many years was a thorn in the side of Elizabeth, was born in Stowey, Somersetshire, of obscure parentage in 1546. He was sent to Balliol College, Oxford, at the cost of John Haywood the rector of the parish, whose natural son he was stated to be. Camden, who was a fellow student with him, gives him a very bad character. "He was a violent fierce natured man, of rough behaviour. . . . . "When he was young, the fellow was much noted for his singular impudency and "disorder in apparel, going in great barrel hose, as was the fashion of hacksters of those "times, and drawing also deep in a barrel of ale." Camden quotes another writer, who says that Persons was "a common alehouse squire, and the drunkenest spunge in all the parish where he lived." He graduated M.A. in 1563, and became dean of the College, professing at the time strongly Protestant opinions. Dr. Abbot, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who was a fellow of Balliol, describes him as being "a "man wonderfully given to scoffing, and that with bitterness, which was the cause that "none of the company loved him." As bursar in 1573 he got into trouble over his accounts, and was forced to resign his fellowship on the ground of his illegitimacy. He then went abroad, and drifted from Louvain to Padua, Bologna, and Rome, studied medicine, and adopted civil life, but eventually, in 1575, entered the Company of Jesus at Rome, and at the time the above letter was written had been appointed Provincial for England.

‡ Jasper Heywood.

1581.

me here and obtain my opinion upon the point. After having discussed the matter minutely, we have resolved to write to Allen saying that, although Fathers Persons and Jasper would be the best and most able persons to be sent to cure the important limb of Scotland, yet we should not deprive the brain of its principal support, which we should do if these two men were both to leave here, where their presence is so necessary to govern and distribute the priests who are in this country, as well as for conducting matters of religion which are cropping up every day, and helping the Catholics in many ways. Besides this, no sooner will these men set foot in Scotland, than this Queen will be informed thereof, and their description sent hither, so that neither of them could ever return to England again, except with great peril and probable martyrdom. For these reasons it would be well that Jasper, with two other learned clergymen, should go to Scotland with some others in their train, whilst Persons should remain here, until His Holiness was informed, and he had appointed proper persons for the ministry. By this means the priests in England would not be deprived of their superior, it being so difficult and dangerous for people of his position to enter the country unknown. I shall daily watch for a reply to this, and, in accordance with it, the men who are to go will make ready for their journey.

A daily growing difficulty to this conversion of Scotland is the increasing persecution of Catholics here. They are not only now imprisoned, but are reduced to the extremest misery by the fines of 20*l.* for every month that they absent themselves from church. This has given occasion for some members of the Holy Church to go astray in order to avoid payment of the fines, at the same time greatly diminishing their charities, so that the Catholics in prison can now hardly be fed. At the same time the seminaries abroad suffer great need, as well as those inmates of them who go from here with fervent zeal to indoctrinate themselves and become priests to return hither and teach. All this was upheld by the charity of Catholics here, which was often so large that at one time two or three persons only found three hundred pounds, which I sent to Rheims. It is now much reduced, whilst new needs for it have arisen, to help those who are going to Scotland, as well as the necessity for maintaining the priests whilst they are there in a way which will make them more acceptable to the Scots, who must be impressed with the idea that their object is not to gain money but to save souls. In order that they may be sustained, I have thought well to beg your Majesty to turn your eyes hitherward, and upon these Catholics in their trouble and affliction, as they now cannot help themselves. They join with me in humbly begging your Majesty to favour them with some charity, that they may be able to carry on the work commenced, which is so worthy of the aid of your Majesty, the true column and protector of the Holy Roman Church.

God has proved to those of us who are interested in this business that it is His will to forward it now that it has been begun, for if it were not for His support it would be humanly difficult to maintain the work now, seeing that the earl of Worcester, who was so good a

1581.

Catholic, is dead, and most of the six lords I mentioned in prison, which, however, does not much matter, now that the business has been arranged, as even if they were at liberty it would have to be directed from France. It will be very important, therefore, that your Majesty's Minister in that country should be well versed in matters touching England, Scotland, and Ireland, and in close touch with Allen, in order to conduct the business, which must be done in such a way that the French have not a suspicion that your Majesty is concerned in it, and so as to prevent them from interfering, even if they did suspect, as being a religious question alone. If they have an idea that the matter is promoted by English adherents of your Majesty, and that the aim is, after the conversion, to bring these kingdoms under the shelter and protection of your Majesty, it is to be feared, as religion is so unhinged in France, that they may impede the work, especially as it is impossible, owing to old connection, for the Scots to discuss a business of even very much less importance than this without consulting the French; besides which the queen of Scotland being a prisoner, with all her relatives and property in France, makes it now even more impossible. The French, too, at present, are in nowise reticent about anything which may prejudice the queen of England, and the queen of Scotland is therefore very reserved with them, and keeps back many things from the Minister she has there (*i.e.* in France), communicating them in preference to Allen, who has to manage this business. Your Majesty's Minister in France must watch all that the French negotiate with Allen and in Scotland, and must see that he does not give them more particulars about the English than necessary, in order that the French may think that they themselves are conducting the business, and that his communications with your Minister is only in consequence of your Majesty being so Catholic a King, whose aid he begs in their affliction and misery. Under this cloak he must press the matter warmly with them, without showing any public sympathy with the queen of Scotland further than is natural towards a Catholic widowed Queen in her present state. The Minister representing your Majesty here can be of no further use to her, as the Queen and the heretics are served by such a multitude of spies that she, the queen of Scots, is in great alarm. Through him (*i.e.* Father Allen) safe and constant communication can be carried on, the Catholics encouraged, and the queen of Scotland sustained. At the same time an artifice may be used which I have often adopted, namely, to take advantage of this Queen's jealousy of French negotiations in Scotland and apparently participate in it, as touching also somewhat your Majesty's interests, and urge upon her the importance of keeping her eyes on their proceedings there.—London, 20th October 1581.

20 Oct. **150.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

This Queen has added 5,000*l.* more to the 15,000*l.* which she had decided to send to Alençon. It left here on the 17th in broad angels, 15,000*l.* being taken from the Exchequer, and the other

1581.

5,000*l.* being given by Walsingham. The money was contained in four valises of 5,000*l.* each.

Marchaumont is making every possible effort to persuade the Queen to the marriage, and a few days ago he told her that he heard from France that the queen of Scotland considered herself to be the legitimate heiress to this crown, and although she had not pressed her claim during the Queen's life, and would not do so if she married Alençon, if that marriage was not effected she would at once transfer her rights to her son, who could press them if he pleased. She was much disturbed with the news, as Walsingham had told her that the king of France had addressed the king of Scotland as such, and she at once sent a despatch to France about it. She had letters from Alençon on the 19th, confirming his coming, but saying that he would not come for another week.

The Queen has a ship on the coast ready to escort him across, to avoid the evils which might occur by his taking an ordinary passage. Besides preparing Sion House, she has had a lodging made ready for him at Richmond. It is said that Alençon thought of sending the Prince Dauphin to Antwerp to receive in his name the oath of allegiance as sovereign, but as the rebel towns are not very united about this, and Alençon can ill spare the cost, he has delayed sending him until he returns from here.

When I said to the Queen that she had given Alençon money, she asked me how I knew, whereupon I said that it was so public that the French ambassador himself had told me. She asked me whether that was true, and I said Yes, it was, and as I held the ambassador to be a gentleman, he would not deny having told me so. She has written great complaints about it to Alençon, and sent to ask the ambassador whether he counted the money himself, that he should know so well what she gave.

Three hundred Englishmen have been raised very secretly, and they are already in Gravesend and Sandwich. I have informed the prince of Parma and M. de Lamotte, suspecting that they may be intended for some plot.

One of the counts of Embden, who I reported was here, recently left for his home through France, fearing capture at sea, a steward of his having been taken by your Majesty's ships at Friesland. He was not very well pleased here, as the Queen would not accede to his request that the dissensions between the English merchants and the Easterlings, respecting the maintenance of their privileges, should be arranged. Hamburg and the other maritime towns of the empire have asked him and his brother to turn the English trade out of Embden. The earl of Leicester gave him two jewels worth three hundred crowns.

As soon as Don Antonio arrived in France he sent French pilots and captains hither for his ships, but the English would not admit them, as they had been warned by men whom I had set on for the purpose that Don Antonio wanted to get his ships out of English hands. Don Antonio then ordered them (*i.e.*, the English crews) to bring the ships to France, but they said they had signed

1581.

articles for a voyage to Terceira, where they were to receive pay and victuals, and for this voyage they were ready. Seeing their determination Don Antonio had to put up with this.

On the 6th instant six of Don Antonio's ships and some pirates left the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth. They only carried victuals for a month and were short of sailors, many of them having begun to desert. If this weather continues they will have to come back to the coast, where there is a great multitude of English and French corsairs awaiting any ships that arrive, and particularly those from the Newfoundland fisheries.

Leicester has bought a ship of 250 tons for 2,000*l.*, to accompany that which I said was in Plymouth for Frobisher to take to the Mollucas. They think of sending 3,000*l.* worth of merchandise in them on account of private individuals, the shares being 100*l.* and 200*l.* each, at Leicester's request. He sent to ask Drake for sailors for the voyage, which he has promised to send, and to contribute 400*l.* to the risk, as well as giving a pinnace of 40 tons which was built on the Queen's stocks here. I am informed from Dieppe that four well fitted ships of 100 and 150 tons each had left there for the Straits of Magellan.

Some Englishmen have arrived in this country from Barbary, having arranged with the king of Morocco to take him timber from here ready cut to build his galleys. The quantity is so large that, although Leicester is mixed up in the affair for the sake of the profit, they have had to send to Holland for some of the wood, as all of it could not be furnished here.—London, 20th October 1581.

20 Oct. **151.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since my last report on Scotch affairs I hear that a meeting of nobles had been held, almost like a Parliament, in order to fulfil the laws of the country, which forbid the confiscation of the property of a rebel whose body is not above ground, as they call it, meaning unburied. For this purpose they did not bury Morton until they had held the meeting to confiscate his property, and at the same gathering they confirmed the title of duke of Lennox which the King had given to D'Aubigny. All other subjects were postponed and the Parliament prorogued, the only reason for this being apparently to await the return of the man who they had sent to France to see if the king of France would address the king of Scotland as such. Walsingham assures the Queen that he will do so, and says that, when the king of France was talking about Scotch affairs, he called the King "king of Scotland" two or three times, which he, Walsingham, appears to have thought very important.

This Queen is very suspicious that the king of France, having recognised the king of Scotland, the Scotch Parliament may accede to the wishes of some of the principal personages of the country, and allow the exercise of the Catholic religion. She is, therefore, making every possible effort, both in France and Scotland, particularly with Alençon, to prevent the Parliament being held. Leicester and the heretics, in the same way, are inciting the

1581.

Protestants not to allow it, and arousing their hatred of the Catholics, publishing here with this end that there have been public disputations in Scotland, with the result that the exercise of the Catholic religion was to be allowed by Parliament, D'Aubigny having obtained a license under the Great Seal to bring his wife to Scotland and have mass said in their house. The first statement is a lie, and I am not sure whether that about the license is so or not.—London, 20th October 1581.

27 Oct. B. M. MSS. Add. 28,702. Extract.

152. MEMORANDUM of CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE to the KING on English affairs.

Don Bernardino's letters report that he had not yet obtained audience of the Queen, and that Don Antonio is already in France. It is probable that he (Don Bernardino) will not use the letters his Majesty sends him, as they are expelling him and he has no opportunity of pressing for the restoration of Drake's plunder. As I have written on other occasions, it may be of some use in the meanwhile for him to make a noise about it, and render the Queen unpopular with the merchants and other persons interested, so that they may be made to understand that, for her own profit, and that of some of her councillors, they are placed in danger of losing their trade, and thus a quarrel may be set up against the Queen.

It is most important that we should know what is being done in Scotland. The greatest vigilance must be used in counteracting the attempts of the English to sow their heresy here, and to this effect the edicts with regard to the lodging of Englishmen should be carried out strictly. Don Bernardino's other remarks on this subject are also well timed.

It is pitiful to see how the Catholics are suffering, and especially as, the more attempts are made to help them, the harder is their fate. Don Bernardino is acting exceedingly well in aiding them underhand, in order that they may be the deeper pledged by his solicitude for them.

It would be very desirable to have copies of those documents which he says the rebels seized at Ripplemond, and it would be well that he should continue negotiations with the man who offered to copy them, although it may cost something, but it is of the highest importance.

He should be instructed to thank the man who refused to serve Don Antonio with his ship, and also for the care taken to prevent the pilots who came in the ship from joining Don Antonio.

With regard to the marriage, still being pushed by Marchaumont, I look upon it as feigned, the object being rather to get hold of some money than to marry the Queen. We shall see what happens; but if the marriage takes place, I shall not be sorry; indeed I wish it had already done so.—Madrid, 27th October 1581.

29 Oct. B. M. Add. MSS. 28,702. Extract.

153. MEMORANDUM of CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE to the KING on English affairs.

From what can be gathered of these letters (of Don Bernardino), the marriage of the queen of England and Alençon is not so far advanced as had been asserted nor is it likely that it will ever

1581.

happen. Perhaps God, for His own good ends and to punish the wickedness of both parties, may in His infallible wisdom act so as entirely to frustrate their designs, and may cause these close negotiations for friendship to result in bitter enmity. God grant it! I am delighted to see that the Queen demands Calais and an alliance against Scotland. These are vital points, upon which it may be hoped they will disagree.

A great pity on one side, and a great consolation on the other, is the martyrdom of these holy men, whose sufferings, I trust, will aid in the faith, whilst God punishes the impious wickedness of those who have done them to death.—Madrid, 29th October 1581.

29 Oct. **154.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since writing on the 20th, I hear of the return of the English ships which I said had gone to Terceira with arms and munitions under Captain Dun (?), a servant of Walsingham. He brings with him a Portuguese called Peri-Jacome, a native of the island, who, I am informed, is the richest man in the place. His desire is to see Don Antonio, in order to learn where he wishes the money to be sent which is derived from your Majesty's revenues and other property in the island. They accepted there the bills drawn by Don Antonio, in respect of this money, to pay for the ships and other things he had purchased here. He, Peri-Jacome, also requests that gunpowder be sent and lime to build two breastworks on the shore there this winter, as a defence. He says that no men are wanted, unless it is to conquer St. Michaels, and the rest of the islands that are faithful to your Majesty, which they would do if they are aided from here. This Peri-Jacome says he brings 4,000 ducats, which a lady cousin of his at Terceira asked him to present to Don Antonio for her, with a petition that he would allow her to sell her property and devote the proceeds to his service. With him there come four or five Portuguese, and amongst them a friar, who, the Portuguese say, advised them to drive herds of cattle before them, to break Don Francisco de Valdes' troops in the island. They, the Portuguese, were two days at court before they arrived in London, and I am told that the news they bring is to the effect that your Majesty's fleet under Don Lope de Figueroa had not been able to land any men, and that there were eight thousand fighting men on the island, with about three hundred Englishmen, who were receiving four ducats a month pay, with which, however, they were not satisfied and wanted to return. A ship from France with 150 Frenchmen on board had arrived, but they would not allow them in the island, as they brought no letters from Don Antonio. The English were reimbursed for the arms they carried thither in sugar and hides, which had been plundered from Spanish vessels, and which have been brought hither in these two ships. I have been unable to ascertain whether the value of these is greater than that of the arms; but have learnt that the monies belonging to your Majesty which they had there amount to 30,000 crowns, besides 60,000 in the form of pearls, sugar, and hides, which

1581.

had been confiscated in ships arriving there from Santo Domingo, the coast of Brazil, and elsewhere.

Peri-Jacome lodges in the house of one Vega, who was left here by Don Antonio instead of Souza, but I understand that he wishes to leave for France at once. This Vega is giving a host of letters of marque against Spanish subjects, by virtue of a power left in his favour by Don Antonio, and the English are ready enough to take them. Although I represented this to the Queen, with other things, when I saw her, she only replied that the king of France was doing a great deal more of this sort than was done in her country, and asked me what I had to say about that. I replied that I was not your Majesty's Minister in France, but in England, and consequently only concerned myself with English affairs, but that I knew that she would be much offended if any of her rebellious subjects were to give letters of marque in Spain against her people. Don Antonio's ships made an attempt on the Flemish hulks coming from Andalusia and Lisbon, on the ground that they carried Spanish property, but the hulks defended themselves, and although it is said here that some of them were captured, I am not sure of this, only that Don Antonio's ships were at Plymouth a week ago with contrary weather. Alençon is now openly expected every day, but the weather apparently has prevented his coming over. The Queen has ordered some doors to be made in certain galleries, so that access may be afforded to her without the need of passing through the public courtyards, and 30,000*l.* are being got ready in the exchequer, by which it may be gathered that, the English having scoffed at the idea of the marriage, the principal object of his visit is to ask for money, which the Queen wishes to give him and send him off in a good humour. The ambassadors say he will not bring more than 40 horse and the Prince Dauphin. I will advise his arrival.—London, 29th October 1581.

30 Oct. Paris Archives. K 1447. 93.

155. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Your letters of 7th and 10th September were received here on the 18th instant, and we note that the French had asked the Queen to contribute her part if she wished the league to be an offensive one and to break with us at once. We see also that when she was asked for so large a sum as this, she tried to make the treaty a defensive one only, after all. We await news of the result, and also as to whether Walsingham has returned, and, if so, what he has settled. You will inquire into this and report with your customary diligence.

You did well in sending the minute intelligence about Don Antonio, and the changeable way in which they are treating him, first promising him ships and then refusing them. As he was on the point of leaving, I doubt not you will advise me as to the road he was taking, what ships he had, and how he was treated on his departure. Let me know also whether he still keeps up a correspondence with England from the place where he now may be, and whether there are any signs of aid being sent to him. If

1581.

the letters I wrote to the Queen on the subject reached you just before his departure, I expect you will have kept them back, and not taken the action which you were instructed to take, as otherwise the Queen may want to put me under an obligation for doing what she had decided to do on her own account.

With regard to Scotland and the negotiation which has been opened by those lords, I cannot refrain from thanking you highly for the clever way in which you have taken it in hand, which well proves your care and sagacity. The business is such a great one, however, that it cannot fail to present many difficulties, but you will follow the course you have begun, and keep the Catholics in hand, urging them to base the plan on solid foundations, in which case they may look for help.

I have been glad to hear so fully as you write the details of Irish affairs, and of the troops employed there on either side; and as it may be important for me to know all that is passing there, I request you will report any change that may take place.

With regard to the 2,000 ducats sent to you for the purpose you are aware of,* the plan you adopted was a good one. You have acted wisely in temporising about the audience.—Lisbon, 30th October 1581.

2 Nov. **156.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote on the 29th that M. d'Alençon was expected every day. He arrived yesterday here in disguise and remained in Stafford's house awaiting the Prince Dauphin, who had embarked in another ship; Alençon being obliged by the heavy weather to anchor in the Downs and disembark with some danger. I understand that he will go to-night to Richmond, as he sent word to the Prince Dauphin, who arrived to-day and is lodged at the French Embassy, that he is to remain there until the Queen sends for him. I will instantly inform your Majesty of what I can learn about his stay. The Queen appointed a gentleman three days since to go to Scotland, although no commission has yet been given to him. I suspect, however, that it will be concerning the abdication which the queen of Scots wishes to make in favour of her son.

St. Aldegonde comes with Alençon, who met him at Boulogne; he having gone to meet Alençon with the 40,000 florins which Orange and the rebel States were sending him.

I understand that Don Antonio's ships took a hulk and another little vessel loaded with sugar from Viana, and I have given an account to the Queen and Council about it, in order that the merchandise may be placed on deposit, as the property of your Majesty's subjects, until the power of attorney arrives from the owners. Orders have been given to this effect, and a Queen's officer sent, but I do not know whether it is merely compliment or not.—London, 2nd November 1581.

* *i.e.*, to bribe Sir James Crofts, the Controller, and a member of the Queen's Council.

1581.
6 Nov. Paris Archives. K. 1559.

157. JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

The Scots ambassador recently came to give me the reply from his mistress to the message from your Majesty respecting the proposals he had made to me, and I communicated to your Majesty in my letter from Blois (*see letter of 10th April* 1581). As the answer was in writing, I have thought best to send your Majesty a literal translation of it enclosed, so that I have only to add what the ambassador told me respecting the mission of Douglas hither some time ago, as he (Douglas) is mentioned in the reply. He says that Douglas was sent by the prince of Scotland with letters to the king of France and duke of Guise, to learn whether an ambassador from him would be received here as from a King, for the purpose of renewing the ancient alliance between France and Scotland. If the Prince were assured that his title of king should be recognised, he would send hither a formal embassy, but Douglas was instructed, in the first instance, to consult the duke of Guise and follow his opinion in the matter.

It appears that the ambassador (Beaton) then approached the duke of Guise, and even the King, to prevent anything being done to the prejudice of his mistress, to whom he immediately reported what had been done, and he succeeded in preventing Douglas from speaking to the King and Queen (Mother) or delivering his letters. He also contrived, probably aided by the duke of Guise, to get the King to defer decision in the matter until he had learnt the wishes of the queen of Scotland, to whom he wrote. The result of this was that the queen of Scotland ordered Douglas to return without doing anything, which order he obeyed, as she did not wish her son to assume the title of King, except in conjunction with herself, both names being used. I understand she will be willing to accord him thus much if he is obedient to her as he should be.

The ambassador casts the principal blame for the coming of Douglas upon the duke of Lennox, who is a Frenchman of the house of D'Aubigny, and has the greatest influence over the Prince, to the Queen's displeasure.

I asked him what was the present position in Scotland, as regards the person of the Prince, the hopes of his conversion to the Catholic faith, and also as to the tranquillity of the country, and the bodies of men who had risen there in favour of the queen of England's party. He told me that, as for religion, no change had taken place, although the Prince showed signs of desiring to follow his mother's wishes in all things; and, with regard to the bands in favour of the Queen of England, he understood that the latter was still making great efforts to foment them by money. There were still intrigues going on amongst those who surrounded the Prince, but he hoped that things would settle down in time. He says that his mistress shows some desire that he himself should go to Scotland to deal with her son for her; and, although it is many years since he was there, he thinks of going, if necessary, but he knows not when. He tells me also, that before Douglas left here he saw the Queen-Mother, by the advice of the duke of Guise, merely as a

1581.

matter of compliment, and without saying anything about his mission.

I beg your Majesty to instruct me how I am to reply. I recollect to have reported to your Majesty that I had heard something about negotiations for a marriage between the princess of Lorraine* and and the prince of Scotland, in connection with a design for the duke of Guise to go to his support with a body of troops. I learnt this from the Secretary of Hercules† at the same time as Douglas arrived here; and I now think that his coming gave rise to these discourses, but it is certainly the case that the Duke makes great professions of service to the Prince, whose mother is his kinswoman and I understand he sent him a present of some horses. It is true, also, that such a match as that mentioned is being looked for in several quarters. The said secretary told me lately that the Queen (of Scotland) had written saying that if she did not succeed in getting your Majesty's daughter for her son, no other bride would please her so much as the princess of Lorraine.—Paris, 6th November 1581.

Enclosure in the aforegoing letter, headed:—"Document in French "given to me by the Scots ambassador on behalf of his Queen, "and translated literally."

It is my intention that you shall acknowledge the reply you have sent me from his Catholic Majesty, thanking his ambassador from me very warmly for the good advice and assurances of friendship contained in the reply. You will inform him that, with regard to sending some person to his Majesty to learn his wishes and convey our own to him, respecting an alliance between us, and the conditions and details of the same, I quite approve that all negotions in this matter should be carried on by the said ambassador and yourself, and have written to my son asking him to send you an ample commission for the purpose. At the same time, you will present my excuses for not having already sent an envoy to the king of Spain, which was in consequence of my having previously seen but little basis for this negotiation, and also of my desire to avoid the suspicion and jealousy which such a step would have aroused, and which his Majesty himself warns me would be very dangerous to me in my present position.

You will also communicate to him the mission of George Douglas sent to the king of France by my son, at the instigation of some of those who are near him; and that I have authorised him to return to Scotland without doing anything in his mission. I am, therefore, resolved to persevere in my former intention of making a league and alliance with his Catholic Majesty, of whose goodwill towards me and my interests I am assured. He is a good prince naturally, and I am sure he will not abandon me. As he has been burdened by the war in Portugal, I do not wonder

* Christine, daughter of Charles IL, duke of Lorrine, and of Claude, Princess of France. She was born in 1565, and in 1583 married Ferdinand de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

† The duke of Guise.

1581.

that he was unable to take in hand at once the affairs of Scotland, which, at the date of his reply, were full of difficulties and seemed to be tending to a war with the queen of England. I now hope, however, that His Catholic Majesty, whose friendship I know is better for me than any other in Christendom, will send me a more detailed reply; and that his affairs will have reached a point, and Scotch affairs assumed such an advantageous position for us, as will offer him a better opportunity than before, and especially that he may have less reason to refrain from taking this matter in hand on account of his neighbours.

7 Nov. **158.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 2nd that Alençon had that day gone to see the Queen, and the next day he sent four coaches to his people for the purpose of bringing the Prince Dauphin. The result of his interview is to inspire hopes that the marriage may be effected, and he wrote to his brother and to his mother to this effect by a gentleman whom he dispatched on the 3rd, as Marchaumont assures an Englishman who is a close friend of his own and an adherent of his master. Notwithstanding this, the indications in every other direction, even in the countenances of the Ministers, much more clearly portend that he will be disappointed. Alençon is lodged in the Queen's own house, although he enters by that in which Marchaumont is lodged, which adjoins one of the principal gallaries of the palace. The Queen's officers are not providing his maintenance, and although some people think that Alençon's people are given the money for the purpose, it is certain that all the money they have spent hitherto has been in gold "Caroluses" and "Philips," and I therefore infer that this will be the money brought by St. Aldegonde, as on their arrival at Gravesend, they placed in the b ats four small boxes so heavy as to need two men to carry them. They took great care of these, and it is doubtless the 40,000 crowns, as, if it had come from France it would have been in different coins, and Alençon wishes to spend it here to make the English believe that he is spending his own money, and not the broad angels sent to him by the Queen. This will oblige her to be more liberal than she would otherwise have been. There has been no show of bringing more people to Court than usual, but the Queen went out to meet Alençon, on the excuse that she was going into the country, in order that he might catch sight of her before he arrived.

Leicester has recently become much more intimate with Marchaumont, whilst Sussex has stood back somewhat, which is a sign that Leicester is assured that the marriage will not take place, and that Sussex is distrustful. Walsingham, in conversation lately with the Queen, had much to say of the good parts and understanding of Alençon, whose only fault, he said, was his ugly face. She replied, "Well, you knave!" (which is a very insulting word in English) "why have you so often spoken ill of him? you veer "round like a weathercock."

1581.

St. Aldegonde tells the Flemish heretics here of the "Church," as they call it, that Alençon will certainly be married, as he is assured thereof, and has been brought here for that purpose. I understand that St. Aldegonde's mission from the rebels was to press Alençon to send three thousand infantry and five thousand French cavalry to the Flemish provinces, under chiefs of his own choosing, as there were so many difficulties in his going in person and with a larger force. He is to be requested to have this force ready as speedily as possible, and the 40,000 florins were sent for the purpose. Alençon had told St. Aldegonde to come hither with him, and he then would decide. This Queen has been making great efforts to prevent the holding of a Parliament in Scotland, and although she has not succeeded, she has caused the earl of Argyll and six other personages to avoid attending. The mission of the gentleman I mentioned in my last as being sent to Scotland by the Queen is to assure the King that she heard with annoyance that greater efforts than ever were being made by him to induce his mother to renounce all her claims in his favour, in forgetfulness of the friendship which she (Elizabeth)has shown him by preserving his life and kingdom. She tells him that if the French incite him to this, he must consider how weak his forces are, and how exhausted France is. If your Majesty's friends are persuading him to the same effect, although you are very strong, yet you are fully employed with powerful enemies in many places. She dwells particularly upon these two points, and tells him many lies in her statements with regard to your Majesty's occupations, in order that he may despair of receiving any help from you. She points out that these considerations will prove to him how much more important it is for him to be friendly with her, than with any other monarch. The envoy is to make every possible effort, if the arrangement about the Catholic religion there and the admission of English Catholics into the country has not been made, to prevent it; whereas, if the matter is already settled, he is to arouse the indignation of the Protestants against it, so as to cause them to revolt, in which case he is to offer English help.

When the envoy returns they are going to send thither Walter Mildmay, a great heretic and Councillor. On the 5th they sent to communicate with the queen of Scotland about the renunciation, and they have begun to treat her more kindly than before, in order that if the king of Scotland opposes this Queen about the renunciation, she may offer the queen of Scotland to restore her to the throne by force, thus embroiling mother and son. They understand that the queen of Scotland would not refuse this offer.

I have been informed that before she dispatched this man the Queen was alone in a window recess, and she angrily said to herself in the hearing of some ladies, "That false Scotch urchin, for whom "I have done so much! to say to Morton the night before he "arrested him, 'Father, no one else but you has reared me, and I "'will therefore defend you from your enemies,' and then after this, "the next day, to order him to be arrested, and his head smitten

1581.

"off! What can be expected from the double dealing of such an "urchin as this?" It is clear that the king of Scotland's proceedings are causing her much anxiety.

Parliament here has been prolonged until the 20th, as it was not dissolved in June. They say that Alençon's coming will cause it to sit longer still, although this is not certain.

The two ships, which I said had come from Terceira, are making ready to return with munitions, and Don Antonio's ships are, with the two Knollys, at the Isle of Wight.—London, 7th November 1581.

7 Nov. **159.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In consequence of the steps I had taken, underhand, with the London merchants trading with Spain, the principal men of them went to the Council to represent that at this season the greater part of their property and ships was in Spain, and they were desirous of learning what the Queen had decided with regard to the restitution of Drake's plunder, as they feared that their goods might be seized. They were told that the matter would be considered, and that they might return in a few days for the reply. They spoke to Walsingham apart, and begged him to expedite the matter as it was of great importance to them, and he replied that the Queen had already given an answer to the Spanish ambassador, saying that she was going to keep the treasure Drake had brought, in payment of what the king of Spain had caused her to spend in Ireland; "and if," he said, "they take your property, there is plenty here to pay for it."

The president of the company replied that they wanted no better security than that, to which Walsingham replied, "Do not take my "word for it, but come back for your answer, and get your property "away from Spain as quickly as you can." When I heard this, and that some of their ships are already coming back, I saw that they could not all be seized during the present vintage, and even if it had been possible, it might have caused inconvenience in your Majesty's interests whilst Terceira still held out. I therefore thought best to arouse their alarm, and at the same time prevent the restitution being forgotten, it being of the highest consequence just now because it is the lure by which Alençon and the French keep the Queen attached to them; so I pretended that I had a letter from the Master and Consuls of the merchants of Seville, addressed to the company of Spanish merchants here, saying that they were expecting the reply to be given to me by the Queen about the restitution of Drake's plunder, and if this was not what they hoped it would be, your Majesty would order them to be reimbursed out of English property. This they would greatly regret, as they had for so long held friendly commercial intercourse with them; and they advised them, therefore, to endeavour to induce the Queen to do justice. I dwelt fully upon these points, and I had the letter conveyed to them on the arrival of a ship from Seville. They read it whilst in session together, and resolved to have it copied in English, sending copies to the Treasurer and

1581.

Walsingham, and another to the Council. It was there considered, and the company was told to answer very civilly and moderately, saying that Alençon's visit was occupying the attention just now, but that a reply would shortly be sent. Two days afterwards Walsingham sent to ask the Company of Merchants to request Pedro de Zubiaur to go to the Council (he having given them the letter). He was told that the Queen would appoint persons to examine the powers and documents he brought against Drake, to which Zubiaur replied, in accordance with my instructions, that he had no documents, as they had all been handed to me, who had been ordered specially by your Majesty to deal with this business. He said that his stay here was only for the pupose of pressing me, on behalf of the Consuls, not to forget the affair. Walsingham said that the Queen would send to tell me the names of those who were to examine the documents; one of the persons would be the Judge of the Admiralty, but the matter could not be settled until French affairs had been disposed of.

I cannot assure your Majesty whether, having brought them to the point of examining the documents, the business will really be taken up, as I desire, on an official demand by your Majesty's Minister, and not as a private matter, as they have so persistently tried to make it. Restitution can only be obtained by showing that the matter concerns your Majesty, and in that case, if restitution is refused, the Crown of England will manifestly be responsible for the value of the property.—London, 7th November 1581.

7 Nov. **160.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In accordance with your Majesty's orders that I should duplicate and triplicate my letters, sending them by various ways, I do so on every possible occasion, by Rouen, Calais, and Antwerp, but, after all, I am obliged to send all these through Paris to be forwarded by Tassis, to whom I enclose them under cover of other names, to avoid danger of capture. This is necessary, as the ships sailing for Spain are rare, excepting at certain seasons of the year, and even then, unless some Spaniard is going in them, or other very trustworthy person, I dare not confide to the hands of any Englishman a despatch that I would not readily show to the Council.* Even merchants' letters are read by them, and ships are always hunting after mine. As couriers have to wait for favourable weather and means of passage, excepting in the case of special messengers, which are costly, I am obliged to depend upon the letters being forwarded from Paris. This is the reason why I

* It is curious that on the very day that these lines were written by Mendoza, Herll writes from Lambeth to the earl of Leicester (Cal. Domestic) that he has means to discover the Spanish ambassador's actions: "He (Mendoza) sends his letters over "seas by a woman, hanging them round her waist next the skin. He does not negotiate "with the Queen or her Council until he has been well shriven, absolved, and "holy-watered." Herll next goes on to say that Mendoza has 100,000*l.* to his credit, to corrupt instruments for intelligence, which statement will be seen to be very wide of the mark by reference to the King's letter of 30th October and others.

1581.

write so frequently, so as to miss no opportunity of the letters going from there.

I am keeping in hand the Englishmen who were asking me to give them passports to capture property from your Majesty's rebellious subjects, saying that M. de la Motte would grant them; and although this has had some effect, and has cooled them about going with Don Antonio, it is necessary that I should have a reply from your Majesty with regard to their being admitted into Spanish ports, since M. de la Motte, although he gives letters of marque, has no harbour for anything larger than a boat. As Don Antonio's ships are already taking prizes, which they bring to these coasts, a multitude of Englishmen with ships have begun to urge Vega, who is Don Antonio's agent here, to give them letters of marque. As they are many, this may be very inconvenient, especially as they and the pirates from France will certainly enormously increase their strength by dint of their plunder, much as boys' snowballs, which get bigger as they roll. The pirates have also been greatly encouraged by the news from Terceira and the prompt payment of Don Antonio's drafts in their favour. This makes them very busy in fitting out ships, and although I try to divert them by alarming the merchants, and by my efforts with the Councillors, yet as the head of the pirates is Knollys, a kinsman of the Queen and of Leicester, none of my endeavours succeed, as I have nothing to offer in the way of an inducement to wean them from a sure profit.

It is a great consolation for the Catholics here, in their affliction, that your Majesty should favour them; as by your hand they hope that God will release them from this captivity. I tell them what your Majesty orders, and do my best to alleviate their sufferings. After having again terribly tormented Campion,* of the Company of Jesus, they have "indicted" him, as they call it here, as a traitor, with sixteen others, mostly clergymen. They are in prison, and it is to be feared they will be executed, Campion not yet having been brought to trial, as he is all dislocated and cannot move.

The Lords and gentlemen who are prisoners, it is understood, will be brought before the Star Chamber, which is the supreme tribunal here, where only great cases are heard. Their reason for pressing these matters now is that they want them done whilst Alençon is here, in order to gratify the English and Scotch Protestants, and discourage the Catholics and make it appear that

* Edmund Campion, the Jesuit, was born in 1540 in London, and was educated at Christs' Hospital and St. John's College, Oxford, where he took his master's degree in 1564. He was at first a zealous Protestant, and received ordination from Cheney, bishop of Gloucester. In 1569 he began to waver and passed over to Ireland for the purpose of writing a history of the country, and here his tendency towards Catholicism became confirmed. In the following year, 1570, he publicly acknowledged his conversion and fled in disguise from Ireland to Douai, where he became professor of divinity. From there he found his way to Prague, where he lived for many years as a priest of the Society of Jesus. He was summoned to Rome by his General Mercuriano early in 1580, and despatched with Father Persons on the secret Jesuit mission to England. On landing at Dover on the 25th June he was at once charged with being a Catholic propagandist, and was suspected of being Allen himself. He was, however, released and proceeded on his mission of martyrdom as related in this correspondence.

1581.

he cares nothing about religion, but that his only desire is to please the Queen.*

The Catholics ask me to try to bring influence to bear in France to get the Queen-mother to write to Alençon, asking him to beg the Queen to save Campion's life, as they do not trust the French Ambassador here for such an office. As Campion had been gifted with great parts to win souls by his eloquence, I wrote to Tassis secretly to tell the Rector of the Jesuits in Paris, in order that he and other Friars might beg the Queen-mother to write earnestly to Alençon about it. This was done, in a way which would prevent the Queen-mother from imagining that the matter had been started from here, and that it should appear to have originated in the Friars themselves, because if these people were to think the (English) Catholics had begun it, it would be quite fruitless. I also wrote to William Allen at Rheims.

The Queen has again received confirmation from Ireland of the death of Dr. Sanders† from illness.—London, 7th November 1581.

11 Nov. **161.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 8th instant in triplicate, sending each copy by a different road, relating the hopes which were entertained by Alençon of the marriage, after his first interview with the Queen. He is with her every day from the time he rises until supper time, Sussex and Stafford only being allowed to be present; but I am assured that even they are not allowed to hear what passes between the two, and the Queen has not yet called a council to decide anything. I hear, however, that as soon as she learnt that Alençon had arrived in England, she said to certain of the Councillors separately that they must consider what would have to be done with him; to which they replied that they could hardly do that, unless she made her own intentions upon the subject clear. To this she answered that she was quite satisfied with the person of Alençon. When he arrived here he told those who he knew were his adherents that he would not go out in public nor undertake any other affairs until he had settled with the Queen the subject about which he came. If this be so, present indications prove that he has got an affirmative answer, as he now shows himself almost publicly, and appears to be in high spirits; all the principal people at Court being allowed to see him at dinner and supper. Leicester leaves nothing undone, and, in the absence of the Prince Dauphin, always hands Alençon the napkin, publicly declaring that there seems to be no other way for the Queen to secure the tranquillity of England but to marry Alençon; and Walsingham says the same. The Frenchmen who came with him and the ambassadors who were here before, look upon the marriage as an

* Camden rather confirms this view. He says, "During his (Alençon's) stay here "the Queen, to take away the fear which had possessed many men's minds that religion "would be altered and popery tolerated, permitted that Campion, of the Society of Jesus, "Ralph Sherwin, Luke Kirby, and Alexander Briant, priests, should be arraigned."

† Note in the King's hand:—"It will have been a great loss."

1581.

accomplished fact, but the English in general scoff at it, saying that he is only after money, and that he has already begged the Queen to give him 100,000*l.* and four thousand men to aid your Majesty's rebels. The principal Englishmen, indeed, are saying that if he wanted a regular pension they would grant it him, to the extent of 20,000*l.* a year, so that there are more indications of money being given to him than anything else. It is certain that the Queen will do her best to avoid offending him, and to pledge him in the affairs of the Netherlands, in order to drive his brother into a rupture with your Majesty, which is her great object, whilst she keeps her hands free and can stand by looking on at the war.

She has ordered three of her ships to be fitted out with great haste and secrecy. As it is not evident what they can be needed for at present, and judging by the preparations being made they can hardly be for Terceira, it is to be suspected that they may be to carry Alençon to Flushing and Antwerp, which of all things this Queen would like best.

I have been thinking over all these things, and although the marriage question and the others may not yet be settled, yet it is clear that this intimacy of Alençon with the Queen cannot be advantageous to your Majesty's interests, and I have been trying to devise some means by which I might get to see her. This I artfully endeavoured to manage, as soon as I heard that Alençon had come to England, on the pretext that Antonio de Castillo had received his letters of recall from your Majesty, and that I had orders to present him to her, for the purpose of his taking leave. I thought that she would be obliged to give me audience, and added that she might see that in this audience she would not be obliged to send her ladies away; and I felt that I ought to excuse myself to them for having been the cause of it before. I thought that this remark would prevent Leicester from standing in the way of an audience, besides which I thought that the path would be smoothed by the fact that the letter your Majesty sent her had caused them some anxiety, and she might think it necessary to say something to me about it, in which case I could quietly try to wean her somewhat from her intimacy with the French, without appearing to seek the opportunity myself, but only in reply to her remarks. She appointed an audience for me, and said I should be welcome in two days. Thereafter Alençon having then arrived, and I being just ready to get into the coach, she sent me word that she was not well, and as my audience was not for the purpose of treating with her about pressing business, she begged me to excuse her for the present, and she would send word to me when I could see her.

This attempt having failed, and as I could not press again for an audience whilst Alençon was here, and seeing also that his negotiations were prospering, I perceived the necessity of hindering them somehow if possible, or at all events of throwing cold water upon them. At the same time it was necessary to proceed with the Queen and Ministers so that they could not imagine that they were being courted on your Majesty's behalf, because the moment such an idea enters their heads their insolence soars to the skies,

1581.

and they get worse than ever when they think they are sought after, this being the basis of their confidence, and of their growing effrontry in keeping your Majesty busy. It is also unadvisable to let them get desperate, with the idea that they cannot hope for your Majesty's friendship, and I therefore adopted the course of sending to Cecil at an undue hour, in order that he might think that it was the more important, saying that I had just received a special courier from France with intelligence of great moment both in the interests of your Majesty and of this Queen. I said I did not wish to ask for audience, in order that it might not be thought that I did so in consequence of Alençon being here, but that I should be glad if I could see him, Cecil, to discuss these matters with him. I told him that I had been informed from France that the queen of Scotland had acknowledged her son jointly with herself as sovereign of the country, and that even if the queen of England thought fit to pass this over, in consequence of the friendthip that France was now displaying towards her (which I did not mean to say was feigned), I, nevertheless, in view of the ancient alliance between your Majesty and this country, could not avoid pointing out to her the palpable disadvantages to her which it might produce. I cited at length many examples from the past, and dwelt with appropriate arguments upon the subject, founded upon the long and mortal enmity which had existed between France and England, and upon the long course of intrigue which the French had carried on in Scotland, up to the recent overthrow of Morton. I cast further suspicion upon the matter by pretending to have news from Rome and elsewhere, and reminded Cecil of how often, ever since I had been here, I had warned the Queen to keep her eyes on the queen of Scotland, and I pointed out to him that I had prognosticated what was now happening. I said that it did not matter to your Majesty whether there was a King or a Queen in England, and consequently that I had nothing to say about the marriage although Alençon was here; but that it was of the greatest importance to you that England should always remain a separate kingdom, governed by Englishmen and not by Scotsmen, the latter of whom had always been your Majesty's enemies, whilst the English had been your friends.

Cecil received all this with many thanks, and said that he would inform the Queen thereof immediately, he being sure that she would greatly esteem the admonition and my good manner of proceeding, which he himself had always acknowledged. Under cover of these general expressions of thanks he tried to draw me out by asking whether I knew that, in addition to the help being given by the king of France to his brother in Flanders, he was aiding Don Antonio strongly, in consequence of his having received information (which had also reached the Queen) that, on the slightest demonstration being made in his favour, all Portugal would rise for him, as the people were discontented to have your Majesty for King. Cecil's only aim in this was to impress upon me that these facts rendered their friendship necessary to your Majesty. I paid him with his own coin on both points, by saying

1581.

that, as to the Netherlands, the king of France was not strong enough to declare war against your Majesty, as in such case you would be obliged to listen to the many approaches made to you to bring both Scotland and England to your side, and he was therefore glad, under cloak of his brother, to promote war in Flanders, with the impression that it would pledge this Queen to him, as it was not undesirable for her that your Majesty should be engaged in war there. It was, however, not to her interest that the French should make themselves entire masters of Flanders, and, whilst assuring her on this point, they persuaded her to overlook Scotch affairs in which they were so busy. I said he might think all this was merely my imagination if he did not see what was going on in Scotland, but I could positively assure him that what I said was true. With regard to Portugal, I said that he might see the loyal attachment of the Portuguese to your Majesty by the fact that, when Don Antonio went so rashly to take possession of Lisbon, there was not a man in the whole country who would lend him a *real* wherewith to keep himself, and even Botolph Holder would not give him a letter of credit for 2,000 crowns against some pepper, whilst they had spent two hundred thousand crowns in triumphal arches and other things on your Majesty's entrance into Lisbon, notwithstanding your Majesty's having desired that no expense should be incurred. They had humbly begged your Majesty to let them spend the money, and to allow them to show their gratitude to God in all things for having granted them your Majesty for their King. I said that he could see what sort of a following Don Antonio had by the people he had with him here, hardly one of whom was of any importance. The aid promised by the king of France was not so much for the benefit of Don Antonio as for that of the King himself, he having, at the request of his mignons, deprived Strozzi of the command of the infantry. It was not to his interest to allow him to be idle after he had dismissed him, as he belonged to the new religion, and he therefore employed him in Don Antonio's business, by which means he would get safely rid of him.

Cecil confirmed to me that the queen of Scotland had sent word to this Queen ten days before that the king of France and the Queen-mother, at the request of her kinsmen the Guises, had asked her to associate her son with herself in the crown of Scotland and any claims she possessed; and that she (the queen of Scotland) had begged the Queen to be allowed to send a gentleman to France, and another to her son to discuss the matter. This Queen had thereupon sent Beal to the queen of Scotland to learn fully what had moved her to this, and when he returned he, Cecil, said he would let me know what the Queen decided about it, and he would now go to the Queen and convey to her what I had said.

According to my poor understanding I thought that this was the best course to take under the circumstances, as it did not pledge us to any particular point, and yet introduced your Majesty into these Scotch affairs, which is necessary in the present condition of things and in the view of future events. At the same time these people

1581.

will not think that your Majesty is seeking them, but only warning them of their own danger if they bind themselves too closely to the French, whilst it may be instrumental in opening the door to a reconciliation if they change their behaviour, and will show that you are not implacable towards their offences since your Ministers are so careful of the interests of England. If I had taken any other course the Queen would immediately have tried to curry favour with the French by telling them that your Majesty was running after her. I have full experience of this, and of her lies and deceit, for after my last audience she told the (French) ambassador, so that every one should hear, that she had told me that, if your Majesty wanted war, she would declare it at once, and that I had thereupon instantly seized her hands, praying her, for the love of God, not to say that, and that your only desire was to enjoy entire peace and friendship with her, the very opposite of what really happened. The ambassador repeated it to me, and I said I was not sorry to hear that the Queen had said that, for it would cause me, in such case, very shortly to leave England, which was my greatest wish. He replied that, although the Queen had told him, he did not believe it, and thought that I had told the truth. At the same time, in order to prevent the Queen and her Ministers from disheartening the queen of Scotland by telling her what I had done, and saying that she will in future have against her both the French and your Majesty, which might cast her down entirely and cause her to abandon the conversion of her son and his kingdom, which, according to all human judgment, will be the means of extirpating the multitude of heretics in Europe, I have written to the queen of Scotland that this Queen had sent a Minister of hers to tell me that the prevention of the association of her son with her in her rights was as important to your Majesty as it was to England. I said that, although I had listened to their suggestions, I advised her of it at once in order that she might not be scandalised thereat if she heard of it through another channel, and I assured her that I had acted as I did in order to get on well with these people, with the object of the conversion of her son and the country in accordance with your Majesty's desires. I thus avoided any distrust she might have had if I had not told her myself, and the result will probably be to greatly increase her ardour in bringing her son and the country to the true religion. As it is important, I send this despatch by special courier to Tassis, and ask him to forward it from Paris in the same way.—London, 11th November 1581.

162. EXTRACT of Letter from the QUEEN of SCOTLAND to MENDOZA received whilst this Letter was being written, and sent enclosed with it.

In accordance with the resolution I have taken to follow, as far as I can, in the conduct of my affairs the wishes of my good brother the king (of Spain), I desire to direct his attention again to the approaches which have newly been made to me on behalf of my son, asking me to accord him the title of king of Scotland, with

1581.

all dutiful submission towards myself. He has, unknown to me, written to the king of France and the Queen-mother asking them to intercede with me to this effect, and I have recently received letters from them appealing personally to me, with great demonstrations of their affection for us. In order not to lose this opportunity of promoting the re-establishment of my affairs, I have consented to associate my son with myself in the throne of Scotland, and he and his Council will, as a consequence, take such measures as shall bring the whole country to my side. I do not know how the queen of England will take it when she is informed, but whatever she may do I am resolved to proceed with it. In order to obviate any fear of suspicion or jealousy on the part of the king (of Spain), I shall be glad to hear from him on the subject.—(6th November 1581 ?)

11 Nov. **163.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The Scotch Parliament was prolonged until the end of last month because certain men, at the instance of this Queen, had delayed attending. She secretly sent thither, through Leicester, an Englishman named Roger Austin, who had served in the king of Scotland's chamber, and who, as I wrote months ago, was arrested there on suspicion of being a spy of this Queen's. He has been here now for some months, and she gave him a sum of money and sent him to Scotland. As he was well acquainted with the country he managed to gain over some of the principal people on the border and in the North, in order that the Queen might be secure if the king of Scotland sought to break with her. I am told that, amongst others, he has already brought over to her side Alexander Hume, a man of influence, who had declared himself the mortal enemy of Morton, so much so that when they brought him, Morton, from Dumbarton to Stirling for execution, Hume was the only man who would raise troops to take him, and he gathered five hundred men and took him to Stirling.

This Alexander Hume has lost the favour of the King and Lennox for accusing Lord Creighton, a neighbour and great enemy of his, of having been an accomplice in the murder of the late king of Scotland, having bought over to this end a servant of Archibald Douglas, who was condemned to death for complicity in the same crime. Hume promised him that he should be pardoned if he accused Lord Creighton of the crime, whereupon the servant made a statement against Creighton in the presence of Alexander Hume, who begged that he himself might be commissioned to arrest Creighton, with authority to kill him if he resisted. As soon as this commission was signed Creighton was informed, and, as his conscience was clear, he at once presented himself to the Council and proved his innocence, and, at the same time, the wickedness of Alexander Hume.

The heretic ministers in Scotland have lately been scattering some books against the duke of Lennox, Lord Seton, Sir John Seton, and the abbot of Newbogle, in which it was asserted, in the language which these heretics use, that they were "Papists," and that

1581.

the King should therefore beware of them, as their intention was to plunge the country again into "papistry." The nobles and commonalty of the country were begged to consider whether it was licit that such men as these, suspected in religion, should be allowed near the King's person. This was preached in the pulpits, and the Catholics replied in other books, but, as the Catholics are not many, I fear that this Parliament will hardly dare to propose anything in favour of the Catholic religion, as they think that matters are not yet ripe, nor the persons who will have to be consulted yet well disposed.

The Queen sent special couriers to Beal, Clerk of the Council, recalling him. As I said, he was sent to see the queen of Scotland, and I understand that the change has been brought about by the discussions with Alençon.—London, 11th November 1581.

11 Nov. **164.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since the closing of the letters sent herewith, my man informs me that, on the persuasion of Leicester, the Queen has pressed Alençon to go over at once to Flanders with the three ships, and she will give him 30,000*l*. When the States have taken the oath of allegiance to him he could return hither, and she would give him her promise that she would then marry him. Sussex begged Alençon not to deceive himself; for no matter what pledges and promises were given to him now, if once he went away without being married he might be quite sure that the marriage would never take place. He therefore advises him on no account to be driven out of England until the business is effected. This has caused Alençon to put his back to the wall, and to tell the Queen that, not only will he not leave England, but he will not even leave the apartments where he now is until she tells him clearly the Yes or No of the marriage. When they are alone, she pledges herself to him, to his heart's content, and as much as any woman could to a man, but she will not have anything said publicly. This has caused him to delay a gentleman he was sending to his brother and has prevented him from closing the letters he was to take.

My man also tells me that he has seen and read with his own eyes a letter from the king of France to the Queen, telling her to undeceive herself, for whether she marries his brother or not, he will not openly help him in the Netherlands, but will do his very best to bring about peace there. The Queen has called a general meeting of the Council at Court to-morrow in order that they may decide what should be done.

Yesterday M. d'Insi arrived here in search of Alençon with fifteen horsemen, amongst whom were some of the principal officers of the garrison of Cambrai, which M. d'Insi surrendered to Alençon.

At the same time there arrived a secretary of the Queen-mother, who has been closeted with the French ambassador before going to Court. I will advise instantly what I can learn of their proceedings.

1581.

Whilst writing this I learn that Knollys was at the Isle of Wight on the 9th with Don Antonio's ships. A person who was with them tells me that they have not more than 500 men, and were very short of victuals, having been unable to leave the Channel in consequence of contrary weather. — London, 11th November 1581.

11 Nov. **165.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I am told that when two Flemish heretics and intimate friends of St. Aldegonde, asked him whether he had deciphered the despatches captured recently in France, he answered that it was very easy to do that, as your Majesty's cipher was in so many hands, and drafts of letters could so easily be obtained. They were therefore anxious to get hold of cipher dispatches corresponding with the drafts, even when they were months old, because that enabled them to construct a key. He said the cipher in which all your ministers wrote was the same, and it was extremely difficult to obtain an original key. I am assured that Walsingham said something to the same effect, and that your Majesty's despatches could easily be understood by obtaining a draft of some letter written from a place where no suspicion existed; and after that, the valises of the ordinary couriers could be opened at night in the hostelries, the despatches extracted and afterwards returned to them again, which is perfectly simple. I myself have done this here frequently, getting hold of letters which I think will be to the interest of your Majesty to see, and in an hour, with a bone reproduction of the same seal, I make up a packet, closed in the same way, after having seen all I want to see, and the matter cannot be detected. I have heard since I have been here that when they deciphered Don John's letters in the States, it was done by means of Secretary Escobedo, who had a servant with him who wrote his cipher despatches. When Escobedo went out the man always accompanied him, leaving his papers in the trunks which, although they were locked, as well as the rooms they were in, and he had the keys, were just the same as if they had been left wide open, as there is hardly a room in Flanders of which the occupants have not two keys, in case one should be lost. The rooms were therefore entered and the locks of the trunks picked, which is easy anywhere, and much more so Flanders, where there are so many skeleton keys that will open any lock.

Seeing how injurious it is to your Majesty's interests for the letters to be deciphered, and considering that it is almost impossible to prevent them from falling into the hands of enemies or false friends, as they are carried by couriers of various nationalities and are handled by postmasters owing no allegiance to your Majesty, whilst it is impossible for your Ministers to fulfil their duties and frankly report the state of affairs, surrounded as they are everywhere by enemies and heretics who are always on the alert, it would not be bad if your Majesty should order, in addition to the general cipher in the hands of all Ministers for ordinary

1581.

correspondence, that three or four other ciphers for your Majesty's sole use should be distributed amongst the Ministers, and the evil of having only one cipher would thus be obviated. As it is now, directly a courier is rifled in France they understand, by means of a draft taken perhaps elsewhere, all that is written to your Majesty with regard to England, France, and Flanders, which they would not do if these ciphers were various. Another advantage of this would be that, if any of the clerks play false, they can be traced at once, which is not possible now, as they all write the same cipher which is in so many hands. It is of no importance that those who write to the Ministers in Italy and elsewhere should be so careful in writing the ciphers and keeping the papers, but if I or my people are not scrupulous great danger may result when the cipher we use is the same. I know how bold it is for me to write this and I humbly beg for pardon, but I am in a place where at this time affairs are of such importance in the service of God, that if the the Queen and her Councillors should imagine, much less hear, what was going on they would frustrate it, and I am therefore obliged to say this, and to send all my despatches in cipher.—London, 11th November 1581.

19 Nov. **166.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 97.

Your letters of 17th September and 1st October to hand. You did well to send the drawing of the diamonds, and the reports you had received from all parts, particularly about Don Antonio's departure. As he has gone to France, I expect you have not handed to the Queen the letters I wrote, since the reason for them has disappeared. You may still press for the restitution of Drake's plunder. If it has no other effect, it will make the merchants there understand that the Queen and her Councillors, for their own interests, imperil them with the loss of all Spanish trade, and this may cause them to maintain the attitude you desire. You will, in short, keep this complaint and others open with the Queen. With regard to your audiences, we can only leave the question to your discretion, as you are so well acquainted with the temper of those people.

You have done well in reporting the attempts of the heretics there to disseminate their hateful heresies here. Measures have been adopted to prevent this, and to punish those who may come with such an object. Your suggestion that Englishmen should not be allowed to lodge in the houses of their countrymen in Spain shall not be lost sight of.

It grieves me to learn how the Catholics are suffering there, without my being able to help them. Any demonstration in their favour which I might make at present would be sure to do them more harm than good, but you are doing well by secretly encouraging them and confirming them in their good purpose. You will continue to do this, and as soon as we get an answer from Rome (*i.e.*, about the English cardinals) it shall be communicated to you.

1581.

It was unfortunate for the archives at Ripplemond to be taken away, and as it will be very advantageous to have copies of as much as possible, you are directed to continue the negotiations with Antonio Rosa with this end, even though it be necessary to pay something for the transcripts, so long as it is not an excessive sum. You do well to report fully about Scotland, as it is most important that we should be well posted in this respect. As the marriage negotiations have fallen through so often, and Walsingham has returned from Paris without settling about the treaty, it is not likely that the fresh negotiations for the marriage, which you now advise, are not undertaken seriously with the intention of effecting it, but with some other object. Advise what this object can be, and all else you can learn about it.

I thank you for your good offices with the pilots and seamen who came to England in Alonso Mayo's ship, by which they were prevented from joining Don Antonio. Thank the captain also, if he still be there, for the spirit and loyalty with which he answered Don Antonio's message. Thank Antonio de Castillo for the writing sent through you to Don Juan de Idiaquez, which you did well in sending. An answer shall shortly be sent about Bodin. In the meanwhile keep him in hand.—Lisbon, 19th November 1581.

Postscript.—Since writing the above, your letters of 10th ultimo to hand, by which we learn that they were still deferring your audience. As you have told them you have a letter of mine for the Queen and intended to deliver to her my first letter about Don Antonio, notwithstanding his departure, we approve of your intention, although we say elsewhere that the reason for the letter has disappeared and we expected you would not use the letters. The reasons you give are satisfactory, and the step you propose to take may make the Queen more cautious in giving help to Don Antonio, even if it do not prevent her from doing so altogether.*

20 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 94.

167. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I am informed that Antonio Fogaza, a Portuguese merchant,† resident in London, who formerly opened a correspondence with officers of mine here and in Flanders, is in prison in London. He begs me to send him money and help to obtain his liberty, which, he says, he lost in my service. As we have no other information

* The above postscript is written in obedience to a long autograph note of the King's on the draft of the following letter, complaining that the draft in question is not sufficiently explicit on the point, and directing the postscript to be written in the above form.

† The King has run his pen through the word "merchant" in the draft, and has added the following marginal note:—"I am not aware that he is a merchant, but I "know that he managed Portuguese affairs in London, and was very well affected "towards my interests, which probably has got him into trouble there. Zayas will be "able to give you full particulars about him. It is only just that he should be helped, "and you had better write to Don Bernardino to that effect. I do not therefore sign "this letter. He ought to be helped also here (*i.e.* in Portugal), for I believe he has "served well and suffered much." The above letter was therefore not sent, but another written in the tone of the King's note much more favourable to Fogaza. This man's letters of advice and a full account of him will be found in Vol. 2 of this Calendar.

1581.

about the man and his services beyond what he himself writes, before adopting any decision in the matter I have thought well to request you to inquire what services Fogaza has rendered to us, and why he is in prison. Report all you can learn about him to me, and in the meanwhile help him so far as you can.—Lisbon, 20th November 1581.

20 Nov. **168.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 101.

As Juan Baptista de Tassis advises me that Alençon embarked at Boulogne on the 16th ultimo for England, I enjoin you to use great vigilance in learning his object, and if they again commence their plots against Flanders, as he is taking Aldegonde with him, or revive the negotiations for an alliance. Let me know also whether the Queen is in correspondence with Don Antonio, and if they are fitting out any ships. Report to me in full detail.

You can reply to the Queen of Scotland's letter to you, in which she thanks me for having, at her request, restored their pensions to certain Englishmen, that in the same way that I respected her wishes in this matter, I will accede to anything which I think may give her satisfaction.—Lisbon, 20th November 1581.

20 Nov. **169.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Alençon despatched the gentleman I said that he had delayed to inform his brother that he was satisfied with the Queen's pledges about the marriage, and that the King might therefore confidently send a person to settle the alliance which was discussed when Walsingham was in France, and in which, as I wrote on the 7th of September, the English were seeking to introduce fresh clauses, whilst the King has refused to concede a single point until the marriage was absolutely settled. Parliament has been prolonged until the 5th proximo, to give time for the King's reply to be received, and in the meanwhile the Queen has taken no other resolution about Alençon, who appears quite satisfied with her assurance, excepting to order the suspension of the preparations being made on the three ships I mentioned.

Some Englishmen judge that the prolongation of the Parliament is a pure artifice on the part of the Queen, in the certainty that the king of France will not conclude an alliance with her on the mere word of his brother that he is satisfied with her promises, and that, if Alençon thereupon asks her to fulfil her pledges, she will call Parliament together, which will certainly oppose the marriage; by which means she will shelter herself from carrying it into effect, without giving him any excuse for blaming her personally. This supposition is very plausible, as the Queen has always proceeded in the business in this underhand way, causing some of her Ministers to oppose it sometimes, and on other occasions, others. If she were really desirous of taking him for a husband, there would be no need for her to seek the consent of Parliament, as the second Parliament of her reign gave her such consent after her coronation, without the need of a fresh reference to them.

1581.

To this may be added that, although Hatton formerly professed so much attachment to Alençon, and sent a nephew of his who is in France learning the language, and whom he has adopted as his heir, to the relief of Cambrai, and even despatched twelve gentlemen from here to accompany him thither, he had not seen or spoken to Alençon until yesterday, when he entered the room where he was with the Queen witnessing the jousts. The French have murmured about this. The earl of Huntingdon, Leicester's brother-in-law, acted in the same way.*

Besides the Prince Dauphin, those who enter the palace with Alençon are Saint Aignan, Laval, Chateauroux, M. de Prunart, and Marchaumont.

He hears mass at eight in the morning, rising from his bed in shirt and dressing gown to hear it, and returning to bed afterwards. At 9 o'clock the Treasurer, Sussex, and Leicester usually visit him on behalf of the Queen. The ambassador accompanied him until recently when he went to see the Queen, but Alençon has told him not to do so unless he is ordered. The Queen has caused her house in London to be made ready that she may come there to-morrow, the better to entertain Alençon.

St. Aldegonde is pressing him very much to let him depart in company with M. d'Insi, and to send troops to help the rebel States. The only answer given to him hitherto is that it shall be discussed.—London, 20th November 1581.

20 Nov. **170.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Judging that, to obviate the results of Alençon's visit, nothing would be so effectual as to arouse the Queen's distrust of the French, in order to make the thing seem as substantial as possible, I decided to cause suspicion on Scotch affairs, and as I could not see her personally, I adopted the course described in my former letters. Since then I have received the despatch containing your Majesty's orders, and I gather from the steps I am now commanded to take that what I have already done will be very advantageous, as it will cause the Queen to show her hand, and we can then proceed with the circumspection which so important a matter demands. As I have not yet received any fresh reply from the Queen, and do not expect one until Beal returns from the queen of Scotland (except that she sent me through the Treasurer many thanks for my information), I can hardly say, at present, whether it will be advisable or not to adopt the course your Majesty directs, for the following reasons; first, the talk of the (French) alliance had not only cooled, but was almost at an end, although Alençon was endeavouring to renew it by the aid of the Queen's pledges to him. Since he came, although the Queen does not see me, she nevertheless hints that it will be advantageous to your Majesty's interests for me to ask for audience, her excuse being that she had promised me one before he came, and I had

* Note in the King's hand:—"This is unintelligible." The passage, however, is made clear by the introduction of a stop.

1581.

since given her this intelligence. Seeing, however, that she treated me so rudely and violently at the last audience, and coolly referred me to her Council in future, I fear that for me to go to her just now on such a feeble errand as this would only make her more haughty, under the impression that we were seeking her out of pure necessity, and that the fears I have always aroused in her of your Majesty's forces are groundless, whilst she drew the French on by saying that your Majesty was beseeching her. As the matter your Majesty commands, moreover, could only be approached with the Queen personally, I will lose no time in endeavouring to discover her tendency, and act in accordance therewith and the state of the French negotiations, with the object of diverting her from the alliance, handing her a fresh letter of credence if necessary. I have sent her, as a present, some gloves and needlework, with which the duchess of Alba provided me, of which things she is very fond, to soften her, if possible, with such a lenitive to hear me kindly as she used to do. I am doing all that is humanly possible with this end.

I repeat, therefore, that, until I see her and get a reply about Scotland, I cannot decide whether it will be well to take the step your Majesty orders. I cannot avoid pointing out to your Majesty that if, the first time I see her, I ask her point blank, in the event of her thinking the present alliances with your Majesty insufficient, to come to an understanding with me as to what she wants, according to my own poor judgment this course presents two important objections. First, I have constantly impressed upon her how advantageous to England the connection with the house of Burgundy had been, even in past times when the latter was much less powerful than at present, and said that, such being the case, she could judge how beneficial it would be to her to maintain it; but, notwithstanding this, she has never sincerely taken the hint, but has just said that it was very true, only that she did not trust your Majesty. I have replied that her own actions were the cause of the distrust, and that if she changed her course, her confidence would thereby be restored; and thus I have smoothed the way for her, showing that by avoiding future offence the old friendship could be re-soldered, but yet it never had the effect of softening her. I therefore had to change my tone and treat her with spirit, which has bridled her better than the other course would have done. The other objection I see to approaching her on the lines directed by your Majesty is that, as I wrote to your Majesty privately at the time, when I first arrived here Sussex promised to be instrumental in confirming the old alliances between the two Crowns, as he was in the Queen's confidence, if your Majesty, whilst ratifying old treaties, would enter into a new one with this country against the queen of Scotland, and they have frequently sounded me about it since. If the Queen is approached now about a confirmation of our alliance, I have no doubt that the first thing she will do will be to propose a league against the queen of Scotland, who is the person she fears most, in the belief that, on Catholic grounds, her claims will be supported by your Majesty

1581.

more warmly than by any other prince. This is the maxim which she and her heretic Ministers have set before themselves, and upon which they base their action in disturbing your Majesty on all hands, in order to prevent you from turning your attention to the conversion of this country. If, therefore, your Majesty is not prepared to concede this point to them, it would only confirm their suspicions to approach them with an offer to re-enact the old alliances alone. Whilst humbly craving pardon for my boldness, I beg to say that, unless there be some reason which I do not understand for taking this step formally, I am of opinion that, if the Queen should ask for some further security for the verbal professions of friendship on behalf of your Majesty, in exchange for reciprocal kindness on her part, she should be offered a rectification of the old treaties, which she and her Ministers say that your Majesty has refused ever since she acceded to the throne, although they have frequently requested it. By this means I can come to an agreement with her, if it be necessary to take the step, although moving always with a leaden foot and the plumb-line in hand, and we shall be aided by the fact that Don Antonio has left the country not too well satisfied. I understand the following are the objects to be aimed at in the negotiation. To dissuade her from a close intimacy with the French, and at the same time to prevent her from making any extraordinary effort in supporting your Majesty's rebels, whilst, if possible, ascertaining what course she would adopt in the event of a firm mutual friendship being proposed to her on your Majesty's behalf. If this step is to be taken it will be well to send me fresh letters of credence, and that the Queen should think that the offer is made to her in consequence of the intelligence I have sent to your Majesty on Scotch affairs.—London, 20th November 1581.

20 Nov. **171.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Roger Austin, whom, as I reported, this Queen had sent to Scotland, has now returned. In accordance with his instructions, he negotiated secretly with James Stewart, who has influence and is a great Puritan, to discredit the duke of Lennox with the King in consequence of their fear that he will restore in Scotland the holy Catholic faith by the aid of foreigners. He, Stewart, was warned how important the matter was to him, as he and those who thought like him would certainly at once be deprived of life and property, and the only remedy for it would be to try to put D'Aubigny out of the way. He replied that up to the present neither he nor anyone else could complain of D'Aubigny's proceedings, as he had in all things conformed to the religion and laws of the country, but if he acted contrary to this he, Stewart, and all his friends would take up arms to prevent a change of religion or the introduction of foreigners, and he at once bespoke the Queen's aid in such case.

Austin also took letters from Leicester to D'Aubigny, full of compliments, which have been answered in the same way, with pledges on both sides to use every effort to maintain friendship

1581.

between the two countries. Before this man came back the Queen sent two other persons on a similar errand, but the King gave orders that they were not to be allowed to cross the frontier, on the excuse that he was very busy with the parliament, but that they would be welcomed after the parliament was ended. This has caused these people some suspicion.

The King has given to this James (Stewart) the title of Earl of Arran, which belonged to the house of Hamilton, solely in consequence of his having been a great enemy of Morton, which ensured him the favour of the King and d'Aubigny. He formerly served Orange and the rebels in Holland as a captain of infantry. The Queen and Leicester take advantage of this, and of his being an obstinate heretic, to bind him to their interests.—London, 20th November 1581.

20 Nov. **172.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 2nd instant I sent a letter advising the details of Don Antonio's departure, and since then the only matter occupying attention here is that of France. It is true that a Portuguese accompanied Alençon to prompt him to persuade the Queen to help him according to agreement, but I cannot hear that anything has yet been discussed in the matter, nor that any decision has been adopted with regard to the granting of letters of marque by the man authorised by Don Antonio to do so. In the meanwhile he is looking after the realisation of some merchandise brought from Terceira, which had been stolen from your Majesty's subjects on its way from Santo Domingo.

I have used every effort with the Councillors to get them to order the warehousing of this merchandise, as the English themselves confess that it was stolen from Spaniards, to whom of right it should be surrendered. I am urging that it is not desirable for the Queen to acknowledge as fair prizes those things which are taken by your Majesty's rebellious subjects from their fellow subjects, or that she should allow such property to be sold in her country. I have supported this fully by pressing arguments in this case, as 20,000 crowns worth of sugar and ginger has been brought into the port of Lyme. I will duly advise your Majesty of the result of my efforts. Although they have promised me to issue orders for the retention of the goods, I am afraid that it will be only for the sake of appearances, as the property was brought in by a servant of Walsingham's, who is himself doubtless interested in it; but at all events, my action will discredit Don Antonio's affair with the public, even if it do not prevent any part of the property from falling into his hands, although it is not much of it that the English would allow to slip through theirs.

The ship from Flanders, which I said that Don Antonio's vessels had captured, was ordered by the Queen to be stopped at the Isle of Wight by my request, and the merchandise delivered to its respective owners, who are Portuguese resident in Antwerp. They have sent powers here, and their attorneys not being satisfied with

1581

what I had done, themselves went for the purpose of rescuing the goods without advising me. I have been unable to help this, but they have thus prevented me from getting the prize formally surrendered as your Majesty's dignity demanded.

I hear that the ships of Don Antonio sailed from the Isle of Wight a week ago, leaving only one to guard the prize I have mentioned. They have not revictualled, and there are no signs that they were undertaking a long voyage, unless indeed they mean to victual in France and join there with the ships which are being fitted out for him in that country.

A small ship arrived lately at Lyme, which had been sent by Drake to the island of Terceira. Captain William Thomas, who commands the Englishmen there, sends the report of which I now enclose translation. The two ships I mentioned previously have been for the last three days only awaiting fair weather to sail for Terceira with munitions which they have already on board.

I am informed that Don Antonio has written to Walsingham, saying that the king of France had received him very well and had granted him a regular pension for his maintenance, but that he (the king of France) had told him verbally that he did not wish him to stay in France under the name of king of Portugal, in order not to prejudice his mother's claim.* He does not make clear in his letters whether the King is giving any specific help in his enterprise.—London, 20th November 1581.

24 Nov. **173.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote in triplicate on the 20th, and on the following day Alençon and all his company displayed, not discontent alone, but entire disillusionment as to the marriage taking place. On the 22nd however, at eleven in the morning, the Queen and Alençon were walking together in a gallery, Leicester and Walsingham being present, when the French ambassador entered and said that he wished to write to his master, from whom he had received orders to hear from the Queen's own lips her intention with regard to marrying his brother. She replied, "You may write this to the King: that the duke of Alençon shall be my husband," and at the same moment she turned to Alençon and kissed him on the mouth, drawing a ring from her own hand and giving it to him as a pledge. Alençon gave her a ring of his in return, and shortly afterwards the Queen summoned the ladies and gentlemen from the presence chamber to the gallery, repeating to them in a loud voice, in Alençon's presence, what she had previously said.† Alençon and the French are all extremely overjoyed at this, and Alençon at once sent a gentleman to his brother with the news, whilst Marchaumont himself made ready to go.

* Catharine de Medici, for form's sake, was a claimant to the throne of Portugal, as the descendant of the King Alfonso III., by an alleged first and only legitimate marriage with Matilda Countess of Bologna. All the other claimants therefore, and all the sovereigns of Portugal since the time of Alfonso III., were alleged to have descended from a second and bigamous marriage of the King with his Queen Beatrix.

† This scene is also described in the "*Memoires du Duc de Nevers*," and by Camden.

1581.

The Queen sent to give an account of what had passed to the Treasurer who was in bed with the gout. When he received the message, two lords who were with him heard him reply, "Blessed "be the Lord that this business has at last reached a point where "the Queen on her part has done all she can: it is for the country "now alone to carry it out." From this it appears that the display she has made is after all only artful and conditional, because these lords are not experienced persons to whom Cecil would say such a thing without calculation. The news has now assumed such proportions that people in London consider the marriage as good as accomplished, and the French are of the same opinion. It is said that Parliament will be held on the 6th proximo, and the conditions will therein be approved, after which the marriage will take place publicly.

Notwithstanding all this, I cannot avoid saying that, according to my poor understanding, I am unable to look upon the matter as by any means concluded. I am moved to this view by the following reasons, which I think are of some force. By the way the Queen has conducted the negotiations for the last three years, during which, if she had really desired to marry, she would not have wasted time as she has done, nor would she have exerted herself so earnestly to prevent his, Alençon's, second visit hither. If, moreover, she had even now desired the marriage, there was nothing to have prevented her from taking the course she now has taken the same night as he arrived. Seeing there was no way of preventing his coming without giving him offence, and that since his arrival he was pressing her every day more urgently for a reply, without which he declared he would not leave the country, she rather prefers to let it appear that the failure of the negotiations is owing to the country and not to herself, as it is important for her to keep him attached to her, in order to counterbalance his brother, and prevent anything being arranged to her prejudice. By personally pledging herself in this way, she binds him to her, whilst at the same time causing a quarrel between Alençon and his brother, in consequence of the latter having refused the terms demanded by the English in exchange for the marriage, by which means the Queen will keep Alençon on her side.

During the many pros and cons which have passed in the business, the Queen has understood that the king of France would not agree to certain articles proposed to him with regard to breaking with your Majesty; and in order to conduct this business in the way she desires, she has instructed Cobham, since Alençon's arrival here, to again broach the subject to the king of France. He will no doubt have replied resolutely, and the ambassador will at once have informed the Queen, this doubtless being the secret despatch she received on the 21st, and this will have enabled her to make the display which she has done, the only effect of which, moreover, is to pledge herself personally to words and promises which she had already made to Alençon. In addition to this, Leicester's confidants assert, with more persistence than ever, that the marriage will not take place, from which it may be inferred

1581.

that the giving of the ring by the Queen to Alençon in the presence of Leicester and Walsingham, but without the knowledge of the most ardent advocates of the marriage, is only an artifice to draw Alençon on, and make him believe that the men who were most opposed to it are now openly in its favour. This is the present state of affairs. The clauses they demand from the king of France amount practically to a rupture with your Majesty, and I am trying my best to obtain a copy of them; in the meanwhile, however, I send this by special messenger to Paris to be forwarded from there in the same way by Juan Bautista de Tassis.

I have letters from the queen of Scotland dated the 6th, and from what she tells me, I am now fully confirmed in my suspicions, as she is extremely well informed as to what passes in this Court. She says that she was expecting Beal, the decision about sending whom to her was taken on the 2nd; and she also knew of Alençon's coming, assuring me that the real object was rather a league against your Majesty than marriage. She also understood that this Queen was annoyed at her associating her son with her in her rights, and at the way in which things were going in Scotland, which she, the queen of Scots, was determined to forward by every possible means, stopping at nothing, unless it appeared prejudicial to your Majesty. From the way in which she speaks of it, it is clear that the matter has been under discussion for a long time, and that she has not entered into it without an assurance of help from France. If this be the case, the queen of England cannot be so secure in that quarter as she thought, because, notwithstanding Alençon's presence here, the queen of Scotland goes on her way unswervingly.

The reason why the king (of Scots) ordered this Queen's envoys to remain on the Border, was because he understood that they were coming to ask him not to confiscate the earl of Angus' property. He is a nephew of Morton's, and the King wanted to get the matter done before the envoys arrived.

Don Antonio's seven ships, namely, three of his own and four pirates in his pay, returned on the 19th to the Isle of Wight, almost without victuals, and Don Antonio has sent fresh orders to Knollys to go to France and leave the ships in the charge of another man, but he has refused to do this. There are only four hundred men in all now with the ships, poor hungry fellows, and ill friends with the few Portuguese who were with them as officers. They were talking of sending two ships, of 100 and 80 tons, to Terceira, with the object of capturing some ships to provide them with food for maintenance. Certain captains have been approached here by the Council about raising troops to send to Terceira, but the number has not yet been decided.

The munitions which I mentioned in my former letters as being sent in the 80 ton ship from Lyme to Terceira, are 20 pieces of ordnance of cast iron, 15 quintals* each, the calibre of which

* A quintal is a hundred pounds avoirdupois.

1581.

will be six or eight pounds, and 24 barrels of powder. They are saying that if a number of ships were suddenly to leave England and France in Don Antonio's interest, they might capture the island of St. Michael's where they understand that your Majesty has no troops in garrison. This would make the submission of the rest of the islands the more difficult.—London, 24th November 1581.

4 Dec. **174.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 24th I sent a special courier by way of Paris, relating the circumstance of the Queen's giving a ring as a keepsake to Alençon. It appears that Hatton took this so much to heart that when he saw her he spoke with great boldness and many tears about it; saying in effect, that even if she herself wished to marry, she ought to consider the grief she would bring upon the country by doing so, not to mention what might happen to her personally if she married against the wish of her people, upon whose affection the security of her throne depended. This was a hint that she might be deposed. She suffered him to speak thus and answered him very tenderly. Subsequently Leicester, who was much disturbed at the confidence expressed by the French that the marriage would take place, asked the Queen, with reference to her having given the ring to Alençon, whether she was "a maid or a woman," to which she replied that she was a maid, as the condition upon which she gave the pledge would never be fulfilled. He told her that she had not acted wisely in carrying the matter so far and so ostentatiously. In consequence of this and what had passed with Hatton, the Queen agreed with Leicester that she would send a message to Alençon about it, saying that she had been thinking of the ring she had given him, and she was sure that if she married him she would not have long to live. He might see this for himself, as he was a witness of the dissatisfaction of the English people at her attachment to him, which attachment she hoped he did not wish to be fatal to her. For this reason she would be very glad if he would allow her to defer the matter, and there was nothing in her country she would refuse him, and she would be very much more attached to him as a friend even than if he were her husband.

She sent Walsingham with this message, to which Alençon replied with much gentleness that all he had said and done was to please the Queen, whose death not only did he not desire, but he would venture his own life to give her pleasure, as he had often done, and indeed was doing now, to save her from annoyance, by pressing his suit with less ardour at her request.

In the meanwhile Secretary Pinart arrived, after having been delayed some days in Calais by bad weather. The French say that he comes with a mission from the King to agree to all that is demanded of him, upon condition of his brother's marriage; although I find it difficult to think that the King of France can grant their terms, as I am told that not only does the Queen demand that he shall break with your Majesty, but that Calais shall be restored,

1581.

and an alliance entered into against the Queen of Scotland and her son.

She appointed as Commissioners, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, Sussex and Leicester, to discuss Pinart's mission. She told them that she had always desired to marry Alençon, in the belief that it would redound to the benefit and quietude of her realm, as she would then have the support and kinship of France; but on no account would she postpone the good of England to her personal inclinations, and they must therefore consider what was best to decide, and what answer should be given to Pinart, letting her know first what they thought. They replied three days ago, that if the marriage were accompanied by the benefits to England which she mentioned nothing could be better than that she should effect it, but they did not enter into details and were merely speaking generally. The only reply she gave was that it was well, and that they should hear what Pinart had to say, Parliament being prolonged until the 8th of January.

Pinart has been with them every day, but I have not heard of any decision, although the French are strongly pressing them for a prompt reply.

I will instantly advise your Majesty of what I hear, but this is the position at the present time. My confidant tells me that the Queen frequently sees Alençon alone,* but the French are getting disillusioned about the marriage. As to the alliance with France, I cannot do anything directly with the Queen as I do not see her, but I have by various means done my best to get an audience without appearing that I desire it whilst Alençon is here. I am working under hand amongst Catholics and others to increase the distrust which is generally entertained of the French. This is so great that Leicester has not seen Alençon since the matter of the ring, and has incited the London people to rise if the marriage is carried forward, the means adopted being to double the guards who are on duty at night to prevent tumult. By this means they are doubling the numbers of those who would raise a disturbance, as all the heretics are on his side, whilst the Catholics have greatly lost heart at seeing that Alençon has made not the slightest effort to induce the Queen to suspend the execution of those who had been condemned, and about whom I write in another letter. People of all sorts therefore are openly saying that no dependence can be placed upon the French. Whilst I was writing this, my confidant sent to say that the Commissioners met with Pinart again last night, the Admiral also being present, at the Queen's desire. After much pro and con the English offered to give a sum of money and a regular yearly pension to Alençon to carry through the enterprises he thought fit; whereupon the French had replied that if the marriage were not to take place all negotiations must cease. I have heard the same thing from other sources, and that the meeting broke up disunited,

* The "*Memoires du Duc de Nevers*" says the Queen detained Alençon at this time "*par de nouvelles démonstrations, accompagnées de baisers, privautés, caresses et mignardises ordinaires aux amants*."

1581.

Pinart requesting at last that a decision should be promptly given.* —London, 4th December 1581.

4 Dec. 175. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Of the Catholics whom, as I wrote, they had arrested, they have condemned this term 13 priests and one layman, three of them having been executed on the 1st instant in London,† amongst them being Campion of the Company of Jesus. They suffered martyrdom with invincible constancy, after the most atrocious torments, and their countenances whilst they were being dragged to the place shone like those of persons to whom God had given a crown for their faithful service. The rest of them are most firm,‡ and they will be martyred at the places where they were arrested. A printed statement has been issued here that they are not condemned for their religion, but for having plotted with the Pope to kill the Queen, and other like fictions to deceive the people.§ Knollys, the Treasurer of the Household and a Councillor, who is a great heretic, was present at the execution, and cried out that this was not a case of religion, but of treason, with respect to which, both at the trial and before their death, all the men said some holy words, asserting their innocence and pardoning their persecutors. Their martyrdom has greatly edified and confirmed all Catholics, whilst the heretics are confounded. There were three thousand horsemen and a great number of footmen present at the execution.

Persons of great intelligence and trustworthiness assure me that one of these priests, called Briant, whom I knew well, and who was a man of 26 or 28 years old, had, during his incarceration, been favoured by God with revelations, to strengthen him in the cruel torments he had to bear. Their last torment was deprivation of sleep and food, during the whole of which he replied, "if you can do no more than this I feel it not." When Campion was executed it was noticed that all his nails had been dragged out in the torture. The behaviour of all these priests has been so exemplary, and their firmness in suffering such fearful deaths has been so conspicuous, that they may be counted amongst the great martyrs of the Church of God. For Him to allow the Catholics

* Lorenzo Priuli, the Venetian ambassador in France, asked the Queen-mother for information as to the position of affairs at this time, and whether Alençon had returned the Queen's ring as was asserted. Catharine replied that the ring had not been returned, but that she did not attach much importance to it, as the mere giving of a ring did not constitute a serious engagement. She added:—"La reine Elisabeth est bien astucieuse "et mon fils bien jeune, il s'est laissé embarquer par elle dans cette aventure, malgré nos "réprésentations et nos conseils; on l'accable de fêtes; et il vient de m'écrire qu'il avait "encore de l'espoir ("Ambassadeurs vénitiens, Priuli')." Filza 12. Bibliotheque Nationale Paris.

† The three were Campion, Sherwin, and Briant.

‡ John Harte, one of them, wrote on 1st December to Walsingham, offering to become a spy upon Allen.

§ "A particular Declaration or testimony of the Undutifull and Traiterous Affection borne agaynst her Majestie by Edmund Campion and other condemned Priestes." Published by authority, London. A full account of these martyrdoms will be found in Allen's book "De Persecutione Anglicana," and Butler's "Historical Memoirs." *See also* "Elizabethan Religious History," by Soames.

1581.

to be so much afflicted again, and so much martyrs' blood to be spilt, is a sign that He will be pleased soon to convert the country. It is a proof that the Catholics that still remain here are firm indeed in their faith, for they do not look upon these glorious deaths as miracles to confirm them, but only as ordinary examples of their troubles, which they bear with so much patience. In order to catch the blood of those who are martyred, and to collect things which belonged to them, they expose themselves to great peril; and women especially are showing many signs of ardent faith and holy life. From one quarter of Campion which they placed on the gates of London, a finger has been taken, and these Councillors are making great efforts to investigate the case. God extricate them from their blindness.—London, 4th December 1581.

4 Dec. **176.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The idea of recruiting men for Terceira which I mentioned has quite cooled, in consequence of the English saying that they have not any hope of Don Antonio's paying them a single real, as he is in want of food himself in France, and the sailors in his ships are suffering so terribly from famine that they are running away as fast as they can. If it were not indeed in the hope of getting the ransom offered by the owners of the sugar ship captured by Knollys, I understand that he would have left the ships, as they are not now in a condition even to go out and plunder.

I am told that Vega, who was left here by Don Antonio, says that as Knollys would not go to France in obedience to his master's order, he, Don Antonio, would send Manuel de Silva to his three ships.

Under cover of a merchant I got the Court of Admiralty in the ordinary course to send a stop to Lyme for the sugar, ginger, and other merchandise, the stolen property of your Majesty's subjects which had been brought from Terceira thither. The object of this was to gain time and prevent the delivery of the goods to the factor of Don Antonio, the value of them being over 20,000 crowns. The Admiralty stop was sent to Lyme, but the officers there refused to make the arrest without special orders from the Council, to whom I addressed a statement of the case. They replied, through Walsingham, that the matter was an important one, as it involved the question as to whether the people of Terceira were justified or not in being at war with your Majesty. He said that with these French affairs on hand they had not time to decide so important a matter, but as soon as a full Council was held a decision should be sent to me. I understand that Walsingham, being interested in the case, has adopted this excuse in order that the property may be distributed.

The ship of 500 tons, which I said was fitting out at Plymouth with another, to go to the East Indies and Moluccas with Captain Frobisher, are now ready to sail.—London, 4th December 1581.

11 Dec. **177.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote to your Majesty the proposal which the Councillors had made to Pinart in the Queen's presence, and I learn that on the

1581.

following day they proposed amongst themselves that Alençon should be given 1,000 marks (of 26 reals* each) for three years, the king of France 100,000*l.* sterling, and the rebel States 80,000*l.*, in consideration of which sums they were to bind themselves to make war on your Majesty in the Netherlands; but if the king of France would not contribute a similar sum or enter into the arrangement, Alençon was to be given 200,000*l.* at once, and the marriage negotiations dropped, in consideration of the money he had spent on the relief of Cambrai at this Queen's request.

At the council Leicester undertook to answer that Alençon should be satisfied with the 200,000*l.*, which sum could be obtained easily without taking it all from the Queen's treasury by giving "privy seals" as had been done on other occasions. This means that the Queen asks for loans from individuals according to their wealth, for some months, which loans are afterwards repaid by treasury bills, and the "privy seals" withdrawn, the result of it being that it is almost a forced loan, as people cannot refuse, and it is hard to believe that so large a sum can be raised, unless they make use of Drake's plunder, or that the Queen will deprive herself of it.

When the Queen heard of this resolution, she made a show of great anger and annoyance, saying that her Councillors only thought of their own profit, wasting the substance of the country without reflection, and buying, under cover of her authority, that which suited them best. As Alençon thought fit to forget her in exchange for her money, she would neither marry him nor give him any money, and he might do the best he could. She sent at once for him, Alençon, and told him this very angrily, to which he replied in a similar way, and they parted very ill friends, although, so far as I can understand, it is all artifice, because since then she has suggested to the French, who think it very hard to be bound to break with your Majesty and lose Calais, and discontinue the Scotch alliance as well, that a condition of the marriage might be that the French were to break with your Majesty in connection with the Netherlands, the war being carried on by Alençon at his brother's expense, assistance being sent to him from here in the form of men. The Queen says that she gave him the ring on this condition, and has again confirmed it, desiring that Marchaumont should go to France to discuss it with the King and Queen-mother.

Some days ago they arrested here a legal gentleman, a terrible puritan, who vehemently persecutes all Catholics, and particularly priests, in whose martyred blood he has even gone to the length of washing their own hands. The cause of his arrest is that, being at supper with three other gentlemen, persons of position and property, he said that he was in negotiations with a lord at Court to raise the people of London in revolt against the marriage, and with the aid of the citizens to seize the advocates of the match, carry them to the Tower, Councillors though they were, and cut off their heads

* This was the silver real, worth about 5½*d.* each.

1581.

next day, referring the investigation of the case afterwards to Parliament. He said also that as they kept the queen of Scots a prisoner so could they keep Alençon. The three gentlemen informed the Treasurer and Sussex of this, and the man was summoned immediately before them, great pressure being brought to bear upon him to divulge the name of the lord he had spoken of. He refused to do so, and although they told him that his words alone amounted to high treason, they ordered him to be detained in a gentleman's house, as they fear that if they sent him to the Tower those whose instrument he was to raise London might get communication with him. They are understood to be the persons mentioned in my former letters,* with the addition of the earl of Huntingdon, who is now also openly condemning the marriage.—London, 11th December 1581.

11 Dec. **178.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In one of my recent letters I advised your Majesty of the steps I had taken with the Council with regard to the merchandise which came from Terceira, to which a reply had been sent through Walsingham, that the Queen declined to take upon herself the responsibility of declaring whether the war was just or not, but that as Terceira was in arms, orders should be given that the property should be deposited until the matter was duly investigated. Walsingham said that this would be done in the name of Dr. Lopez, in whose hands the property would be placed. I replied that, although the Queen said that she would not decide as to the justice of the war, it was quite clear that by placing the goods in the hands of Lopez she was actually taking such a decision, as he was the representative of Don Antonio, who was in rebellion against your Majesty. If the property, I said, came directly or indirectly into his hands, or those of any other representative of the rebel Portuguese, I should accept that fact as indicating the Queen's approbation of the war, and immediately advise your Majesty to that effect. Walsingham replied that the Council would again meet and consider my communication, the fact being that for his own interest he had been instrumental in having the goods warehoused in Lopez's name.

As it is most important to diminish Don Antonio's credit, and this would be largely effected by preventing this property from formally passing into his hands, or those of any of his people, I had the Judge of the Admiralty informed (he being the official who has to make the order) that I should not be sorry for the goods to be deposited in the name of some Englishman, my object being to prevent them from bringing anything else from Terceira, or Don Antonio getting hold of this property, without appearing to put the screw on too much. I will advise the result.

I hear that the Englishmen in Don Antonio's ships are extremely dissatisfied, and that Knollys has left them and gone ashore. It is

* Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham.

1581.

true that they were not strong enough to do anything very important, but still it would be advantageous to have the ships disarmed by formal order; and through third parties I have therefore got the Flushing people to complain here, that notwithstanding the kind treatment which they extended to English ships, Don Antonio's vessels had captured one of theirs. As I had also heard that they had stolen another ship in the port of Cowes, Isle of Wight, I sent to the Council to say that, as these ships in the pay of your Majesty's rebels had reached such a pitch that they captured property belonging to your subjects in the ports of England itself, (the ship in question having come from Andalusia) if the Queen did not immediately remedy such a state of things she must not be surprised that those people whom she regarded as rebels against her captured property belonging to her subjects in your Majesty's ports. Before sending this message I arranged for the London merchants to complain to the Council, that if Don Antonio's vessels remained there, the customs would greatly diminish and trade would fall off, as well as their own property being imperilled. I understand that the Council ordered that the ships which were now cruising under Don Antonio's authority should return to port, and if they failed to do so that two of the Queen's ships should be sent out to capture them. The answer they sent to me was to the effect that they had taken fitting steps in the matter as I should see by the result. I have tried to get this order published, and it is said already in France and Flanders that it will greatly diminish Don Antonio's following. Although my formal action in these matters is firm and spirited, in accordance with demands of your Majesty's dignity, I always try to gain my ends with these people underhandedly and to bring them round gently to the end desired. I hope that the order they have sent will not be merely a compliment, as the last ship that was captured they set free at once of their own accord.

The two ships which I mentioned were ready to go to the Moluccas, take four pinnaces and a brigantine made in quarters stowed in the holds, so they can launch them where they may need them.—London, 11th December 1581.

11 Dec. **179.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The clergyman who I said in my former letters was again to go to Scotland with another priest, writes to say that they have been extremely well received, and have even had converse with the King himself, to whom they gave some account of their mission. He accepted it extremely well, and said that although for certain reasons it was advisable for him to appear publicly in favour of the French, he assured him that in his heart he would rather be Spanish, which he, the envoy, might write to the Englishmen who sent him. Notwithstanding this, the priest did not entirely lay bare his mission until he quite satisfied himself of the sincerity of the King and his Ministers. He thought that he would be able to do this by Christmas, and would report the result immediately, so that they could then form an opinion as to the conversion of the King and

1581.

country. In the meanwhile he is pressing the personages with whom he communicates to expedite the sending of more priests thither.

With regard to this, I wrote to your Majesty that we had resolved to send Father Jasper (Heywood), of the Company of Jesus, to Scotland on this business, whilst the other (Persons) remained to assist Catholics here. Since then Jasper has been ill with sciatica and Persons has been declared a rebel by the Queen; and this has caused us to change the plan, as Persons cannot return to this country without great risk, although he was already waiting to embark; and if he were here he would now be unable to do anything, since any person who sheltered or conversed with him would be liable to punishment for high treason. We have therefore decided that Jasper shall remain here, as God endows him with grace to win many souls, whilst Persons should go to Scotland direct from France where he now is, with five or six priests who may be selected. Father Allen, whom this Queen has also declared to be a rebel, has been informed of this, and they have been told that although they may consider it advisable to send some Scotch priests, we think that in the present circumstances great inconvenience might arise from this, as being natives of the country they would probably proceed with greater zeal, which would certainly irritate the heretics, who would probably take up arms, and this would be very prejudicial. With this view, it would be better that all the priests sent should be Englishmen, whose arrival there would not cause suspicion to the heretics, that they were coming to forward other ends under cloak of religion, as they have nothing to gain from any change in the country. If, on the other hand, they were native Scotchmen a different opinion might be formed. The Queen of Scotland's ambassador in France must not be informed, nor must people in France be allowed to suspect that any Minister of your Majesty is interested in the matter as such a suspicion might be injurious. The French must think that there is no hope entertained of special aid being given by your Majesty, except in so far as is dictated by general sympathy in matters of the true faith; whilst for State reasons Scotsmen themselves must be treated with great caution.

So far as can be seen this business is proceeding most hopefully, under God's protection, for whilst these two priests were on the English border one night a great search was made in every house in the neighbourhood by order of the Queen, who had been informed that some such Englishman would endeavour to go thither; but God ordained that they should escape, almost by a miracle.

Thomas Tresham, whose son is the heir to the marquisate of Northampton, and William Tresham his brother, were the first people to broach this subject, and it is with them that I deal, in addition to the priests who have the matter in hand. Although Thomas Tresham is a prisoner, I am in constant communication with him by means of priests. He and all his family are strong Catholics, and he is extremely prudent and circumspect in his

1581.

actions. Notwithstanding the torture by which they sought to extract from the martyrs declarations of the persons with whom they were in communication, they were unable to obtain them, and I cannot exaggerate the beneficial effect that this has had, and the confidence that it has inspired in all sorts of people to reconcile and convert them to the Catholic faith, as before they saw this firmness in refusing to divulge the names of their friends, the English were shy of attaching themselves to the cause.

The Scots Parliament has closed without adopting any important resolution, excepting to confirm the new titles given and the filling of certain offices, the earl of Angus having been proclaimed a rebel, much to the sorrow of this Queen and her Ministers, who thus see most of their friends undone. I am told that a person who had been secretly sent to Scotland by the Treasurer has returned, reporting how entirely ruined was Morton's party, and most of those upon whom the English depended, whilst all the Ministers (of Scotland) were changing their religion without making much display of it; whereupon Cecil said, "Now, indeed, may we say that that country is really lost." Beal arrived yesterday from the queen of Scotland, but I have not been able to hear what news he brings,* only that since his arrival Alençon's departure is being whispered about, and whilst I was writing this I heard that the Admiral had ordered the summoning of the captains of the Queen's ships, two of which ships are to be got ready to convey him across.

Couriers and gentlemen are arriving every day from the viceroy of Ireland, all of whom bring news of the great famine and distress of the Queen's people, whilst the insurgents are strong. I do not know that anything is being done in the way of sending reinforcements.—London, 11th December 1581.

11 Dec. **180.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After writing the three accompanying letters, I heard that on Beal's arrival the Queen ordered seven of her ships to be fitted out, and the summoning of her captains was in consequence of this; although it was said at the time that only two ships would be fitted for the purpose of conveying Alençon across, but it is impossible that all these ships can be for that purpose.† I will report what I can learn about it, but I hear that Beal is discontented with the queen of Scotland's behaviour.

Advices come from Ireland that the Viceroy had ordered fifteen gentlemen to be beheaded, kinsmen of the principal people in the country.‡ This was done in the English pale, as they call the country under the Queen's rule, in consequence of a plot to seize

* Particulars of Beal's proceedings in this matter will be found in the Marquis of Salisbury's papers (Historical MSS. Com., Part 2), and in Beal's own documents now in the possession of Lord Calthorpe.

† In the King's hand: "Perhaps they are for Don Antonio or Terceira.

‡ In the King's hand: "It is a pity that nothing of this sort succeeds, and that those who try their best always suffer the penalty."

1581.

Dublin, and murder the Viceroy and his English garrison whilst liberating the Irish prisoners there. One of the accomplices divulged the plot, and has been knighted by the Viceroy in recompense for his services. They also write that Desmond and the insurgents were in better case than ever, whilst the Queen's garrisons were suffering great privations. The garrisons themselves are short, as many of the troops have deserted from sheer famine.—London, 11th December 1581.

14 Dec. **181.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Although the constant changing resolutions of these people make it necessary that your Majesty's Minister should be discreet enough to avoid conveying them all to your Majesty, yet things are in such a condition now that I am obliged to write every instant. In one of the four letters I wrote in triplicate on the 11th, I reported that the Queen had ordered seven of her ships to be fitted out, but this has now been partly changed. Last night all the captains and mates who were in London were called out of their beds and ordered to set out at once, under pain of death, to be on board three ships belonging to the Queen, to leave Rochester to-morrow. The sending out of so many captains and mates, who are the best mariners in the kingdom, in default of whom they would hardly have a man fit to conduct a ship; with victuals enough only for a month, would seem to indicate that their mission must be to convey some personage across. Many people think that it will be Alençon, because so much ceremony would not be made for the passage of the prince Dauphin, who is said to be going. Others think that the Queen-mother may be coming over, but this is not probable, as the marriage is not now pending. Since I wrote last, Alençon again pressed the Queen for an answer, in order that he might advise his brother thereof, and in addition to the demands which I have already mentioned, she then brought forward a new one, to the effect that the English seminary at Rheims should be abolished. Alençon asked her whether she would give him her word to marry him if his brother agreed to this and the other conditions; whereupon she replied, that even then she should have to think whether it was advisable for her to change her state. Alençon asked her to send some person to discuss these conditions with his brother, but she said that it was for him to do that. This reply has delayed Pinart who was ready to leave here. 20,000 crowns have arrived for Alençon in the last two days, part of which was plunder.—London, 14th December 1581.

17 Dec. **182.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On both occasions when he came to this country, Antonio Fogaza has helped me in your Majesty's interests as I reported years ago. They captured him here on an occasion when he was being sent by Antonio de Castillo in the time of the Governors in Portugal, he bearing a passport from this Queen, which had been

1581.

obtained by Antonio de Castillo for him. As he avoided the ordinary road for his embarkation, the officers at the port suspected him, and detained him, examining the letters which he carried. With them they found minutes of letters which for many years past he had written to your Majesty's Ministers and to Portugal,* in consequence of which they brought him to London and put him in the Tower, immediately returning to Antonio de Castillo the packet which he carried from him; and although they very carefully sought for some letter of mine, they found none, as I did not even know of his departure.

He has been in the Tower for nearly two years, where they put him under torture at first two or three times, to make him declare with whom he was in communication. He accused no one, however, and as he is very old I imagine the Queen would release him. I have avoided mentioning the matter hitherto, because at the time of his arrest he was not a subject of your Majesty, and I was sure, moreover, that the moment I spoke about it they would want me to pay the expense of his keep in the Tower, which amounts to 400 crowns, as they did in the case of Antonio de Guaras; as well as some money that he owes to other persons, who have lent it him on his representation that he was serving your Majesty here, and needed it for his maintenance, and to send despatches. He told me that he had sent his account many times to Secretary Zayas; and I understand that these debts, besides the expenses in the Tower, reach 1,200 crowns. His services have been such as to deserve that your Majesty should order him to be given money to pay this, and I humbly beg you to give him this charity, in order that he may leave this country, and die at home as a good Catholic. Antonio de Castillo and I, on the occasion of his taking leave of the Queen, will beg for this man's release.—London, 17th December 1581.

17 Dec. **183.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since my last I learn that the three Queen's ships which were being fitted out are to carry Alençon across, his departure having been decided upon after the surrender of Tournai, in the fear that other towns might follow suit; and he is therefore to go to Dunkirk in these ships to encourage the rebel States, and accept their oath of allegiance, as promised. He is to try, by any means, to get possession of the country and to introduce Frenchmen therein. I even fear that he may go to Flushing, for which reason I have had heretics and Flemings here secretly warned to write to that effect to their compatriots there and at Antwerp. I also send a special despatch reporting everything to the prince of Parma.

The Queen adopted this resolution on the 14th, and ordered the Lord Chancellor to put it in writing under the Great Seal; whilst

* These drafts are now in the Cotton MSS. at the British Museum, and are summarised in the second volume of the present Calendar.

1581.

with a profusion of tears and sighs, she was begging Alençon not to go; and if he did so, to assure her that he would soon come back again. They tell me that he replied that, if she would give him her unconditional promise to marry him, he would come back, but not otherwise. She replied to this, that it was not at present possible for her to give such a promise. I suspect that he has seized this opportunity for leaving here, and that both the Queen's tears and his tender regrets are equally fictitious and feigned; the object being that he should not delay his departure, he having refused to discuss any other subject unless the marriage was settled first. The result of it is that he is leaving without either money or an alliance.

The Admiral has left for Dover to convey Alençon across, and I am told that the Queen will accompany him as far as Cobham House at Gravesend, if she do not go as far as Dover. Notwithstanding all this, the French are dissatisfied.

The French ambassador has sent to tell me that the marriage would not be good either for the Queen or Alençon, which he did not declare before. I will report what happens; at present Alençon's departure is arranged within the next two days.

The Queen was asked whether she would give a passport for the duke of Guise to go through England to Scotland. She replied that, if he did not take more than 40 horsemen with him, he could come. She had a hasty post from Berwick last night, saying that Guise had come by sea. They believe this, but it is very improbable, and some other Frenchman doubtless will have arrived whom they have christened with the name of the man they fear the most in that direction.

Dr. Allen writes to me from Rheims that, although he is giving an account of the Scotch affairs to his Holiness, it will be very advisable that I should do the same, so that greater pressure may be placed upon him to act in the matter, and order the General of the Jesuits to appoint fitting persons for the task. I have written to the abbot Briceño, advising him of everything, so that he may, in conformity with your Majesty's instructions, give an account of what may be advisable.—London, 17th December 1581.

18 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1447. 106.

184. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Letters of 29th October, 2nd, 7th, and 11th November received. Many thanks for important intelligence contained therein about matters still pending, results of which we hope to learn in your next letters. They write from France, positively asserting that Alençon's marriage with the Queen will take place; but however much they may affirm it, I am loath to believe it, in the absence of a special courier from you with the news, seeing the great difference of opinion you report on the subject. If it has taken place I hope you will have sent me a full report of the conditions imposed by the English, both as regards religion and the government, and also whether the King of France has intervened, and all else you can learn.

1581.

Your action with the Queen and Councillors with the view of your staying there was wise, as also was that directed against the Queen's allowing her subjects to accept letters of marque from Don Antonio against mine. You are doing well also in keeping alive the fears of the merchants of injury to themselves if Drake's plunder be not restored. Keep on this course, as it may cause them to insist upon the Queen and Councillors making amends.

I note what the queen of Scotland writes to you, saying that she has associated her son's name with her own in the government of the country, and your reply thereto. Continue to assure her of my goodwill towards her and her son, and thus keep her well disposed towards my interest, and press upon her the great desirability of her son's submitting to the Catholic Church, in order that God may favour him and we all may be better able to help him.

Although of itself this association with her son does not appear to be objectionable, yet as it has been put forward by the French, it must be considered whether they have not some secret object of their own. You will investigate and carefully consider what this may be.

The step you took with Cecil in connection with this matter, for the purpose of arousing the suspicions of the Queen and Council against the French, was not bad, as Alençon was there at the time and the marriage negotiations so warm, and it might serve to cool them somewhat, which we were otherwise powerless to do. For this purpose it was useful, but as soon as the reason has disappeared it would be highly inconvenient for the queen of Scotland to learn that she was being embarrassed by any action of yours, and I doubt not you will have taken care to foresee and remove this cause of complaint by not repeating the step further than it may be needful to do.

You did well in writing to the queen (of Scotland) yourself about it and satisfying her.

Your remarks about Aldegonde's assertion respecting the cipher used in my despatches, and your suggestions for greater secrecy, are noted with approval. Your proposal that a special cipher should be given to each minister who left here has been adopted for some time past, and in this special cipher the minister writes to me alone, the general cipher being used for correspondence of one minister with another. As you say, truly, you in your present position need a private cipher more than any other minister, and a new one shall be sent to you.

If when the summer approaches, or as a consequence of Alençon's visit, they should begin to fit out more ships to help Don Antonio, or for any other purpose prejudicial to me, you will use the utmost vigilance in reporting it, so that, if possible, we may get the news in time to take the necessary counter-measures, which we can do if we know where the blow is to fall; as I have ordered fleets to be made ready to go wherever they may be required.—Lisbon, 18th December 1581.

1581.

18 Dec. **185.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447. 110.

Your letters of 20th October received. I thank you for giving me so full an account of your audience with the Queen at Richmond. Your remark that it will be advisable for you to leave, and that in order not to lose touch of affairs there, a person should be sent under the pretext of Drake's robbery, with powers and instructions to act in that matter, has been favourably regarded, and we will be on the look-out for a fitting person to send, when we shall have received your report as to the effect produced by the last letter from me which you say you gave to the Queen. No final decision can be taken until we know what orders she has given to Drake, whom, it would appear, she had summoned in consequence of that letter, notwithstanding the violence of your interview with her. Until we are able to decide what is to be done, we urge you to exert your usual dexterity to keep your footing there, with due dignity and authority. During this time you will continue to aid and encourage the Catholics who are endeavouring to open up an understanding in Scotland. I am glad the priest who went thither got such a good reception, and is so hopeful of being able successfully to preach our holy faith. I approve of all you have done in this respect with Fathers Persons and Jasper, and I have ordered a credit of 2,000 crowns to be sent to you, to provide for those who go thither, as they may need it. You will constantly keep me informed of what I can do to help them, in the assurance that I will do it, as you may inform them.

In order the better to forward so holy a work, you will consider whether it will be advisable to put yourself into communication with the queen of Scotland on the subject and seek her aid in it, as she desires so much to see her son converted. Perhaps, on the other hand, this course would make the matter prematurely known. You will act as you think best, with care and vigilance. The news you send about Alençon, Don Antonio, and armaments in England, and the coast of Normandy are useful, and should be sent frequently and in full detail. Let me know also if you learn anything more about the timber the English have contracted to take to Barbary for the building of galleys; giving me particulars of the terms of the contract, the parties concerned, the ports they are going to, and when they are to sail.—Lisbon, 18th December 1581.

25 Dec. **186.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 19th and 20th the barges were ready for Alençon's departure; some of the Frenchmen and the baggage having already started. The supper for the Queen and him was all prepared at Cobham, when a strong north-east gale sprang up, and has been blowing ever since. This being against the crossing, he has been delayed, and in the meanwhile letters came to him from France, about which he has conferred with the Queen, who had been

1581.

anxious to expedite his departure in view of Flemish affairs. Although she displayed grief publicly at his departure, I understand that in her own chamber she danced for very joy at getting rid of him, as she desired of all things to get him away from here. Whilst he was being detained by contrary weather he told the Queen that he could not help feeling hurt that she had been so ready to let him go, knowing as she must how much he was attached to her; but he could see by this how luke-warm was her love for him, and that his presence tired her, since she was ready to send him away rather in public disgrace than private satisfaction. The Queen with a hundred thousand false words and oaths assured him of her affection for him, and said that she had only been brought to allow his departure in order to give him pleasure, and not for her own gratification, since his departure was unnecessarily hasty. Alençon replied to this, "No, no, Madam, you are mine, as "I can prove by letters and words you have written to me; "confirmed by the gift of the ring, of which I have sent intelli- "gence to the King my brother, my mother, and the Princes of "France, all those who were present at our interviews being ready to "bear testimony. If I cannot get you for my wife by fair means "and affection I must do so by force, for I will not leave this "country without you." The Queen was perturbed at these words, and replied that she had never written anything that she could not justify, and she did not care what interpretation people chose to put upon her letters as she knew her own intention better than anyone else could; and as for the ring, it was only a pledge of perpetual friendship and of a conditional contract, dependent upon his brother the King acceding to her conditions, which she was quite sure he never would do. She protested, finally, that she was entirely free from any matrimonial engagements, and, on the contrary, was desirous of remaining in her present state, until she could at all events overcome her natural hatred to marriage; but she assured him, notwithstanding this, that there was nothing that she desired more than that he should stay in this country as her brother and friend, for mutual good companionship, but not as her husband. Many words passed about this, the end of which was that after the holidays they would discuss what money should be given to him.

As the Queen saw this unexpected change in Alençon, and at the same time received news from the Ambassador Cobham that the king of France would not be sorry for his brother to be delayed here, she called the Lord Treasurer and repeated to him what had passed, directing him to endeavour, with the greatest discretion and moderation, to represent to Alençon how important his presence was in Flanders, and how evident was the danger that they (the States) would submit to your Majesty unless he were there to prevent it. Cecil, by this means, was to urge him to depart, whilst she undertook to feed him with hopes that he should take some money with him.

When the Queen had done this, she sent secretly for Simier, who apparently for a long time she has had in her interest, and has

1581.

been entertaining here.* To him she complained greatly of the annoyance she felt at Alençon's pressing her so closely, saying that she could not get rid of him without danger, or entertain him further without inconvenience. Simier† advised her that if she was not willing to marry, she should stand firm in the conditions which she was demanding from the king of France, and that she should insist upon their being granted before the settlement of the marriage. The Queen repeated to him the conditions she had proposed, (which I have already written to your Majesty), and said that it was not to be imagined that the King would consent to declare war against your Majesty, unless she undertook to contribute to the cost. This would give her an excuse to publicly negotiate for a confirmation of her old alliance with the House of Burgundy, whereupon she doubted not that the King would break off the negotiations, and recall Alençon. Simier replied that she must not depend upon this, because the king of France well knew the evil inclination of his brother, his inconstancy in religion, and his readiness to encourage faction, and he might well grant her terms in order to get rid of his brother out of the country, and set him free to encourage sedition elsewhere rather than in France, and thus put a stop to the civil war which England had kept alive for so many years. The Queen replied, "Do not think that the "King will grant these terms; but even if he do, I shall find a "road out of it. You may see how Alençon loves me by a very "good thing I will tell you in strict secrecy. On the 22nd, he "asked me at least to let him have some money to maintain the "war in Flanders, which he said he had begun for my sake, and "that I should thus recompense him for the affront of my refusing "to marry him. As I found no other convenient way of getting "rid of him, I offered him a considerable sum per month, the first "payment of which I promised to assure at once. This has so "much brightened him up that you would not know him, if you "saw him, but as soon as he is across the sea, I will assure him "that my Council will not agree to the arrangement, on the ground "that my country cannot, without unduly weakening itself, "contribute so large a sum and the people would not allow it." This was the more evident as it might be inferred that Alençon's object in getting so much treasure from England was to reduce the country to impotence (this being one of the reasons which were set forth in the Council when Alençon arrived) and that there was no

* Simier, always in high favour with the Queen, had been driven from the service of Alençon by the deadly rivalry of Balagny (the natural son of Monluc, bishop of Valence), and Fervaques. He was really in England at the time for the purpose of keeping the king of France secretly informed of the inner working of the Queen's mind, which Simier's extraordinary familiarity with her enabled him to do. His ostensible reason for coming was to challenge Fervaques. The latter arranged with Leicester once again to attempt to have Simier murdered. He was attacked by assassins on the Exchange but escaped, and the Queen was so enraged with Leicester as to tell him that he was a murderous poltroon who was only fit to be hanged.

† In the King's hand:—"I either do not know, or do not recollect, who this is. He must be a Frenchman." The King's forgetfulness of Alençon's former favourite and Leicester's temporary rival perhaps arises from the fact that in this letter his name is mis-spelt Simcy.

1581.

better way for Alençon to attenuate the strength of England than to get money under cover of its being to the advantage of this country to maintain the war in the Netherlands. She said that money was the sinew of warfare, for it was certain, as the world went now, that no one need want soldiers who had money to pay for them. Cecil is of opinion, therefore, that if any money is given to Alençon it should be very little, and that the Queen should not divest herself of what she has. She dwelt at length with Simier on the point, and the colloquy ended with great merriment as they said that Alençon was a fine gallant to sell his lady for money.

I am informed that since the return of Beal from the queen of Scotland with his report of her good reception of him, the Queen discussed the matter with Alençon, complaining of the Guises, of whom Alençon used the most shameful and dishonourable language, so much so that the Queen showed him a letter she had written to his brother the King, complaining of them (the Guises) in the most vituperative and abusive words. Alençon wanted the Queen to moderate it somewhat, in order that the Guises might not think that he had incited her to write thus, but he did not dare to press the matter upon her, for fear that she might think that his own expressions were feigned. And so the letter was sent to the King.

Alençon has been pressing the Queen greatly to send Simier away, but she has excused herself by saying that it was not well to expel any one from the country, especially a stranger, who had come hither to justify himself with regard to his behaviour in the marriage negotiations, which she could testify he had managed better than anyone else. Alençon had thereupon sent to tell Simier that, if he considered himself still in his service, he must instantly leave England. Simier replied that, although he had been his servant, he was not so now, and that until he had given a good account of himself, and all the world had acknowledged that he was innocent of the charges made against him, he would not budge from the country; whereupon Alençon became more angry than before, and again pressed the Queen to expel him.

The Treasurer continues his efforts to expedite Alençon's departure, and I understand that, as another reason for hastening him, they have represented how expensive it will be for him to stay here over New Year's Day, by reason of the presents he will have to give, according to the custom of the country. I cannot say, however, precisely, the day that he will leave, as it depends upon the instability of the Queen and Alençon; nor can I assert whether his going to Flanders will be carried through, but it is quite evident that all Englishmen were greatly rejoiced at seeing him ready to go, and they brought the ships to the mouth of the river to take him over, almost dead against the wind.

Lord Harry Howard, the brother of the duke of Norfolk, I have known by repute for years past, by means of priests, as a good Catholic, who, since his reconciliation with the Church, has performed all his duties as such. He was therefore desirous of bringing about the marriage, as he believed, like many others, that

1581.

it would result in their being allowed freedom for their faith. On hearing that the earl of Oxford (Hertford?) had accused him and Francis Arundel of submitting to the Roman Church, and that the Queen had ordered them both secretly to be arrested, they came to my house at midnight, although I had never spoken to them, and told me that they had been warned of their danger by a Councillor, a friend of Lord Harry's. They had been in close communication with the French ambassador, but they did not dare to trust him at this juncture, and feared that they would be taken to the Tower and their lives be sacrificed. They therefore came to me in their peril, and asked me to hide them and save their lives. As they were Catholics, I detained them without anyone in the house knowing of it, excepting one servant, until their friend the Councillor informed them that they would only be placed under arrest in a gentleman's house, whereupon they immediately showed themselves in public. In his gratitude for my kindness in sheltering him, Lord Harry has expressed to me most emphatically that all that he has is at your Majesty's service, thus showing his acknowledgment for the favour I did him, which is no small novelty for an Englishman to do. He has very good parts and understanding, and is friendly with the ladies of the privy chamber, who tell him exactly what passes indoors. He is extremely intimate also with Sussex, and as he is so pressing in his desire to serve your Majesty, I have thought fit to represent it to you.—London, 25th December 1581.

25 Dec. **187.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

When the order I mentioned in former letters was sent to Don Antonio's ships by the Queen, nearly all the mariners and soldiers left them, glad of the opportunity, in consequence of the hunger by which they were pressed. The captains alone remained, as they wrote to the Council, in order not to abandon the ships until they knew who had to pay them the wages that were due. The Council sent a new order for all of the pirates bearing Don Antonio's letters of marque to enter port at once, under heavy penalties, and for the captains to put into port all the ships which Don Antonio had bought, on the sale of which the wages due should be paid to them out of the proceeds. I understand that when this second order arrived, two of Don Antonio's ships were at sea, and I do not know, therefore, how they will obey it; but as the three have not sailed together, and have not taken fresh victuals, it is to be expected that they will only go to the mouth of the Channel to plunder. If they do not capture a ship with plenty of victuals on board, they must soon return to port. I have also had the pirates in his pay incited to claim their wages out of the proceeds of the sale of the ships, and I am told now that all the pirate ships have returned to the ports.

The Council met to consider the reply I sent, as advised on the 11th December, respecting the property brought from Terceira. Some of them were of opinion that it should not be deposited in the hands of Dr. Lopez, but should be entrusted to some Englishman;

1581.

but Leicester and Walsingham, who are interested in it, represented that the Queen had already given the order, and those who opposed it were consequently silenced. Although, to prevent anything from falling into the hands of Don Antonio, I have advocated the appropriation of this property at a very low price by the Queen's officers, to be used in her own household, in order to decrease the amount recoverable, Leicester and Walsingham have managed to get the embargo raised, so that Walsingham himself might the better get his finger into it. I understand Don Antonio will obtain very little indeed for his share, but, little as it may be, Lopez and a brother of his will keep it, on the ground that they have guaranteed certain sums for him on account of the purchase of ships. Although virtually we have succeeded in the main design, namely, to prevent Don Antonio from benefiting, I said that I would report to your Majesty the declaration which this carried with it, of the Queen's approbation of the war. I think of telling her this, as I am assured that she knows nothing about it, and that it is all a trick of the men I have mentioned. This will have the effect of bridling them somewhat for the future.

Francisco Antonio de Souza, Don Antonio's secretary, who came with the French consul in Lisbon, I understand brought the letter to prevail upon Alençon to intercede with the Queen to allow Don Antonio's ships to go to France. He has also conferred with merchants, who have some jewels of Don Antonio's pledged for 5,000*l.*, to get them to send the jewels to Flanders in the Queen's ships that are going, insuring them, for which three per cent. will be paid, and undertaking that, on their arrival at Antwerp, the loan should be repaid to the person who delivered the jewels. They have refused the proposal, and I am told that Souza is about to go to Antwerp, having been closeted with Alençon lately for more than an hour.

Six hundred Englishmen have lately slipped over from Dover and Sandwich to Holland, with the intention of reinforcing the standards of Colonel Norris, who writes to the Queen that Verdugo was pressing them so closely in Friesland, that they must abandon that province and take refuge in Gueldres.

At the conclusion of the last Parliament in Scotland it was prorogued in order to settle some pending matters in a few days. Amongst these, was the renewal of the statute forbidding people to leave the kingdom without the King's license, or to exercise, out of the country, any other religion than the national one. If anyone returning from abroad was proved to have heard mass, he was condemned to loss of property for the first offence, and loss of life for the second. They have spread the news here in a different sense, saying that it only referred to people in Scotland, and also that d'Aubigny was in such disgrace with the King that he was trying to escape, which is a lie and contrary to all advices. When they proposed in Parliament to allow disputations respecting the Catholic religion, the King said that it was a matter that should be considered, but was not then to be discussed.

1581.

When the French commissioners came hither there arrived within a few days a Baron Gaspard de Schomberg who is a vassal of the duke of Guise, eldest son of his Lieutenant-General, and a brother-in-law of Gaspard Schomberg (?), a Colonel of German infantry, and a Marshal of the king of France. He usually associates with Frenchmen, but he sought an opportunity for an interview with me, saying that as he had come to see this country, and was a Catholic, having served the Emperor Maximilan in Poland, and was a devoted adherent of the House of Austria, he wished to know whether he could be of any service to your Majesty. I thanked him as I thought appropriate, and he afterwards fell ill, which kept him here until the duke of Alençon arrived, and the latter has been approaching him through Marchaumont, and Hans Schornau the Swiss captain of Alençon's guard, as to whether he would raise troops to serve in the Netherlands, in which case they would give him the same entertainment that the king of France gave to his brother-in-law. He replied that, until he had made up his mind as to whether he would serve a prince, he was not the man to enter into discussions as to the conditions under which he should serve. He had served King Charles, his brother, and brought troops to France, but he never thought under any prince to bear arms against the House of Austria, and above all, against your Majesty. He advised me of this, saying that I should no doubt hear of it through other channels, and as he was now about to leave for Germany, he asked me to write to the Archduke Ferdinand, who knew him, telling him how he had behaved here. He also said that if it was important to have the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg on your Majesty's side, he had means of arranging it if your Majesty would deign to employ him in the matter, which he said your Majesty's minister in Germany would understand, and would say more about his abilities than he cared to do. I promised him the letter for the Archduke, which was conceived in general terms, but said that the other matters were not in my province. So far as I can judge, he is a manly soldier, and speaks many languages, very much more perfectly than Germans usually do.

It is said that Alençon has received from his brother in cash and bills here 80,000 crowns; but the truth is that it is only the 20,000 of which I wrote, and which have been paid by merchants here. He has begun to buy some jewels of them, and three days ago a courier brought him some jewels from France to give as presents. All the money he had spent previously was that which St. Aldegonde brought him. He sent the Swiss captain Schornau to Germany a few days ago to raise troops.

The rebel States have sent to ask him to take measures to prevent the Frenchmen stationed between Bruges and Antwerp from committing such great disorder, as the country cannot endure them. They say that the Ghent people, as soon as Orange left, detained the States and Council, without allowing them to depart.—London 25th December 1581.

1581.
25 Dec. **188.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The Councillors usually resident at Court met to discuss what has passed between the Queen and Alençon, as related in another letter herewith. They resolved that they had given their opinion so often that they had nothing more to say about it. The Treasurer proposed that it would, under the circumstances, be advisable to seek the friendship of your Majesty; tranquillising affairs in the Netherlands and confirming the alliance with your Majesty. The object of this was to sound the other councillors on the subject. The Lord Chancellor approved of the idea, as did also the Admiral and Sir James Crofts, the controller, all of whom agreed with Cecil, whilst Leicester, Hatton, Knollys, the treasurer of the Household, and Walsingham, were of a different opinion, and affirmed that nothing would suit them so well as to make a supreme effort to trouble and disturb you on all hands. Sussex only remarked that it was a subject for deep consideration, as looking at the circumstances, both here and in the Netherlands, your Majesty and your Councillors were not likely to accept a peace which was not both honourable and profitable to you; and he thought therefore that the matter would be difficult of arrangement.

At the same sitting the Treasurer raised the question of the restitution of Drake's plunder, whereupon Leicester and Walsingham took up the matter with much resentment, and said that there was no reason to discuss that, but that the money should rather be employed underhand in making war upon your Majesty, than it should be thought for a moment that it could ever be restored. The Treasurer, the Chancellor, the Admiral, Sussex, and the Controller, replied that they thought that it must be restored, especially as it was the Queen's will that this should be done with what was in her possession, but that it might be so arranged that a time might be taken for paying it, security being given that at the expiry thereof it should be surrendered, which might be settled with me.

A Spaniard who has lived here for some time, a man of no particular ability, had occasion recently to see the Treasurer on a private matter, when Cecil took him aside, and, having asked after me, with some preamble said that, as he (*i.e.* the man) was a born Spaniard resident here for so many years, he was sure he desired that the two countries should be friendly; he, Cecil, would like to hear his opinion as to how a firm friendship might be made, your Majesty retaining the Netherlands. He dwelt at great length upon this, and the man replied that these were matters which he did not understand, and he could say nothing about them, except that he had always found me desirous of bringing about kindly relations. Looking at the circumstances by the light of my poor understanding, I can only say on this point that the opinion of people here, great and small, is that the most desirable thing for them is to make sure of your Majesty, this also being the view of the most influential Councillors, as is proved by Cecil having broached the matter to so light and inconsiderable a man as the one I have

1581.

mentioned. They are mainly moved to this by two reasons, one of which is the fear naturally aroused by affairs in Scotland, and the association of the King and his mother in the claims of the latter, which will enable her when she please to claim, not only the succession, but the possession of the English crown, for which reason the Queen desires to divide the Scots Catholics from the rest of their countrymen. Their number is large enough to cause anxiety now, without taking into account the possibility of the King, by God's mercy, becoming a Catholic, in which case his just claim, favoured by his Holiness and the Christian princes, would enable him to overthrow, not the Queen only, but, above all, those who are now paramount here. The other reason is that the Queen has gone so far in the matter of the marriage with Alençon (although they have all agreed from the first that she never had the slightest intention of marrying him) that, even though he may not resent his treatment at present, he undoubtedly would do so as soon as he married, which must be soon, as his brother has no children. Besides this the Queen is sending him away without any intention of fulfilling her promises to him about the Netherlands, and he will certainly be persuaded by all his advisers, for the sake of his interests in France, to retaliate upon England by means of affairs in Scotland. He will be moved to this both by his own interests and desire for vengeance.

In addition to these reasons, which are forcible enough, I plainly see that my action with the Treasurer about Scotland, and my usual spirited and firm treatment of the Queen and her Ministers, have had the effect of driving them to seek your Majesty directly they see themselves pressed by the French. I am, however, so suspicious of their falseness that, on the supposition that these approaches may be for the purpose of conciliating me in order that they may thereby be able to treat more favourably with Alençon and the French, to whom they may represent that, if they do not come to terms with them, I was still courting them, I am displaying more firmness towards them than ever. In pursuance of this I am showing no anxiety whatever about the Queen's intimacy with the French, as if I thought that the alliance with them might even be advantageous to your Majesty. By this means I have succeeded in making Alençon press the Queen more closely, and have increased her fear of your Majesty, as she is almost certain that when he leaves here she cannot avoid a quarrel with the French. They will therefore be obliged to come in search of your Majesty, and we shall be able to deal with them as your Majesty desires. It has also had the effect of preventing their insolence from reaching the clouds, as it would have done if they had seen me so much as wink at them. I told the man who brought the message from the Treasurer, when he suggested that I should tell him by what means the Queen might be able to assure herself of your Majesty, that it was for her to do that by removing all reasons which made her apprehensive of your Majesty's power. I thus opened the door to them.

Should they approach me on the question of the restoration of

1581.

Drake's plunder, I will not refuse if they offer to return that which is in the Queen's possession, but at the same time I shall not omit to demand the rest, and this in such a way as shall force her to deliver what she holds with greater promptitude. I will give instant advice to your Majesty, but as all these Ministers are somewhat inharmonious with the French, and they with them, I think that it will be best for me not to see the Queen until I understand which is the best course to pursue.—London, 25th December 1581.

29 Dec. **189.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As I was despatching the three accompanying letters, I heard that a reply had been received from the king of France, and I consequently delayed them until I learnt the purport of it. The Queen displays every day further signs of her never having intended to marry Alençon, and in conversation with the Treasurer, on the night of the 25th, she told him that, even if it would make her empress of all the world, she would not marry Alençon. The Treasurer on the following day therefore urged upon Alençon that on no account should he miss this opportunity of going to the Netherlands, and rescuing them from the hands of your Majesty. Alençon replied that he thought the Treasurer's remark was prompted more by a desire to please the Queen by getting rid of him than by any wish for his, Alençon's, aggrandisement. He said that on account of England he had taken upon himself the defence of the Flemish rebels, in the hope of marrying the Queen, but if the latter result were not to be attained, he would go no further with the war, and would meddle no more with the Netherlands. He would by every means in his power complain to all Christian princes of the injury they (the English) had done him, and doubted not that the King, his brother, would resent it.

When the Queen heard this she intimated to Alençon how impossible it was for her to control the matter of the marriage, and begged him to accept her as a friend and sister, without thinking of her as a wife. Alençon was much offended at this, after having undergone so much, both publicly and privately, for her sake, and having entirely lost the attachment of the Catholics, in consequence of his fervent pursuit of the marriage, imperilling his safety and running so much risk as he had, and said that he would rather lose his life now than leave here without marrying her. The Queen asked him whether he meant to threaten a poor old woman in her own country, and whether this was the result of all his protestations of love for her; and added that if she did not think that all these things were not rather inspired by the force of his love, rather than by his reason, she would surely think he was crazy, and he had better take care not to lose the best friends he had by such words as these. Alençon replied, "No, no, Madam," and assured her that, if she doubted his love for her and thought that his words were meant to threaten her, she understood them ill, for he swore that rather would he tear himself to bits with his own hands than lose

1851.

the hope of marrying her, and thus become the derision of the whole world. He thereupon burst into tears, and the Queen gave him a handkerchief to dry them, consoling him with words more tender even than the occasion demanded.

She afterwards related what had passed to Sussex, and told him that she would rather be able to dismiss Alençon in a good humour than possess another crown. The day before yesterday she complained also to Sussex that Alençon had written to his brother within three days of her having given him the ring, telling him that he was affianced, with a pledge and keepsake, as much as he, the King, was to his wife the Queen. Sussex said it was incredible that he could have written such a thing as that, whereupon she said that the king of France had actually repeated the formal words to her ambassador, Cobham, and if Alençon had known her intention, even for his own reputation's sake, he would not have written such a thing, as the promise was a conditional one on both sides, first depending upon the ratification of the conditions by the king of France, which conditions she was obliged to demand for the sake of herself and her realm; and, secondly, dependent upon her ability to bring herself to marry, which was so repugnant to her, her sole object being the benefit of her country. She told him that the conditions had therefore not been complied with on either side, inasmuch as, for her part, she hated the idea of marriage every day more, for reasons which she would not divulge to a twin soul, if she had one, much less to a living creature, whereas on the side of the king of France she directed attention to a letter written by the King's own hand, saying, in substance, with regard to the condition imposed by her, namely, that the war should be sustained in the Netherlands without any help from England, that he, the King, remained of the same opinion as when he wrote through Secretary Pinart, namely, that he would not make any fresh alliance with England before the marriage; saying that she must marry Alençon first, and might then ask for fresh conditions, in accordance with their new relationship. She would, he said, thus by the marriage gain with the King as much as she would with Alençon, her husband; and in addition to this the King stated reasons why she should contribute a half of the expenses of the Flemish war, instead of throwing on to his shoulders the whole burden, with the enmity of so great a prince as your Majesty; besides which, even his friendship for England made him unwilling to dissipate his strength and money in a similar business, which, moreover, was England's affair. When Sussex had read the letter, the Queen called him to witness that the marriage was now impossible for her, and "for the future," she said, swearing to God, which she very frequently does, "What living man will dare to "throw the blame on me, seeing that they wanted to bind me with "a conditional contract?" It is clear from this that she gave the ring with the object which I mentioned to your Majesty, of making the conditions an excuse for arousing Alençon's resentment against his brother, and so to set them by the ears in this way. Sussex approved of the Queen's opinion, and she gave him many thanks,

1581.

telling him to do his best to send Alençon away in a good humour, for it was quite impossible for her to marry him.

Lord Harry assures me that he is told by trustworthy people that, during the conversations between the Queen and Alençon, she pointed out to him how difficult it would be for them to live together if he were of a different religion to her, whereupon Alençon assured her, with an oath, that he would abandon his religion for the sake of her love; which would be difficult to believe if the French themselves did not say that Alençon had won the four best dukedoms in France by having taken the side of the Huguenots against his brother, and to be king of England would be a greater prize still.* He hears mass every day, and although he eats fish on Fridays and Saturdays, on the eve of St. Thomas, which was a fast day and a vigil, he publicly supped on meat. The Queen has hitherto refused to give him a final reply with regard to the marriage, but she now desires to do so with a decided negative, which he is evading. Alençon's most intimate friends say that he has greatly cooled lately in the idea of going to the Netherlands, so much so that they assert that he would prefer rather to tarry here than go thither or to France, as, in addition to the suspicions he has of his brother, he has not a penny to spend, having, as the French themselves confess, pawned the revenues of his dukedoms for the next three years.

The Treasurer recently told the earl of Northumberland that he would never concur in a sum of money being given to Alençon, unless it was as the Queen's husband, and the rest of the Councillors are of the same opinion. The Queen herself told this to a person, and I suspect that her withdrawal of the promise to give him the money was caused by the representations made to her and the fear that, if she gave him the money, these people would be against her. I do not know when Alençon will leave.

The Swiss captain who I wrote to your Majesty that Alençon had sent to Germany is not called Hans Schornau, but Joshua Caber. They gave him three hundred crowns here, and an order for twelve hundred more in Paris, with which to go to Switzerland and raise 6,000 foot, for which money and commissions would be sent him, although his friends say that he had little hopes of doing this. Alençon had also decided that Hans Schornau, who is a German, and a lieutenant here of Count Charles Mansfeldt, who was with Ludovic in the Friesland rout, should raise 3,000 horse, to be commanded by the Count. Orange has sent to say, however, that they had better only raise 1,500, and he would raise the other 1,500, whilst there should only be 3,000 Swiss footmen. He intimated to Alençon that it would be better not to have all the forces together, but that Alençon should have one body and he, Orange, the other, so as to divide your Majesty's armies, under which pretext Orange will always be stronger than Alençon.

* By the "*Peace of Monsieur*," as it was called, signed in 1576, Alençon had gained 100,000 livres and the duchies of Anjou, Berry, and Touraine.

1581.

Notwithstanding this, Alençon has ordered Hans Schornau not to raise more than 2,000 horse, but has again been told that only 1,500 should be raised. Hans will leave directly, and will take bills on Frankfort, in order to pay ten crowns earnest per horse, fifteen thousand crowns in all.—London, 29th December 1581.

31 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 83.

190. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Four letters from you of 20th November, and one of the 24th, have been received, and I am anxious to get your next letter to learn how the marriage with Alençon has ended. From what you say, it did not appear so entirely settled as they declared in Paris that it was. The Parliament again may raise difficulties, although in other respects the matter was forward enough, and you did well to send the report you did.

The step you were instructed to take on the 8th October with the Queen had for its object, as you were informed, to check the negotiations they were so warmly carrying on with France for an alliance, for which purpose Walsingham was in Paris. As the affair fell through of itself and has not been renewed, and Alençon has gone to England with the idea of marriage, our reason for the step disappeared, and you did well to defer it, as at that time it might have had an opposite effect. By your next letters we shall learn the position of affairs, and whether it will be advisable to send you another letter of credence of fresher date. If any desire is shown, it will be, as you say, amply sufficient to ratify already existing treaties, but on no account anything further.

I was very glad to see the confidence with which the queen of Scotland writes to you, and that affairs in that country were assuming a better form. You will do your best to gain and keep her sympathy, and will act in all Scotch matters in accordance with previous instructions.

The steps you took to recover the merchandise taken by Don Antonio's people were appropriate, and you will continue them, as also your efforts to obtain the restitution of Drake's plunder, which is much more important.—31st December 1581.

1582.

2 Jan. B. M. MSS. Add. 28,702.

191. MEMORANDUM of CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

From the contents of the letters of Juan Bautista (de Tassis), and the assurance given to him by Hercules (*i.e.*, the duke of Guise), I am confirmed in my opinion that Alençon takes no step without the knowledge and connivance of his brother and mother. The marriage with the queen of England is taking the course which I foretold long ago, and this will be seen all the more clearly from Don Bernardino's letters. There is no appearance, so far as I can see, of the Queen-mother's going to England; I expect the ships are rather for the return of Alençon. It is quite probable that not only will their alliance fall through, but they will become enemies in consequence.

1582.

8 Jan. **192.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 115.

We learn from your letters of 4th December that the Queen's marriage with the duke of Alençon was being broken off. I hope that God will ordain it as may be best for His cause, which doubtless was not the end they had in view. You will keep me fully informed on this. You did well in having the stolen merchandise, brought from Terceira, stopped at Lyme, and I am sure you will follow the matter up. I am delighted to hear how discredited Don Antonio must be with the mariners, for them to have deserted his ships. Advise us as to the crew and stores of the ship which was at Plymouth bound for the Moluccas, and also, if possible, the course she intends to take out and home. It is a deplorable thing on the one hand, and a great consolation on the other, to hear of the martyrdom of those saints. I hope to God, as you do, that this and all the blood shed in England for the faith will cry aloud to Him for a remedy to be sent.—Lisbon, 8th January 1582.

10 Jan. **193.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 8th instant Captain Robert, who I wrote had sailed from Bristol for Terceira with two ships, arrived here. He reports that no foreign troops had arrived there up to the 10th ultimo, and that they were busy fortifying the country. He brings back another ship besides his own two, all of which left Terceira for the purpose of robbery, and captured two caravels loaded with sugar coming from Brazil. One of them he sent to Terceira, and the other, the larger and more valuable, he brought hither. I received information as soon as he arrived in port, and sent to ask the Treasurer to obtain an order from the Queen for the stoppage of the property until the owners appeared, at the same time complaining of the piracy. He replied that it was a matter upon which I should address the full Council. I had done this in a communication to Walsingham, whose business it is to lay such matters before them, but he sent word that the Council would not meet so quickly, which is merely an excuse for him and Leicester, as interested persons, to keep the property, this Robert being a servant of Leicester's who had been despatched for the purpose of plundering.

Francisco Antonio de Souza has arranged nothing with Alençon or the Queen. On the contrary, Alençon is understood to have expressed his annoyance to Marchaumont that this Portuguese was pressing him to approach the Queen on Don Antonio's business whilst his own affairs were still pending. Souza has gone to Antwerp, as he says, to forward Don Antonio's affairs. I hear that the two ships of Don Antonio's which had put to sea were at the Isle of Wight a week ago.—London, 10th January 1582.

10 Jan. **194.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 29th, saying how anxious the Queen and Ministers were for Alençon to leave, but he is still here.

The Queen's ambassador in France has reported the arrival

1582.

there of a special Nuncio who came to treat of four subjects amongst others—first, that a Turkish ambassador should not be allowed to reside in France; second, that Alençon should entirely abandon his help to, and connection with, the Flemish rebels; third, that the marriage negotiations should be broken off; and, fourth, the marriage of Alençon to one of the Infantas. The ambassador adds that since the Nuncio's arrival the Turkish ambassador was with but small hope of a favourable despatch, and that M. de Lansac would not leave until the king of France had received a reply to a letter which he had sent to his ambassador in Spain reporting the intelligence that Alençon had sent from here.

At the same time the Queen received news from the earl of Arran in Scotland that D'Aubigny was negotiating with the duke of Guise for foreign troops to be brought into the country, which has caused great anxiety to her and her Ministers. Before she received this intelligence she adopted the course of getting St. Aldegonde to persuade Alençon to leave at once, he having assured her that he would not do so until she gave him an answer, giving her as a token of this, for a New Year's gift, an anchor set with precious stones. The above-mentioned news, however, made this Queen slacken in her efforts to get him gone, and she again made a display of wishing to conclude the marriage. On Twelfth-night eve she assured Alençon of this with tender words, which she sealed with an oath; and Alençon and Secretary Pinart made it clear to her that, when she gave her decided promise to marry Alençon, and Lansac came, the other conditions should be discussed, but she has not yet consented to this.

The Queen-mother has written rather a sharp letter to Alençon pointing out the injury which he may suffer by remaining here, as the Queen was only delaying him for the purpose of sending him away the more discredited. I understand that on the 7th the Treasurer urged the Queen to give Alençon some money and send him off, as he said it was not meet that he should be detained here. She replied that when she had an answer to what she had written to the king of France she would do so. The French declare that Lansac will be here in four days, and they are basing their hopes of the marriage on the action of Parliament, which is convoked for the 18th instant, whilst the English are so vexed at hearing them say this, and that the marriage will take place, that it has been necessary for the Queen to tranquillise the people by ordering the sailors who had left the ships to return to them and go to the mouth of the river, in order that they may think that Alençon is shortly to leave. There is, however, no certainty of this, although he has ordered some of his servants, who were about to return to France, to delay their departure, saying that he himself would shortly be going. The instability of him and the Queen is such that no dependence can be placed upon the decision of either of them.

Alençon was already wavering about going to Flanders, and now the news of Orange's retirement from Ghent and Antwerp has cooled him still more, although he continued to make preparations

1582.

for the war. He sent to Antwerp some of the money which he had received in cash from France. The remittance is sent in sight bills on Antwerp drawn by Horatio Pallavicini to the duke of Alençon's order, and the money is to be sent to Lyons. I understand that this is in fulfilment of an offer made by certain Florentines here to raise some companies of light horse for him in Italy if he would advance them some money. I do not know what sum was sent, but as this money market is a narrow one, and there are not many bills to be had on Antwerp, it cannot be large.

Whilst writing this I learn that St. Aldegonde, having received a despatch from Orange, represented to Alençon the state in which the rebels were, and said that he must make up his mind, yes or no, whether he would immediately go over to the States. He replied that they must be told to do the best they could with the troops he had sent them, as he could not decide to go over in person until after he had effected the marriage, upon which depended the help he was to receive in the war from his brother and this Queen. To this St. Aldegonde replied that he would take the message to the States himself, but I do not know whether he has yet done so.—London, 10th January 1582.

14 Jan. **195.** The Queen of Scotland to Bernardino de Mendoza.

I received on the 20th ultimo your letters of the 13th, and subsequently those of 9th, 28th, and 29th November. I thank you affectionately for the trouble you take to keep me well informed of events, and for your good advice respecting my own affairs, both in the above-mentioned letters and those of October last, to which I have not hitherto had an opportunity of replying as I desired, except when I wrote on the 6th November. I will now deal summarily with the whole question, and my intentions thereon. First, as to the conversion of my son to the Catholic Church, which you ask me to forward in the name of your master the King in order to complete the harmonious understanding already commenced between us with regard to Scotch affairs, and to bind my son as closely as possible to the King, with a view to the conclusion of the treaty of alliance recently proposed, and a close friendship for the future. I have had my son approached by some of those who surround him with all possible care, as most of his principal councillors are so infected with this unhappy heresy that they give the poor child no opportunity of breathing any other atmosphere. For this reason I have hitherto only been able to obtain the assurance that he will listen to the ecclesiastics whom I have sent to him. If the archbishop of Glasgow goes to Scotland from France, as I have ordered him to do, I have directed him expressly to take with him some doctors of theology who may be worthy of such a task. They will omit no efforts to lay the foundation of a re-establishment of religion in that poor realm, now so corrupted, I have come to the conclusion, different from that which you mention, that it will be better to employ Scotsmen, as the English

1582.

are not popular there, particularly amongst the common people, owing to the ancient hatred between the two countries. As they are foreigners, moreover, and do not understand the language, they could not do much good. With all my heart I pray to God, upon whom alone depends the perfection of the good work, to inspire my son and his principal councillors to recognise the truth of His faith, for the triumph of which I would willingly give all that this world can afford.

With regard to the negotiation put forward for the association of my son with myself in the crown of Scotland, respecting which I wrote to you in October, and to which I have mainly been influenced by the advice of the Pope, confirmed by that of all my best friends and servants, I have so complete a trust in you that I can say that my son in many letters has plainly assured me that there is nothing in the world concerning the State in which he will fail to obey me as a dutiful son. Whatever may be done with regard to the resignation of my position in Scotland, I protest that, in consideration of the goodwill towards us of the King your master, and even of your own responsiveness in his name, my greatest desire is to bind my son to him entirely by the above-mentioned means. Up to the present, however, I have been unable to obtain a decided pronouncement from your master the King, or any plain declaration of his intention, and I therefore beg you very earnestly, in acceptance of your own offer, to pray the King to reply fully as to his wishes with regard to what I have written to him, so that I may know what to expect and not labour uselessly to bring things in Scotland to his devotion, as I have done for the last twelve years. If he has any desire to concern himself in the matter, I can assure you that there is no more prompt way of advancing it than by the granting of some gifts and pensions to some of the principal persons, as I have often been solicited to do, but have been unable, as you may judge, out of the little left to me of my dower in France, which has so many claims upon it. The greater part of them might be won over in this way, and I even have certain assurance that the duke of Lennox himself may be made instrumental in this, as he is only seeking his personal aggrandisement.

With regard to your question respecting your communications with Scotland, if you have people to undertake the carrying of your letters to the frontier I will find people who will take them from there and bring back the reply thither. You may safely address Lord Ogilvie, George Douglas, first usher of my son's chamber, brother to Lord Lochleven, or to the laird of Fernihurst, who is on the border.

I thank you for the warm interest you show in my affairs, and your continued stay in England on my account. I am deeply indebted to you for this, and again importune you privately still to defer your departure for some time longer; even until some decision is arrived at regarding the marriage of this Queen with the duke of Alençon, respecting which, I can assure you, things are in

1582.

such a confusion and feeling is so strong that some great change must result from it shortly, in view of which fact you will see how very necessary your presence will be to my interests.

With regards to Beal's visit and his negotiations with me, I will give you the principal points of his mission. His first object was to discover what was the real object of the granting of the style of King to my son, and how I intended to proceed in the matter; secondly, to dissuade me from it on behalf of his mistress, who was infinitely offended, as he said, at the bad behaviour of my son towards her, wherefore she sought to induce me to join with her in settling Scotch affairs, and complained of my son and the duke of Lennox, his councillor, who, she said, was the principal perturber of the harmony between the two countries. She advocated the restoration of the Hamiltons and the earl of Angus, and the return of all those who were exiles for religion; which, in effect, would cause the ruin of the country and of myself personally, and place Scotland, my son, and me under the Queen's yoke. In consideration of this proposal, he held out great hopes of my complete liberation, and, in the meanwhile, all gentle treatment, if I would promise not to agree to any marriage for my son except to the satisfaction of the Queen, who, Beal said, had been much displeased at certain matches proposed for him by some of her subjects. He pressed me very very earnestly to refer all affairs to the Queen, from whom he said, I had more to hope than from any foreign prince. He warned me to cease all secret understandings, both with the King your master and the king of France, as such understandings could only raise distrust of me here and in France, without bringing me any advantage. He dwelt particularly on the power of the King (of Spain), and said it was very necessary for all other Christian princes to keep their eyes on him, and that perhaps I myself would be the first to repent of it if I helped him in his designs against this country. He opened out considerably on this point, and, in conference with my Secretary, he told him plainly that the principal aim was to keep the King busy in certain islands of the Indies belonging to Portugal, and, if possible, to deprive him of a part of the Netherlands, as he could hardly hold both places; and in any case, they could thus assure themselves against trouble or attack from him for a good half-dozen years, during which time he might die, and, his children being so young, they could not undertake anything of importance. Thus he made his account, as the saying is, without his host. My reply, in short, to all the aforegoing was to the effect that I could not decide with regard to the granting to my son the title of King, as I had been asked to do, without first knowing the Queen's views upon the subject, and I therefore desired permission to send a person who should fully inform her of my wishes, and to convince her that my desire was to please her in all things by following her advice in everything I negotiated in Scotland. I avoided all details, but said that with regard to the Queen's complaints of my son's conduct towards her I had not any information; but I believed from what he told

1582.

me that more than sufficient reason had been given to him for acting as he had done by the way he had been treated on this side.

With regard to his marriage, I had done nothing I said; but when I was consulted on the matter I should have as much regard for the quiet and welfare of this country as for my own and would try to satisfy the Queen therein. I begged, however, that the Queen would let me know her own views as soon as possible, in order that I might, as nearly as possible, accede to them, as I desired to do on all occasions. I said that, as she desired, I had never had any plots with a foreign prince to the prejudice of the English crown, and that she had no reason for distrust or suspicion with regard to the maintenance of my ancient friendship with France, and, as for Spain, I had nothing whatever to do with it; whilst from no quarter was I seeking support or assistance, unless indeed my enemies near her deprived me of her friendship and protection, and made it necessary for the preservation of myself and my son.

I will not trouble you with the details of what passed between us respecting my state and treatment here; and, as to what the Lord Treasurer tried to make you believe, I may assure you that I have not said or done, and will never say or do, anything that may redound to the prejudice of the King (of Spain), for whose welfare I pray, &c.—14th January 1582.

17 Jan. **196.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 10th I wrote that Lansac was expected, but it appears that the king of France would not send him, on the pretence that he was ill, the son of Secretary Pinart coming instead, with the ratification of all the articles which this Queen had requested of him, signed by himself, his mother, some of his Councillors, and the chiefs of the Huguenots. Simier's assurance to the Queen, which I related in another letter, to the effect that she must not base any hope upon the King's refusing to consent to her terms, as there was nothing he would not do in order to get rid of his brother from France, together with Cobham's assurance that the King would consent to her demands, he being extremely apprehensive of Alençon's return to France, made her very anxious about it, and she asked the Treasurer what would be the best means for her to escape from the position. He told her that the best way would be to ask for Calais to be surrendered as a security for the fulfilment of the conditions, the importance of which was so great, especially as a marriage contract was of such sort that it could not be undone when once it was effected, whereas the King might thereafter fail to fulfil his part of the bargain unless some valuable pledge were given. He said also that it would be well to write to France, arranging for another Huguenot rising. This was done at once, which is proved by the fact that they knew here of the prince of Condé's appearance in France. The Queen was delighted with the expedient, and said that she would not divulge it to any of her other Councillors, and particularly to Sussex, to

1582.

whom she still held out hopes that the marriage should be effected as soon as the king of France's reply was received.

Pinart's son arrived on the night of the 11th, and I am told that when Alençon learnt how entirely his brother had met his wishes he wept with emotion, saying that this was a proof of how much he loved him, and how wrong had been the action of those who had tried to set him against him by falsehood and jealousy. He went to tell the Queen the news, as soon as he learnt that she was alone, thinking that now the only thing remaining was for her to say yes. She replied that she would decide within two days.

The next morning Alençon sent to the Treasurer and Sussex, by Marchaumont, an account of the letters he had received, asking them, now that the time for settling his business had arrived, that they should warmly aid the Queen in coming to a decision. Cecil replied that when the matter was discussed in Council he would frankly state his opinion as to the best course for the interests of the Queen and country, but that as the whole matter was in the Queen's hands he could take no step at present. Sussex displayed much annoyance in consequence of Alençon having become friendly with Leicester, and abandoned him, Sussex, on the advice of Marchaumont, notwithstanding his having done his best to please the Prince and become very unpopular in England in consequence. He said that, as after all this Alençon thought more of his new friend than his old ones, he could be of no more use in the matter. On receiving these replies Alençon pressed the Councillors, and afterwards the Queen herself, for a decision. They had an angry conversation, during which she said that the documents sent by the king of France should be considered in Council, which has not yet been done, but I do not believe that, even if they surrendered to her Calais, Boulogne, and Havre-de-Grace, she would marry, besides which the king of France can hardly grant her such a pledge as that.

From the news I send it might be inferred that I was credulous, having assured your Majesty so many times of the answers sent verbally and in writing by the king of France to the Queen, particularly on the 29th ultimo, to the effect that he remained of the same opinion as when Pinart was here, namely, that whether she married his brother or not she might be certain that he would not break with your Majesty. The articles now agreed to are diametrically opposite to this, and although Frenchmen are so volatile that their fickleness will surprise no one, I can confidently assure your Majesty that the king of France has not really pledged himself. His fear of his brother and his having seen through the Queen's game by means of Simier has caused him to hoist her with her own petard. I described her plan to your Majesty when the affair of the ring took place; which was to ask for such terms that the King would have to refuse them, whereupon Alençon would be more at issue than ever with his brother, and therefore obliged to bend to her wishes. She laid the whole plot open to Simier, whom she had quite won over, letting him know that, no matter what the King conceded, she would never marry his brother. Simier

1582.

undoubtedly conveyed this to the King, by whose secret connivance he was here, and thus he has been able to learn the whole particulars of the proceedings of his brother and the Queen, and the King has seen fit, in the face thereof, to concede the conditions. By this means he has assured and pledged his brother, and has opened his eyes to the Queen's artifice, without running any risk. All this is proved, amongst other things, by the fact that the king of France wrote to Simier a week ago that he intended to appoint him his ambassador here, instead of the present man, which Simier conveyed to Sussex, and asked him his opinion as to whether he should accept the appointment.

Alençon has shown extreme irritation at Simier's stay here, of which he was very suspicious. He not only pressed the Queen most earnestly to expel him, but a few days ago, whilst speaking of the matter, he pulled out his dagger and placed it to his breast, swearing a great oath that he would kill himself if the Queen did not turn Simier out of the country. She told him not to take so violent a course as that. To please him she would send him, Simier, away, although there was no reason for it until Simier's cause had been justified. The Queen thereupon had Simier summoned to take leave of her, for the purpose of carrying a letter from Alençon to the duke of Montpensier, who within a certain period would declare his, Simier's, justification in the name of Alençon; and, when this was done, he was told that it should be held as a sufficient exculpation. The Queen wished that he should return here after this had been done, in order that she might make him fit amends for the discourtesy she now did him in sending him away at Alençon's request. Simier accepted the arrangement, indeed, he could not have done otherwise, and asked the Queen what she thought of doing for Alençon in recompense for the cost he had incurred here in gifts and otherwise. She replied that she had already done three things for him: first, she had sent him 30,000*l.* to hold Cambrai; second, she had maintained him here for so long, whereby he had saved money for the Netherlands; and third, she had not been the reason of his going thither. She said that she was sorry that she had gone so far in the matter of the marriage, but this was Simier's fault for not stopping the negotiations when he (Alençon?) had come here the first time, on which occasion, for his (Simier's) own ends, he did not wish him (Alençon) to leave until he had seen her again.

In the meanwhile, she said, he was under great obligations to me, as I had been very sorry for his disgrace,* which I had said I regretted the more, as I had heard it had been caused by his having had, some communication with your Majesty, which is a thing I never imagined. Simier replied that he would be glad to be in a position which would allow him to thank me without incurring

* Simier's disgrace really arose from Leicester's intrigues, in revenge for his having disclosed to the Queen, the Earl's secret marriage with the widowed countess of Essex, and from the constant fights and quarrels that had occurred between Simier and Fervaques, and the other nobles who followed Alençon, and were concerned with Queen Margaret in opposing the marriage with Elizabeth.

1582.

suspicion. The reason why the Queen said this, is because she suspects that the king of France and Alençon are making offers to your Majesty and proposing terms for the pacification of the Netherlands, and she thought to learn something about it from Simier by this means.—London, 17th January 1582.

17 Jan. **197.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In my former letters I have related the steps I have taken to stop the sugar caravel from Terceira, the value of which is 20,000 crowns. I had the Bristol people warned how bad it was for them that the ships had sailed from, and arrived at, that port, with so valuable a plunder as this, seeing that they had great commerce with Spain. This caused them to write a letter to the Council, saying how hard they had tried to keep their port free from pirates, but that if, by orders of some of the Councillors, ships were fitted out there, it would be difficult for them to continue their trade with Portugal and your Majesty's other territories.

I also sent to ask audience of the Council to speak upon the matter, but I saw the delay Walsingham was causing in it, and could not get an audience appointed until the 15th, on which day I got a message that the Queen wished to see me at three, and that I might afterwards go to the Council. I suspected that the Queen had sent for me without my asking for an audience in order to make Alençon jealous, and, that no one should have reason for this by my dealing with her secretly, I took Antonio de Castillo with me to take leave of the Queen, and give her the letter from your Majesty. Alençon went to the Queen at the same hour as was appointed for me, and when we entered the Court they took us to the Council-room where the Treasurer, Sussex, Leicester, and Walsingham were. They told me that they had orders from the Queen to hear me, which, I said, was a very different message from that which had been sent to me that morning, and in consequence of which I had brought Don Antonio de Castillo with me. They said the messenger must have misunderstood, as they did not know that the Queen wished to speak to me. In the meanwhile two of the Queen's pensioners went running backward and forwards to the Queen's chamber with messages about it. I set forth the robberies which Don Antonio's ships now at the Isle of Wight had committed, and also the ships from Bristol, whither they had taken their prizes, and as this was greatly to your Majesty's prejudice, I could not avoid laying the matter before them, and pointing out the effects which might ensue therefrom. They said they were instructed by the Queen to give satisfaction to your Majesty's subjects, and asked me for a written statement of my complaints, which they would redress. I said that if they were as quick about the remedy as I would be in sending the statement, the owners of the property would have no reasons for complaint. I gave them a statement of the robberies on Spanish subjects for the last two years, amounting almost to 70,000 ducats, without counting what they have now brought from Terceira. I expect they will deal with this latter booty as they have with the rest, as I am told that the pirate

1582.

Robert has been instructed to say that he is taking the ships to France, but he has been secretly directed by Walsingham to take them to an island where he can sell the property, namely 310 cases of sugar, for the benefit of Don Antonio, who, with the money, will again fit out his three ships, which the Queen will not allow to go to France but wishes to keep here manned by Englishmen, in order that Don Antonio may be partly dependent upon her.

In order that these prizes may appear to be legal they have adopted the device which will be seen by the two documents I enclose which were brought by these pirates. They are issued in the island of Terceira by virtue of the agreement made by Don Antonio, with regard to the plunder there. The dates upon these documents appear to be false, as the ships left on the 10th of December.

I understand that Don Antonio has again written to Alençon, saying that if he can persuade the Queen to help him with some money and ships, he will give your Majesty so much trouble that you will be unable to make any resistance in the Netherlands.

These ships which I wrote were fitting out for the Moluccas expect to leave at the beginning of February with six thousand pounds worth of cloths and other goods for trade. Although the merchants are sending their factors, as there are altogether four of these ships, it may be expected that they will plunder if they see a chance.—London, 17th January 1582.

17 Jan. **198.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my last the Queen has withdrawn the three ships which were to convoy Alençon, and they are now in port. I also understand that she is in secret treaty with St. Aldegonde, but not very willingly, for Alençon to go in person to the Netherlands; judging that his forces and those of the rebels will be too weak to hold out against your Majesty's forces for very long, whilst it is not advisable for her to entrust him with the bulk of the English forces. A great inconvenience might result to her therefrom, namely, that Alençon, finding himself surrounded by insuperable difficulties might be led to negotiate an arrangement in all sincerity with your Majesty, by which he should retire from the war; whilst the stay of Don Antonio in France and the suspicion that his, Alençon's, brother and mother, in order to prevent his overthrow, might declare war upon you, she fears would lead you to listen to such an arrangement. For this reason she thinks that it will be better for her, that Orange should be the sole chief in the war, and have control of the French troops who are there, in which case the Queen would have a hand in it, as he would do nothing without her consent. She could thus when she pleased sell the business to your Majesty, and this is the end of all the efforts of Leicester and Walsingham, who desire that Orange should remain all powerful there, as he has promised them that, if the Queen dies, he will help them by sea with ships and men to uphold the cause of the earl of Huntingdon, who is their candidate and a terrible heretic, opposed to the queen of Scotland, whom they doubt not your Majesty and the French will support in respect of

1582.

her religion. In conformity with this, they have been trying to persuade the Queen to send aid to the Englishmen in Gueldres, who are suffering great need, but she has not yet consented to do so. She has caused her Ministers to declare that Alençon is under great obligations to her for having detained him here and prevented him from going over to the Netherlands, as the Ghent people would certainly have arrested him as they tried to arrest Orange. They make this announcement in terms which prove that they do not wish him to go thither in person.

Orange wrote a letter to Alençon from Brille, which arrived last night, saying, in a great many words, that all the princes of Germany would complain greatly at his not having kept his word at the term fixed by the States, and that they would be ruined if he did not go over at once. For this reason he (Orange) had not received M. de Biron, whom Alençon had sent to them with letters, but had rather decided to send persons to him to hear from his own lips if he was still thinking of them. These persons are now expected here. I will give your Majesty an account of what I hear when they arrive. The Queen and her Ministers are in great fear, as a captain of the English in Ghent has come over to tell her that people are openly talking there of submitting to your Majesty. She said to Simier, "Things are going badly in the Netherlands for Alençon, and worse still for me."

I am informed from Antwerp that the people of Ghent and Bruges had written to that town, saying that they would try to adopt some means of submitting to your Majesty, and suggested that Antwerp should join with them for that purpose. No answer was sent to them, but their letter was sent to Orange, who forwarded it with his to Alençon.

Hans Schornau has gone to Germany to raise the 1,500 horse, Alençon giving him 200 crowns towards his expenses, and a Commissioner will go in a few days with the bills for the money, although I am told that he is not very hopeful of getting the money to enable him to go so soon.—London, 17th January 1582.

17 Jan. **199.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Letters have been received dated 29th November from the priest who I wrote had gone to Scotland. He reports that the personages with whom he was dealing are daily more desirous that the clergymen they ask for should be sent. I understand that the priests are detained in France because there are not enough fitting men of the sort in that country to accompany Father Persons. None can be sent from here, as so many priests have been arrested, and unfortunately they have taken the wisest of them. They have suspended the execution of the ten priests I mentioned, not out of clemency, but for the purpose of inflicting greater cruelty upon them by means of the closeness of the dungeons in which they are kept.

A captain has come from Ireland to report to the Queen that a soldier of the company of Captain Zouche has killed John of Desmond brother of the earl of Desmond. When he was mortally

1582.

wounded the English asked him if he was sorry for what he had done against the Queen, whereupon he said with his last words that his only sorrow was that he had not life granted to him to do a great deal more against her in defence of the Holy Catholic religion. His death has caused great rejoicing here, as they considered him a man of energy who ruled his brother and the insurgents. The captain is pressing the Queen, on behalf of the Viceroy, to send money and men to the island, but she has refused to do so, and says that they must get their resources from Ireland itself. She was told that as the war had caused great diminution of the revenues of the country not much could be got from there. She replied that, much or little, the Viceroy would have to put up with it. They say that he, the Viceroy, is dreadfully cruel in his treatment of the Irish, and especially of any that are suspected of being Catholics. The Queen has summoned the earl of Angus from the Border, and he is being made much of by Leicester and Hatton.—London, 17th January 1582.

21 Jan. **200.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 17th four letters, duplicates leaving the same day. On the same night the Queen sent to summon Simier to see her at the usual hour and in the usual gallery of which he has a key. When he arrived she was walking in the room with Alençon, and, amongst other things, she told the latter that she had given orders to three of her Councillors to confer with me as to the re-establishment of her ancient alliance with your Majesty, and to endeavour to come to a satisfactory arrangement as to the complaints I had made on your Majesty's behalf. She said she did not desire that any prince should have reason to complain of her behaviour. Alençon was much disturbed at this, and, on relating the circumstances afterwards to Marchaumont, told him that he could not imagine for what reason the Queen had said it, unless it were to leave him floundering in the swamp into which she had led him, which he had no doubt she would do after all. Whilst the Queen was conversing with him Simier entered by the private stair, and the moment she saw him she retired, saying that she did not wish to stand between master and servant. Alençon asked him whether his tarrying here was caused by a fear that he would have him killed when he arrived in France. He replied that, for his part, this was not the reason, although there was some ground for the fears that his enemies might attempt it. Alençon answered throwing upon him the whole blame of the present hopelessness of the marriage negotiations, and also of the failure of his attempt to help in the Netherlands war, which depended entirely on the marriage. Simier pressed him to specify what act of his had caused such a result, to which he replied that his discrediting the earl of Leicaster, the greatest and most powerful friend he had, had prevented him from influencing the Queen as he desired. Simier repeated this afterwards to the Queen, and also said that every one was astounded that she should show so much favour to Leicester, after he had tried to deceive her, and had assured her that

1582.

he was not married, although it was publicly known that he was. She answered that she could hardly find a place in which she could overthrow him, as he had taken advantage of the authority she had given him to place kinsmen and friends of his in almost every port and principal place in the kingdom. This is quite true, and, she said, that until she had time to get some of these places out of their hands she could hardly disgrace him.

On the following day the Treasurer said to the Queen that an arrangement had been made with the French Commissioners to the effect that, if the marriage took place, Alençon should be allowed to have mass said, but now, even without the marriage, there were three masses being said daily at court, one for Alençon, another for the Prince Dauphin, and the third for Marchaumont, and this was causing great dissatisfaction amongst the people. She pacified him and told him to have patience, for in a very few days they would all be across the seas and their masses with them. A council was called to consider the concessions made by the king of France. Cecil, Leicester, Hunsdon, Hatton, and Walsingham were there, but Sussex feigned illness. When the papers had been considered, the Treasurer told the members that the Queen wished for their opinion as to the best answer she could give to Alençon. He said that they must bear in mind the Queen's own desire, and the course which the business had taken, the long delay in the negotiations having been for the purpose of gaining points in the Queen's favour. These had now all been conceded, and there was nothing more to be demanded, but that if any Councillor could devise a way for the Queen to retire from the affair, without loss of honour or danger to the security of the country, he would be glad to hear it. No one was ready with an expedient, and the Council rose without coming to a decision. The Treasurer's remarks were evidently for the purpose of dissembling further in the direction which I described in my former letters, and in order that Alençon might hear indirectly of what had been said at the Council.

The same night when the Queen was with Alençon she tried to dissuade him from the Flemish war, saying that the matter was a grave and troublesome one for him, besides being dangerous for two reasons: first, that if the marriage was not effected he would get no help from his brother, as he might see by his fresh declaration, whilst his own forces would be insufficient for the purpose, especially if the aid of the rebel States themselves failed him. She said they were as tired of Orange as he was of them, and it was very unlikely, therefore, that they would promote his interests, or look to France for their liberty. The second reason was that, if she were to marry him, her people and Ministers would not consent to contribute any sum of money to the waging of a war against so powerful a sovereign as your Majesty, and all this tended to dispose her to find some peaceful solution of the situation, rather than to furnish means for carrying on the war. She said that consideration of these two points would prove to him how little he had to gain in the enterprise, whether she married him or

1582.

not. Alençon was excessively perturbed, and replied, amongst other arguments, that it was more important for her and her country than for anyone else that your Majesty should be kept busy. He instantly went and saw Leicester, to whom, doubtless, he gave an account of what had passed, as he had also been told that Sussex was advising the Queen to desist from disturbing your Majesty, and to avoid taking upon herself the heavy responsibility of contributing to the war.

The result of the conference was that Alençon went the next day after dinner to see the Queen, and complained bitterly to her of Sussex, who, he said, had been bought over by your Majesty, not only to hinder the marriage, but to serve you in all things, even against the interests of the Queen herself. He said that the King, his brother, had heard this through his Ambassador in Spain. The Queen replied, defending Sussex, of whose loyalty and fidelity she said she had no doubt, especially as he was her kinsman and councillor. She dismissed Alençon, and at once sent for Sussex, to whom she repeated what had passed, saying that she would never again trust such a person as this (Alençon), as he behaved in this way to his truest and most intimate friends.

I am assured by my second personage,* who desired greatly to serve your Majesty, that when Sussex related this, he wept with rage, swearing to be revenged in every possible way for such wickedness.

Alençon yesterday pressed the Queen very urgently for a final reply to his brother's communication, and after much talk, she replied to him in the way that I have already reported to your Majesty was arranged, namely, that unless Calais and Havre de Grace were surrendered to her and garrisoned by English troops, to be held by her as a pledge for the King's promise to maintain the war in the Netherlands, and an offensive alliance against your Majesty and other princes, she could not consent to the marriage. She said she could not put up with any less pledge, as princes often, for their own ends, broke their promises. Alençon was much dissatisfied at this, and although he again pressed the Queen upon the matter, it was at last understood that this was the ultimate resolution and only reply she could give him, whereupon he left the room much offended. The Queen instantly ordered the ships which were to convoy him, to be got ready; and although there is no certainty of any resolution of the Queen's, as she changes from one moment to another, I have thought well to advise this, as there is more appearance of stability about it than usual.

The coming of the Commissioners who I wrote that Orange was sending to Alençon in the name of the rebels, was a device of Walsingham's, by means of St. Aldegonde, with the object first of

* In the King's hand :—"I do not know who this is." The person referred to was apparently Lord Henry Howard; the principal Spanish spy at Court being the Controller, Sir James Crofts. As an example of the extreme care with which Philip II. read the despatches, it may be mentioned that wherever Simier is mentioned at about this time—the name being much distorted—the King in a marginal note asks for information as to the person referred to.

1582.

expediting Alençon's departure, and thus pleasing the Queen, and secondly to give him an opportunity of urging upon her to lend them some money, seeing that the need he is in is so great. In view of past events, they are much surprised that she should so openly and urgently press Alençon to abandon the enterprise. I can say no more on this point, only that she seems determined to get him away from here, and to banish every pretext he might seize upon for staying. If she has any other object in view we shall see later.—London, 21st January 1582.

24 Jan. **201.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The Queen's reply to Alençon had such an effect upon him that he at once called a secret council of his closest adherents here, namely, the Prince Dauphin, Marchaumont, Quinsé, and others, to whom he made a great speech, to relate only the heads of which to your Majesty will necessitate my being somewhat diffuse. He said that, after the long negotiations and infinite letters and promises which they knew had been exchanged with regard to his marriage with the Queen, and the communications which had passed with his brother, he was at last entirely disillusioned, and saw that the Queen would not marry him. This was a great blow to his honour and reputation, about which he must dissemble, until he was in a position to exact satisfaction, as her help and favour were necessary, in the meanwhile, to enable him to be revenged on the first cause of all the trouble, namely, the King, his brother, who, he said, he had learnt by reports from other countries than France and had seen from his own long experience was full of envy and malice against him, and had always tried to stand in the way of his advancement and aggrandisement. For this reason, in the fear that the marriage might enable him (Alençon) to curb his private and domestic actions, he had sent Simier here, who was a person high in the Queen's favour, for the purpose of impeding the marriage, under cover of a desire to gain his favour once more. He said that a generous spirit could hardly fail to resent this, or avoid seeking means to revenge himself for such an injury done to him by a malicious tyrant, and abetted by the terrible disposition of his mother, the Queen, who had plotted against his prosperity and against the marriage, in order that she might be able to keep him in France and make use of him the more to oppress his brother.

With this end therefore, to solder the breach in his honour, and bridle his brother the King, there were two roads open to him; first to continue the war in Flanders, or again to raise war in France. The first, he said, could not be done unless this Queen aided him effectually, whereas she had not only become lukewarm in the matter but had cooled entirely. He had no doubt that this process would continue daily, in consequence of the secret communications they were holding with me, and of the constant protestations of her ministers that they would not allow France to get possession of the Netherlands, unless the marriage were to take place. As for any help that his brother might give

1582.

him in the war, that was not now to be expected, as he was certain that he would rather diminish his power by hundreds of pounds than increase it by as many grains. It could not be hoped, moreover, that the States themselves could contribute much, as they were already so exhausted.

The other expedient of renewing the intestine war in France, would be greatly aided by the present dissatisfaction of the Huguenots, who were only wanting a head to again awaken the war, which had been allowed to slumber, not so much for want of will to continue it as for lack of money. He said that this Queen would willingly help the matter with the sum she had offered to the Prince of Bearn, when he wanted to wage war against the king of France; and he even expected that she would give more, in the belief that she could thus recompense him somewhat for her refusal to marry him. Leicester had assured him that he will get a good sum of money as a salve for his reputation, even though he did so by making war against his brother.

He said that your Majesty also would be sure to give him some help, in order to divert him from the Netherlands, and that the reiters and German cavalry would only be too glad of the opportunity, as they had not been paid nor the promises made to them fulfilled, and they would thus have the chance of getting their pay at the sword's point. This would enable levies of cavalry to be made with much facility. These aids to be expected outside France were important whereas, in the country itself, the Queen his mother would not be sorry to see the enterprise undertaken, as it would insure that the King would not turn her out of the government, as he had done on other occasions, greatly to the loss of her credit and reputation, she having been at the head of affairs so long. The towns and Huguenots of France were so dissatisfied at the heavy taxes, that they would contribute both money and men to the war, and he would be joined by Catholics and Huguenots alike, who would come with their lives and persons to fight for freedom from oppression.

The lords and great personages of France, too, would take his part, if only to repress the pride of the house of Guise, who were every day getting more haughty and powerful, and ruling all things in accordance with their own appetite, whilst they were secretly in league with your Majesty and would, if they were not checked, cast out of France all the Princes of the blood and become sole masters of the country. He also assured them that directly there were signs of war in France he would have surrendered into his hands, besides the towns he already had, Havre de Grace, Orleans, Toulouse, and Brouage. Either of these two roads would lead to a reinstatement of his reputation, but money would be required for either, although not so large a sum for France as for Flanders, the rebel States being gnawed to the bone, and the country bare of provisions sufficient to feed an army, excepting at great cost. In France, on the contrary, the people were rich, and the country fat enough to maintain an army; and for this reason it would be best to abandon all idea of the war in Flanders, re-shuffle the cards and

1582.

boldly commence a war in France. He concluded finally, by saying certain exceedingly bad words of his brother, swearing with terrible oaths, that he would never cease to make war upon him until he either lost his life, or the kingdom was divided equally between the two brothers, and the house of Guise totally abolished.

Marchaumont and Quinsé approved of the speech and encouraged him in his enteprise, but the Dauphin said not a word, until Alençon begged him to give his opinion. He besought Alençon not to command him to do so, but he pressed him again and he thereupon opposed the resolution. He said that his person, his estate, his children, and his life, were at Alençon's disposal, to make war against any foreign prince, or any French subject, but not against his brother, who besides being his natural King and liege-lord had a special claim to his personal fidelity. He doubted not that those who advised him to so perilous, difficult, dishonourable, and unjust an enterprise, would run the risk of losing their heads. When Alençon heard this, he tried to lead him apart to a window recess, to prevent him from discouraging the others, but he would not move from his place, and requested license to return instantly to France, whereupon Alençon, with great caresses, begged him not to go.

As soon as Secretary Pinart learnt what had passed, either from the prince Dauphin or from the spies he had placed behind the back door of the room in which the conference took place, he went to the Queen, and warned her not to allow herself, on any account, to be persuaded to help to make war in France, in violation of the treaties that she had with his master. He said that if she did so his master would unite with all her enemies and ruin her completely. The Queen replied with a multitude of oaths that such a thing had never been spoken of to her, and thereupon Pinart sought to increase her fear by assuring her how ready many Princes would be to receive the king of France with open arms for the purpose of making war upon her. He did not relate to her what Alençon had said, but went at once to the latter and told him to think deeply before he risked his life and fortune, without the hope of getting any profit but a vain and transitory shadow. This greatly discomposed Alençon, who assured him that he had not done anything wrong. Pinart replied that he must not think he was such a fool as not to know what he and the rest were about, and that he, Alençon, had better take care that he did not fall beyond recovery as he certainly would do, unless he behaved with the firmness and good faith which was fitting in a Prince like himself. Alençon was much confused and upset that his design had reached the ears of Pinart so soon, and was quite overcome with grief.

The firmness with which Pinart spoke to the Queen in pointing out to her what the king of France would do had such an effect that, hearing that Alençon was on the river, she at once took barge and went in search of him. She persuaded him that it would be best for him to accede to the importunity of the commissioners sent by the States, and go thither in person; and when he was there he could take what course he thought best, either to stay or to leave them, she offering him 30,000*l.* in cash for the journey

1582.

and a regular subsidy for the war, to be paid to the person whom he might appoint. Alençon accepted the proposal, but with coolness, and the next day he presented to the Queen the Commissioners who had come, when it was decided that he should leave to-morrow for Flushing.

The Queen saw that Alençon was still tardy about going to Flanders, notwithstanding his acceptance of the offer, and she told the rebel Commissioners not to cease urging him until they got him out of the country. They may well do it, but he displays no delight in going. The Queen also sent Sussex to speak to Alençon, and tell him that after he had left here, she would not have any communication with him, excepting through Simier. He replied, that until Simier had justified himself before Montpensier he did not wish to have anything to do with him, and said that Simier could hardly forget what had passed. The Chamberlain replied that it could not be believed of such a person as Simier. Alençon expressed to him great sorrow at the reply of the Queen about Calais and Havre de Grace, and also said that his brother was not so anxious for his advancement as to give up two of his most important fortresses for his sake. Sussex rejoined that whether the King would give them or not, nothing less could be demanded for the Queen's assurance. They took leave of one another without rancour.

What I have told your Majesty here proves again how much the Queen is influenced by spirited treatment of her; since after she had been so ardently persuading Alençon not to go to the Netherlands, the moment Pinart spoke to her firmly she changed her course, and even offered Alençon money, which is the hardest thing in the world for her to do, as all her Ministers confess. The sum, too, was a large one, and a draft on the Exchequer was instantly signed. It is quite evident that I was right when I assured your Majesty that Simier had been sent here with the connivance of the king of France, and that he has been giving reports of everything that passed with the Queen.

Knowing the humour of the Queen and her Ministers as I do, I fancy that they are all embroiled with one another about the business of the marriage, and although the day for Alençon's departure is fixed and everything ready, he will doubtless still linger here, in the first place because he is so remiss about going himself, and also because Pinart wishes him to be detained longer, no doubt in accordance with orders from France.

Diego Botello arrived here on behalf of Don Antonio on the night of the 21st. He has done nothing yet excepting to see Leicester, with whom he is early and late. I understand that his first desire is that the Queen will allow his ships now in the hands of Englishmen to go to France.—London, 24th January 1582.

24 Jan. **202.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since my last advices about Scotland I learn that the duke of Lennox, the Lord Chamberlain, and the earl of Arran, Captain of the Guard, have had words with regard to who should have

1582.

charge of the King's person, and the place where the guards were to be posted. The question was submitted to the Council, the King himself being present, when it was resolved that the Captain of the Guard was responsible for the placing of sentinels in the chambers and doorways leading to the King's apartment, whilst the Lord Chamberlain was to have guards posted at the doors of the palace, and at such places as he thought fit outside. The agreement did not prevent the continuance of the ill-feeling between them, and on the occasion of an entertainment being given by Lennox to the King, in a house called Dalkeith, which formerly belonged to Morton, Arran sent to ask which was to be his chamber, as he was coming to the feast; to which Lennox replied that the room for him was not yet built in the house. He was much offended at this, and, returning to Edinburgh, said that the duke of Lennox was a Papist, and as such wanted to seize the King to make him a Papist too. He then took the field with three hundred horse and eight hundred footmen, although the King tried to pacify him. When d'Aubigny heard this he sent heralds to Edinburgh to proclaim that he was no Papist, but would conform to the religion of the country, and had no designs against the person of the King, as was alleged by Arran. The disturbance was thus calmed.

Whilst writing this I hear that Diego Botello is negotiating with the Grocers of London for the sale to them of three hundred casks of sugar, which I said had been brought by the pirates Robert and Bingham from Terceira. I believe this, because the Councillors are delaying the matter, in order that time may be given for the merchandise to disappear, although I am pressing for a reply to my demand that it shall be embargoed. I am doing everything that is humanly possible, but such is the malice of these people that I can get no satisfaction.—London, 24th January 1582.

27 Jan. **203.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

If this Queen's resolutions did not go beyond her Ministers I might well avoid troubling your Majesty with an account of all of them, but as they are duly published, and their execution put in hand, I am obliged to write hourly the changing moods of the Queen and Alençon, so that my letters become more like the pleadings in a lawsuit than a diplomatic correspondence.

I understand that on the 24th, the date of my last, Secretary Pinart had a despatch from his master telling him that, if he wished well to him and to France, he was to make every effort to detain Alençon here. The latter, although he had promised to leave next day for Zeeland, kept throwing every obstacle in the way of his departure, added to which he was unwell. It may well be supposed that, when Pinart saw how efficacious had been his previous action in frightening the Queen, in view of the letters he had received, and seeing the ships quite ready to take Alençon over, he again went at once to the Queen, and represented to her in a long discourse the risk which would be run by her person and

1582.

by England in consequence of the change in the position of affairs in Scotland, which was evident to her as to others; and also by reason of the alliance which would be made between France and Spain to exact satisfaction for past events. He dwelt at length upon these two points, and said that although his master might not care to purchase his brother's marriage at such a high price as the surrender of the fortresses she demanded, she must bear in mind that he might seize the opportunity of joining with Spain, and thus both crowns might obtain full redress for the injuries done to them by England. It would, therefore, be much better for her not to demand, as a pledge for the fulfilment of his promise, the two towns she mentioned, but that hostages should be given instead. This had such an effect upon the Queen that she immediately ordered the sailors in the ships to be dismissed, and said that it would be better that Alençon should stay until further orders.

I am assured that the Queen was so alarmed at Pinart's talk that she did not sleep all night, and constantly woke Lady Stafford, who sleeps in the same room. Her agitation was so terrible that in the morning she was in a high fever. Pinart afterwards went to Hatton, who is the person who is most opposed to the marriage, to whom he repeated what he had said to the Queen, but he was obstinate, and would only reply that, besides the evil which might befall him by the Queen's marriage, it was to be feared that it might cause a change in what they call their "evangelical" religion, and be a grave danger to the person of the Queen, by reason of the multitude of Catholics in England, who would rise when they had a chief of their own faith. Pinart replied by setting forth the favours and good works which the Protestants had received from Alençon, and said the Catholics never took arms against their legitimate sovereign, and the two separated very bad friends.

After dinner, whilst she was still in bed, the Queen summoned Sussex to tell him the trouble in which she was, swearing with great protestations that she must marry Alençon, forced by the dangers by which she was surrounded, as stated by Pinart. Another reason for the marriage, she said, was to have a companion in the government to enable her to bridle the insolence of her favourites, which she could not do by any other means. Sussex besought her, as she had once told him not to speak of the matter again, to refrain from ordering him to do so now, as he could only pray her to follow her own inclination, and to govern her subjects accordingly. The Queen told him to consider Pinart's proposition to substitute hostages for the two towns as a pledge, as it was most important for her security, and it was more easy for the king of France to grant. Sussex replied that he was of opinion that the demands for the towns should not be waived, with which he left the Queen in suspense. She ordered the Council to be summoned to consider it, and Leicester therein opposed the marriage for three reasons. First, that it would be against God's service, since Alençon was of a different religion to the Queen; second, that the marriage was so unpopular that, if it were effected, a general tumult might

1582.

be feared; and, third, that as Alençon could be put off with money, there was no urgent reason for the marriage to proceed. Hatton was of the same opinion, saying that if he were obliged to give his reasons for opposing the marriage he should never finish talking. Sussex held the contrary view, and in answer to Leicester said that the marriage could not be prejudicial to God's service, since universal peace would be the result; whilst the love of her subjects was such that nothing which the Queen desired could fail to please them, especially this, which would assure the State, by furnishing the Queen with such a support as would banish all fear of possible enemies, and particularly secure her against the power of your Majesty. This could not be done excepting by the marriage, and it was not to be believed that a person such as Alençon could be put off with money, as he had always declined to treat of anything else but the marriage. He, Sussex, and Leicester, came to words about it, and the Treasurer had to separate them, saying that the business was in the hands of the Queen, and that she had only given orders for them to consider the question of security to be demanded, in case she should decide to marry. The Council rose without settling whether it should be towns or hostages, and they went to give an account to the Queen, with whom Cecil remained alone, and it ended in her again ordering the ships to be got ready.

I understand that Pinart has orders to watch the Queen's behaviour with regard to Alençon's going to the Netherlands, and if he sees that she is advising him to go and promises him help, he is to declare to her in the presence of Alençon, at the leave taking, that his master not only entirely disapproves of the enterprise, but will instantly issue proclamations declaring rebels all his subjects who may serve in the war, thus openly showing himself his brother's enemy in that business. It is unworthy of Alençon, he says, to set such an example as to aid the vassals of any sovereign in rebelling against him if he does not please their humour. If, on the contrary, the Queen lets Alençon go his own way, without inciting him, Pinart is not to make this protest. I see signs of this, besides hearing of it from a trustworthy person, as Pinart, when he heard that some of the French gentlemen here were going to the Netherlands, told them not to be in such a hurry, as they might regret going thither, and would have to return very quickly, if they ever wanted to go to France again.

The night before last the Queen told Sussex that, although she had promised 30,000*l.* to Alençon, it was only to facilitate his departure, and that she did not mean to give it to him, as it was more important for her to employ the money in her own affairs than to spend it in Alençon's pleasures, for whom she would do quite enough if she gave him 20,000 ducats for his expenses here. A Frenchman was sent by Orange to urge Alençon to expedite his coming, and at last the Queen arranged with him that he should go at the end of this month to Flushing, she giving him 70,000*l.* She ordered two drafts on the Exchequer for 10,000*l.* and 20,000*l.*, which with the other 30,000*l.* are now ready, and she has ordered Leicester and Lord Howard to accompany him. They are having

1582.

new liveries made in furious haste, and the ships are being rapidly made ready. The Queen told Alençon that, if he thought fit to leave the rebels, he could come back with Leicester in a fortnight. Leicester managed to get appointed to go with him, in order to gain credit with the heretics, whom he gives to understand that he has been the cause of his departure, and he is also moved by his greed for the presents which he will get from the towns.

Alençon has told friends of his that, although he does not show any dissatisfaction, if the Queen gives him no further security than before for the fulfilment of her promise to marry him, he will let her see before he goes how displeased he is, and in a way for which she will be sorry. Sussex advises him to detain Leicester in Flanders all the time he is there, and, with this end, not to let him go in any ship but the one that conveys him (Alençon), since Leicester says that he will embark at Norwich and Alençon at Dover, one of the Queen's ships having been sent to Norwich with this object.

Pinart went last night to take leave of the Queen, on the ground that his coming only related to the marriage, and as this negotiation had ceased his mission was at an end. I understand that she asked him to stay, but he says still that he will leave at once.

What I have here set down is at present to be taken as their latest resolution, but it is impossible for me to repeat the subterfuges the Queen adopts to get rid of Alençon. The coming of Orange's envoys was all managed by her, and she has had Alençon and the French told that I have been with her secretly, discussing alliances with your Majesty. I am, underhand, doing all I can with her, her ministers and the French, to prevent injury to your Majesty's interest.—London, 27th January 1582.

27 Jan. **204.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In my former letters I explained the reasons for the delay in sending the priests to Scotland, and I am now awaiting the reply from Dr. Allen and Father Persons as to the best means to be adopted for expediting their departure, as I have sent a man specially to them to discuss the subject. It seems as if the delay were a special providence, in view of the dissensions, which I mentioned in one of my letters of the 24th, between Lennox and Arran. In giving them (the priests) the two thousand ducats now sent by your Majesty, I will be ruled by your Majesty's instructions, and in accordance with my action when I asked the queen of Scotland to help in this affair. The greatest caution, indeed, is being exercised in the management of it, and the Catholics here are being constantly encouraged and helped by me as much as possible. They have been greatly scandalised at the Abbé de Véry, who came with Alençon, having attended one of their Protestant services at Westminster, where he took a seat next to the Dean, whom he afterwards asked what they were singing and reading from the books. Some of the Frenchmen too have attended the Queen's chapel, and the heretics have taken advantage of this to influence the principal Catholics now in prison, to whom the

1582.

so-called bishop of London sent to ask them why they need refuse to go to church, since those who were admittedly Catholics attended. By the blessing of God the bad example has not seduced any one.

The contract to ship timber, which I mentioned as having been made by two Englishmen who had arrived at Bristol and intended to ship it from there, was stopped by the earl of Leicester as soon as he heard of it.* He has the monopoly of the export of timber from the country, and they meant to pay him a sum of money for his license, but he chose rather to send the timber on his own account, and the men, therefore, sent to Holland, where I understand they are trying to get some cargoes, but as my other man is not here at present I cannot get particulars, excepting that they had sent one shipload, bound for the port of Santa Cruz, and their agent has letters from Morocco of 10th December saying that the ship had arrived at Larache.—London, 27th January 1582.

28 Jan. B. M. Add. MSS. 28,702.

205. MEMORANDUM of CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE to the KING on English affairs.
[EXTRACT.]

The letters from England are deciphered, and will be enclosed herewith. Don Bernardino spoke in very good terms about the arrested ships, for which the bastard Don Antonio had given patents, and his action cannot fail to have some effect, as the Queen and her Council are in fear of the merchants, and it is evident that they are influenced by this. Don Bernardino has done well in advising the prince of Parma of all of Alençon's plans for entering Dunkirk, and in secretly arousing the suspicion of the Antwerp and Flushing men against Alençon. I do not see what else we can do here in the matter but await events. The marriage is ending in smoke, as I have said it would, for a long time past. All these demonstrations between the Queen and Alençon produce nothing, if it be true that, whilst the marriage has been broken off, no alliance has been effected and no money obtained. Without money he will not be very welcome in the States. Some Catholics write saying that the Queen has detained Alençon and his people on the pretext that she wishes to have Calais restored, and the money owing to her paid. This does not seem very likely, although it is the sort of trick which Englishmen often play. They tried it with the late Emperor and his father, King Philip. But as Don Bernardino does not mention it, it is probably not true in this case. The Scotch news is very good, and every effort should be made to promote the matter, and to encourage the insurgents in Ireland, who will probably be the more bitter against the English now that the blood of their kinsmen has been spilt, and they have arms in their hands and the Queen's castles are short of supplies. I think it would be well for Briceño,† through intermediaries, to

* The man who appears to have obtained the contract for exporting timber to Barbary was a certain John Sympcote of London.

† The Abbé Briceño was Philip's ambassador in Rome at this time.

1582.

wake up his Holiness in this matter and in the Scotch affairs, and try to get him to take them in hand energetically. Cannot your Majesty do something to help that poor man imprisoned in the Tower?*—Madrid, 28th January 1582.

28 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 123.

206. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

We have received advices from Dutch sailors arriving here; and especially from the captain of a hulk coming from Ramua (Middleburgh) which arrived at Belem in the middle of January, that Drake had sailed from England with twelve ships, manned with soldiers and colonists, and carrying bricks, lime, and other building materials for forts, bound for the Straits of Magellan. As we have no report of this from you we cannot believe it, but the doubt causes anxiety.† If it be true, however, they will meet there (*i.e.* in the Straits) some one who will give them a more lively reception than they expect. Still we hope it is not true. Please report very carefully all you can learn about armament of ships, and whether any have left or are expected to leave this spring. In order that you may be the better able to make these inquiries, I send you copy of a letter from Cabrera, Judge of the Canaries, to the President and Judges of the Chamber of Commerce of Seville, giving an account of the corsairs which were cruising in the neighbourhood in search of plunder at the end of last summer. Discover whether these ships were French or English, and report everything to me with the utmost clearness and detail. This may appear impossible, but you must learn as much as you can, as it is most necessary we should know. We hear that Don Antonio has sent Diego Botello to the Queen. If this be so, we count upon your discovering his errand.—Lisbon, 28th January 1582.

28 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 121.

207. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

[EXTRACT.]

I was much pleased to learn that the priests who had gone to Scotland had had an interview with the King, by whom they were so well received. As the matter is so important in God's service, it is to be hoped that He will guide it to a good end. I thank you much for the trouble, diligence, and care you display in the matter, and I beg you to continue your action with all secrecy, as hitherto. Believe me, you can do me no greater service than this. Your understanding with the queen of Scotland will be very useful, as well as with the other persons you mention, who I am glad to hear are people of quality.

I grieve to learn of the punishment inflicted on the Catholics by the viceroy of Ireland. Advise what effect this has had on the insurgents, whether Desmond is still in the field, what has become of Baltinglass, and whether the death of Dr. Sanders is confirmed.

* Antonio Fogaza. See Volume II. of the present Calendar, and letters Nos. 182 and 214 of this volume.

† The report of the Dutch captain, saying he had met Drake off the Isle of Wight, is enclosed.

1582.

The order you obtained for Don Antonio's ships to return to port was good, and I hope you have obtained the embargo and deposit of the merchandise from Terceira, in the hands of some safe person. Advise me when the ships for the Moluccas or any other ships sail.—Lisbon, 28th January 1582.

28 Jan. **208.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As I was sending off the courier with the accompanying letter, I was informed that the Queen had summoned Pinart, and I detained the man until I could learn the reason. It appears that it was to press him to declare the instructions which she said she knew he had secretly received from the King to convey to her.

He replied that it was not his duty to disclose his instructions, until she had definitely resolved one way or the other about the marriage. The Queen thereupon besought him most urgently with many entreaties and endearments, but fruitlessly. She afterwards asked him to advise Alençon to desist from the war in the Netherlands, which was so dangerous and troublesome for him. Pinart replied that the favour she had extended to him was the cause of Alençon's embarking in the enterprise, and it was, therefore, her duty to dissuade him therefrom. The Queen denied that she had ever provoked him to the war, until after Alençon had commenced it, and she now considered it advisable that he should retire from it rather than persevere to his own shame and dishonour.

After this, a friend of Pinart asked him how he found Alençon disposed in the business; to which he replied that he was very perplexed and irresolute, as without the aid of England he could do nothing in the Netherlands, and even if he had such help he would be obliged in the end to retire.

The Queen told Alençon yesterday that she had ordered Dover Castle to be made ready, so that she might go there and await his return from Flanders, which would be at most within twenty days, when the marriage might take place, as in the meanwhile he might decide whether it was best to continue the war, or advise the rebels to make terms with your Majesty, or, on the other hand, advise them to submit to another sovereign, he, Alençon, retiring from the country and leaving them. Although Alençon displayed much pleasure at this, and thanked her warmly, I am told that he at once retired with Marchaumont to his cabinet and wept bitterly, swearing that he would never rest contented until he had revenged himself on the Queen, and he saw now that he should have to change his course with this object, and make friends with his brother, as he was sure that his mother was more on his side than ever.

With regard to the money, different opinions are rife, because although the Queen has promised the 60,000*l.*, some of her Councillors say that she did so subject to their approval, and the Treasurer asserts that he will never consent to a larger sum being given to Alençon than an equivalent to the expenses of his

1582.

visit, and the presents he has given, as to grant him anything more would neither be reasonable nor wise. He is also opposed to Alençon's departure being delayed, and the resources of the country diminished, as no successful issue of his efforts can now be anticipated. Even if he were to succeed, he, the Treasurer, thinks that it would be prejudicial to England, as the Queen could not now trust such a friend, when he was absent, seeing that she had tried to deceive him when he was present.—London, 28th January 1582.

2 Feb. **209.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As I wrote on the 28th, Alençon was dallying with his departure as much as he could, but the Queen has adopted every human artifice to get him gone as speedily as possible to the Netherlands, judging that there was no other road by which she might so readily get rid of him, and I am sure that she managed to bribe most of Alençon's councillors and friends to help her in her object.* They only look after their own interests, and are willing enough to sell, not only their master's dignity, but also his personal safety; and they therefore asked him, when they saw him so remiss about going to Flanders, what else he could do in France if he returned thither but live under the patronage of Valette and M. d'Arques his brother's mignons. They said, rather than suffer such an indignity as that, he had better go to Flanders, where he could not fail to be better off than in France, bad as it might be. These persuasions swayed him greatly, and counterbalanced Pinart's many arguments against his placing himself in the hands of rebels and heretics. I am told that the Queen-mother is greatly indignant that such a slight should be put upon her son as to hand him over thus defenceless to the rebels, and the French themselves are denouncing it; Pinart's words to the Queen on the subject, which I wrote, having troubled her greatly. She therefore again pressed Alençon on the occasion of some fresh communications from the rebels being sent to him, and he at last left yesterday, accompanied by the Queen, who they say will go as far as Dover, but I am assured she will stop at Rochester.

I have not been able to discover yet whether they have given him the 60,000*l.* or a smaller sum, as the earl of Leicester is taking the money in one of the Queen's ships, and they have not trusted Alençon with a single real. The Queen says she will defray the expenses up to the time of his arrival and during the stay of Leicester, Howard, and Hunsdon and I am told that 20,000 ducats have been given to him in bills of exchange for the raising of the German cavalry, as well as a similar sum for the Swiss. The bills are so drawn that if the Queen changes her mind she can order them not to be paid at maturity.

The design of Alençon is to go to Antwerp, and there, with the aid the Queen promises him, see what the States can do. In accordance therewith he will arrange to continue the war, but, as I

* In the King's hand :—If they can be bribed we had better do the same.

1582.

have explained, he has nothing to depend upon but the mere word the Queen has given him, her promises being already contradicted by some of her Ministers, who say that, even if she wishes to do so, she cannot give him money to sustain the war.

Diego Botello has published here that the king of France had given permission to Don Antonio to raise 6,000 foot and 500 horse in France, and had granted four ports where the property plundered under his letters of marque might be openly sold. He has also authorised him to coin money at Tours. When Walsingham was told this, he said they were not doing so much as this, but that the Queen-mother was helping him with a thousand French foot soldiers paid by herself.—London, 2nd February 1582.

After closing the above, I learnt that Don Antonio was expected on the 20th ultimo in the house of Colonel Schomberg, a German in the service of the king of France, whose marshal he is. The object is to request him and his friends to make known to the principal people in Germany the injustice with which your Majesty was treating him, in the same form as Orange adopted in his apology.* I am told also that a nephew of the same Colonel has offered to bring four standards of Germans to Don Antonio's service. —London, 2nd February 1582.

9 Feb. **210.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 2nd I reported the departure of Alençon and the Queen from London. The Commissioners from Flanders went to Alençon the same day and made him a very long harangue, couched not only in disrespectful, but in insolent terms, with regard to expediting his going to the Netherlands. He repeated their expressions to the Queen, who immediately sent for them and addressed them thus: "You! shoemakers, carpenters, and heretics, how dare you speak "in such terms to a man of royal blood like the duke of Alençon? "I would have you know that when you approach him or me, you "are in the presence of the two greatest princes in Christendom." She has done nothing but weep in public, and when she heard at Rochester that the soldiers of your Majesty were hastening to Antwerp, she begged Alençon not to go over, until she sent a special express to learn what the state of affairs was there. He replied that, in order that he might come back the quicker, he would not delay his departure, and all the journey was passed in gallantries like this. She even went so far as to assure Leicester and Walsingham that she would not live an hour longer, but for the hope of soon seeing Alençon again, as she was now determined to marry him in spite of all opposition. She has given him two months in which to return, and has made him a present of 25,000*l.*, assuring him that she would help him as much as possible in the war. She says that, whoever dares to injure him so much as a finger, she will try to wound to the heart. She presses him to beg his brother for help. I have no news of his having embarked, as although on the

† In the King's hand:—"Perhaps it will be advisable for us to take some action in Germany. Remind me."

1582

6th the horses were ready at Canterbury to take them to Dover, whither the Queen said that she would accompany him, the wind is contrary for the passage.

It is asserted that the journey has cost the Queen the loss of a diamond cross worth 20,000*l.* in a casket with two fine rings. Some people hint that this is an artifice of hers, and that she really has given the gems to Alençon. They are however making such efforts to discover them, that it would appear otherwise, and a suspicion exists that they have been pilfered by some of the principal ladies.

Hatton endeavoured, underhand, that Leicester should remain here, which was a plan hatched between them. The Queen was told this, and said that, if she was certain that Leicester had tried to manage this, she would not keep him as her Councillor or in his position at Court, as it would amount to a refusal to do a service to the person whom she loved best in the world. Hatton, thereupon, went and excused himself, saying that he alone was to blame, and that he only desired, in her own interests, to avoid the absence, for ever so short a time, of so good a Minister as Leicester.

As I have often reported, Walsingham has persistently adopted an infinity of fictions and tricks to persuade the Queen to break with your Majesty and help the rebels, and one day before Alençon left, he took her a letter which he said had been intercepted in Ireland, and had been sent to the insurgents by one of your Majesty's officers, telling them to keep in good heart and courage as, although they could not come to their help yet, they would soon do so, and make them masters of the island. When she read the letter she said that it was an invention, whereupon he, Walsingham, began to make protestation to the contrary, and the Queen then ordered that the man who had conveyed it from Ireland should be brought to her. Walsingham instructed a man for the purpose, the letter being in reality nothing but a forgery of his own, and after the Queen had spoken to the man, she told Walsingham that, even if the letter were genuine, your Majesty only said what you might do, but gave no time when you would do it. Walsingham told her she must not trust to that, as she would not have time to defend herself unless she was beforehand in her preparations. Walsingham's animus must have been evident to the Queen when he gave her the book containing Orange's apology, which they have printed here and now sell openly, although it bears the imprint of Delft in Holland. She told him that she would never believe it, as, according to that book, your Majesty had no right in the Netherlands, whereupon Walsingham retorted that he had only argued that your Majesty was not the legitimate sovereign of the Netherlands, which of right belonged to the French, but he had not been believed; and he did not think, moreover, that a man like Orange would write lies, as he was only defending the word of God and was so religious a person. At this, a lady who was present at the conversation could stand it no longer, and told the Queen that he (Orange) was not such a saintly man as they made out, as he had a bastard son. Walsingham began to swear that he knew nothing

1582.

about such a thing, although he, the son, had been here all the time with St. Aldegonde, and had dined in his house a hundred times.

The Queen has lately been pressing the rebel States to repay her 40,000*l.* which she has lent them at various times on their bills, given with the consent of the Councils. They promise that they will give her in payment a jewel which they have belonging to your Majesty, and which they kept back from those which were sent as pledges and are now in the Tower, the name of which jewel is the "Landsjewel," and which I certainly do not remember, although I saw all of them many times. They have sent from here two jewellers to value it and to bring a drawing, so that they may see whether it is worth the 40,000*l.**

The Queen is informed that more than 800 of the Frenchmen who went to Flanders have died of sickness.

I understand that Pinart whilst on the road to go to France was as discontented as when he started from here.

Baron Gaspard Schomberg, of whom I wrote on the 25th of September, again fell ill and has been detained here. His brother-in-law in France has sent him a courier saying that there is an opportunity of employment for him in that country, and telling him to come over at once. He has informed me that he is going, and has asked for a letter for Juan Bautista de Tassis, to whom he wishes to give information in your Majesty's interests, whilst he is in France. I have had familiar converse with him, and find that he understands artillery thoroughly, and is a great man for instruments. Amongst others, he has shown me the models of some, which, according to my judgment, will be very useful for your Majesty's fleets and armies, and I send a description of them herewith.—London, 9th February 1582.

9 Feb. **211.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In another of the four letters I write herewith I send answers to the various points touched in your Majesty's despatches. I have stumbled upon a difficulty in my usual policy of alarming the merchants by suggesting what may happen to them, namely, that as the Spanish trade, from which they derive such great wealth, is really necessary for them, they have been obliged to disregard my warnings and risk continuing it, with the result that, not only have they found an absence of all signs of retaliation, but they have been greatly reassured, and confess that they have never been received so well in Spain as during the last eighteen months, nor have they ever made a greater profit on their freights and merchandise. This has given rise to an impression, which has been published with all effrontery, that the suspending of the prohibition was absolutely needful to us, and their fears have therefore vanished. If I again tried to alarm them the only result would be to swell their pride and insolence the more. It has already reached such a pitch that a ship from St. Sebastian, being driven into Plymouth by a storm with broken masts, and taking shelter under the two

* In the King's hand:—"I know of no such jewel and do not think it can exist."

1582.

castles belonging to the Queen there, two boatloads of men came at night, on the pretence of being officers of justice, and boarded the ship. They would have taken her and her crew away, only that two of the mariners, who happened to be on shore, came and told me about the matter. I instantly reported the matter to the Council, and was told that I should see that they would act promptly. They said that not only were they obliged by the law of England, but by the law of nations, to order the inhabitants of Plymouth immediately to recover the ship, and, if not, to pay the cost of the vessel and cargo. They also sent Beal with a reply to me respecting the robberies committed by Don Antonio's ships. They say that, if the owners of the property will come and claim it by ordinary legal means, justice shall be done. This is a very unusual course to take in these matters of piracy. Their desire is, however, that it shall be taken in this case simply for appearance sake, as they know very well that none of the individual owners will undertake a lawsuit, which would mean a long lifetime and a great treasure wasted, with the result that after all they would get nothing.

At the same time they answered, with regard to the property which had been captured near Terceira by the pirates Robert and Bingham, to the effect that, if the owners appeared, either in person or proxy, they could take proceedings in the matter. In the meanwhile these people will have time to distribute the property, whilst they tacitly approve of Don Antonio's letters of marque, on the pretence that they do not want to be judges with regard to the war, but at the same time they allow Englishmen to assist Don Antonio as if the war were a national one. I await the Queen's return to reply to the Council upon this point, as it is universally allowed to embargo goods wherever they have been stolen, whilst the necessary steps are taken by the representative of the sovereign from whose subjects they have been plundered.

I have communicated with Antonio de Castillo with regard to the arguments to be used in support of this. Miguel de Moura has sent to Antonio de Castillo the despatch your Majesty ordered to be written, saying that the former secretary had erroneously addressed him as ambassador, in ignorance of the exact position of your Majesty's affairs here. On my departure from Spain I had represented to the duke of Alba and Secretary Zayas that it was undesirable that I should be styled your Majesty's ambassador for Portugal, and it was in all respects fitting that, as soon as God made Castillo your Majesty's subject, he should receive the title of ambassador, both in recognition of his firmness in maintaining your Majesty's right, and his efforts in favour of Portuguese affairs generally. His attitude was gall and wormwood to these people, and I quite expected some outrage would be offered to him. In order to avoid this, and the consequent injury to your Majesty's interests, I no sooner received your Majesty's despatch appointing him than I informed the Queen and her Ministers thereof. As the later despatch came through Tassis, the councillors here have heard from France that Castillo is not your Majesty's ambassador,

1582.

and they are clamouring against me for telling them lies, and are openly arranging with Don Antonio's people to seize Castillo on the road. The best way to avoid this will be to let the Queen know that he is your ambassador, and I therefore humbly beg, as a great and signal favour to me, and in your Majesty's interests, that he may be addressed as ambassador as he was in the first letters. My own honour is at stake in the matter, as I do not want these people to make me out a liar, not having hitherto lost my credit with them. Diego Botello is here endeavouring to obtain possession of the property which has come from Terceira, amongst which are a thousand boxes of sugar. He offers to fit out ships here with the proceeds, and, although I am throwing all kinds of obstacles in the way, Walsingham and Leicester foil me at every turn. Whilst I am writing this I have received news that the stolen caravel, which had been ordered to leave Bristol, had arrived at a port near Beaumaris, storm-driven, with her masts gone, with only twenty Englishmen and the Portuguese. The Admiral of that part, thinking that she was a derelict, and the people on board of her were thieves, immediately went to claim her for the Queen. I have again had the matter mentioned at second-hand, and have had it shown that it will be for the good of the Queen that the property should be seized in her name, and not be allowed to go elsewhere. A commission of the Judge of the Admiralty has been despatched with this end.

An order sent by this Council for the arrest of Don Antonio's ships, and the pirates in his pay, duly arrived at Plymouth, where they arrested the four they found there and two others at Falmouth. I do not know whether it will be merely make-believe, as it was before, but I learn that on the 3rd instant they were still under arrest.

The four ships which I said were being fitted out for the Moluccas,* are being manned with a large number of all sorts of artificers, the larger of them especially taking thirty carpenters and as many bricklayers each, which is an indication of their intention to colonise. They are now ready, and intend to sail on the 20th.

News comes from Terceira, up to the 1st instant, that no more foreign troops had arrived.—London, 9th February 1582.

9 Feb. **212.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Father William Holt has come from Scotland to confer with me. He is one of the members of the Company of Jesus who came some months since by way of Germany. We had quite given him up for lost, as he was for fifteen days entirely unconscious, but God granted him health to be employed in so sacred a cause as the conversion of Scotland. Father Persons, who is the Superior of all of them in these countries, ordered him to go to Scotland in

* In the King's hand :—"Unless they are for the Straits. He has not mentioned Drake lately."

1582.

company with the priest* who was sent the first time, and afterwards returned thither. Holt fell ill on the Border, where the other left him. He (Holt) went thence to Edinburgh, where he was received, as the first priest had been, by the principal lords and Councillors of the King, particularly the duke of Lennox, the earls of Huntly, Eglinton, Argyll, Caithness, and other personages who are desirous of bringing the country to submit to our Holy Catholic faith. Father Holt, who is a person of virtuous life, and as I should judge, a prudent man in mundane affairs, assures me that these men show many signs of their sincerity in the matter, as they unanimously pledge themselves to adopt four means of attaining the object. First, to endeavour, by the preaching and admonitions of wise and exemplary persons, and by public disputations with the Protestants, to convert the King, of whom they have great hopes by reason of his good understanding, without more obstinacy in religion than is natural in those who had been bred in error; the second means is to learn whether the queen of Scotland will allow them so to manage matters in the country, that if the King be not converted, he should be forced to open his eyes and hear the truth, but they will not put their hands to this without her express order, and always on the understanding that what they do should be with proper regard to the respect and reverence due to the royal dignity; the third is that, if the queen of Scotland should consider it necessary to carry the matter through, by whatever means, since the salvation of the Prince is involved, in addition to worldly grandeur, they would transport him out of the kingdom to a place that she might indicate, in order that he might be converted to the Catholic Church; the fourth expedient is that, if the queen of Scotland should be determined to convert the kingdom, as a last resource they would depose the King until she arrived, unless he would consent to be a Catholic. They say that, if God should not bless either of these four methods with success, or give them liberty of conscience in Scotland, they would leave the country with their wives, families, and kin, who would follow them, abandoning all their property and possessions. One way to forward these expedients was to request a foreign sovereign to support them with troops, by means of which they might, for some time, subject the ministers and heretics, and provide against any invasion from England in their support, such as the queen (of England) had constantly promised them. For this reason it was necessary for the Catholics to be able to count upon foreign assistance, and they considered that two thousand soldiers would be sufficient for the purpose. They feared that his Holiness would not be willing to turn his eyes towards them, as he was so far off, and was troubled with affairs in Italy by reason of the Turks; whilst your Majesty was so embarrassed with the war in Flanders and other enterprises, and Scotland was so poor a country that your Majesty would hardly care for their friendship. The forces of the king

* Father Creighton.

1582.

of France also were too much reduced for him to be able to do anything, especially against this Queen; whilst the House of Guise, although they were under the obligation of helping, were prevented from doing so by certain reasons which there was no need to state. They therefore did not intend to appeal to France, and their last resource was that the queen of Scotland herself might by her personal intercession prevail upon the Pope and your Majesty to help them. If they were sure of getting succour from your Majesty and the Pope, Lord Seton would go, in the habit of a pilgrim if necessary, for the purpose of stating more fully their determination to both monarchs, carrying his son with him to leave as a hostage, and bearing pledges, signed by the personages above mentioned, that if two thousand men were sent to Scotland they would undertake to convert the country to the Catholic faith and to bring it to submit to the Pope.

Although they wished the two thousand soldiers to be Spaniards, they saw the inconvenience which might arise from the jealousy of the French if this were the case, and they thought the best alternative would be for your Majesty to send Italians, under the name of the Pope, which would give the French no excuse for interference, at all events until the troops were landed, if the business was managed with fit secrecy. They could be sent to Friesland for embarkation, as your Majesty has a reason for sending troops thither, and they could easily be sent from there to Eyemouth, which would be the most convenient port.

After having discussed this with Father Holt they asked him to return to England and communicate it to the English personages who he knew were interested, and to endeavour to find some means of conveying their resolution to the queen of Scotland, as their channels of communication with her had now failed them. They wished to hear her opinion, and to receive orders as to the course she wished adopted, as soon as possible. He was to try also to have more priests sent from here and from France, dressed as laymen, to administer the sacraments. On no account should these men be Scotsmen, but English, as the Ministers, if they were discovered, would punish Scotsmen by the Scots law, which they could not do to Englishmen, whom they could only expel the country with forty days' notice, besides which matters were not ripe enough for Scotsmen to be employed. The Englishmen who go there pretend to be exiles, and as the language is nearly the same they do almost as well. They assure such men that they would be as safe in Scotland as if they were in Rome, only they must bring money for their maintenance.

Those who oppose the Catholic religion are the Ministers and the earl of Arran, who was made use of by d'Aubigny and his friends in Morton's business, and the King gave him his title for this. Since then, as he is a terrible heretic, this Queen has gained him, and for this reason they have tried to get rid of

1582.

him, and had arranged with the King, after Arran's quarrel with Lennox, to order him to remain in a house twelve miles from the Court, where they intended to dispatch him as best they might.

In consequence of the statute which was passed in this last Parliament against the Catholics, they had also agreed with the King to summon another Parliament on the 12th ultimo, for the purpose of repealing it, and if possible all other Acts relating to the same subject, Lennox having, the better to succeed in his object, artfully begged the King to summon the Parliament to meet at his house of Dalkeith, where he was sure that Arran would not dare to come or the Ministers have the courage, in his absence, to oppose the wishes of the rest. This priest tells me that if the queen of England had not made such great efforts with the Ministers and heretics after Morton's death, to prevent any change whatever in religion, liberty of conscience would undoubtedly have been obtained. But Arran and the Ministers, incited by the promises of this Queen, threatened to summon English help, and resist by force of arms, if it were done, and it was consequently deferred for a better opportunity.

He tells me, also, that he and the companion who went before, had already begun to reconcile some people to the Roman Church, and had said mass and preached on Christmas day and Epiphany, in the house of Lord Seton, in the presence of him and his family and the earl of Huntly. He is in great hopes that God will bless the affair with success, as he sees so much earnestness in those who are promoting it, and he relates that the following is the present state of the country.

All the country people and inhabitants of the villages are inclined to the Catholic Church, and against the ministers, especially those in the North; the reason being that as the ministers are married, they spend the ecclesiastical revenues on their children, and give nothing in charity or for the public benefit. In the towns, the Catholic are few, and the people mostly heretics, although one of the old priests assured Father Holt that in Edinburgh, this Christmas, he had administered the Eucharist to more than a hundred Catholics. He says that there are not more than six of these old priests in all the country, and they are very old and poor. There is a great abuse amongst the Catholics, but whether it arises from the laxity of the priests or the ignorance of the people he does not know, namely, that whilst they secretly worship as Catholics, they openly are allowed to attend the preaching of the heretics, and it is believed that even some of the heads of them do this.

The general desire of Catholic people is that foreign troops should come to expel the ministers, as they fear that the English would prevent its being done otherwise. The king of Scotland does not claim to be the head of the Church, as is done in England by Act of Parliament, and this will render the conversion the more easy.

The ministers who are learned enough to be able to dispute, are one Chagren* who was formerly a Franciscian friar, and preacher

* Probably John Craig.

1582.

to the king, and Siedem* also an apostate from the company of Jesus. Buchanan, although he still retains the title of principal tutor to the King, has given way to the vice of drunkenness, and is intoxicated every day. The rest of them are most idiotic people.

The priests who are to come from France are told to disembark at Leith, which is only six miles from a house belonging to Lord Seton, whither they have first to go to receive their orders how to proceed. The other priest who remained there, had gone to the North and elsewhere, with letters from certain gentlemen, in order to get full information which would be useful to the clergymen who are to go.

Father Holt tells me that it seems as if a special blessing of God rested upon the effort, seeing the goodwill with which they are welcomed everywhere, even by the heretics themselves. Lord Seton's wife is a protestant, and yet she cherishes them with the utmost kindness and charity.

He says that the quarrel between the duke of Lennox and Arran was a domestic one, as he (Father Holt) was present at the time, and the circumstances related to the Queen in the letter from Berwick did not happen.—London, 9th February 1582.

9 Feb. **213.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

With regard to your Majesty's message to be conveyed to the queen of Scotland respecting the association of her son in her rights, I had already answered her in general terms, as I thought the case demanded, and have now written again for the purpose of encouraging her the more. I have used great diligence in this matter, and have taken care to keep her informed of all that I heard which might interest her. I have done this with so much caution, that even when her friends here who are in correspondence with her asked me whether I had any communication with her, I replied that I have not, as I have no special reason for it, but naturally feel sorry for her troubles, she being a Queen and a widow. This course has pleased and obliged her much, as I gather from a letter she writes to me, of which I send a copy herewith.† It will be observed that she exhibits not the slightest suspicion that I am not proceeding with the most perfect straightforwardness towards her, as she makes no signs of it with regard to the intelligence I sent her about my conversation with Cecil, in order that she might not be startled if she heard the news from any other source. On the contrary, she replies in such a way as to banish any idea of dis-service towards your Majesty, saying that she has never dreamt of impeding your Majesty's aggrandisement, and is sure that my having taken the steps I did with the treasurer was demanded by the circumstances, in order to cool this Queen's intimacy with the French, and it would be forgotten as soon as the occasion was past. It will thus be seen that I have anticipated

* Probably Patrick Adamson.

† *See* letter, Queen of Scots to Mendoza, 14th January, page 257.

1582

your Majesty's instructions. When secretary Beal came to bring me an answer from the Council, he asked me whether I knew of the association of the queen of Scotland with her son, and what I thought of it. I replied that, as the Queen was so close with the French, it appeared to me that not only might your Majesty feel suspicion of them in the matter, but also of the Scots and English, as well as of the queen of Scotland, as they all seemed to be agreed about it.*

With regard to the association itself, I now hear for certain, as I wrote to your Majesty months ago, when it was first broached, that the queen (of Scots) herself had prompted them to ask her to take the step she did. This is fully confirmed by what she writes to me; her aim being, by this means, to pledge her son to attach more importance to her views, and to think more of her, and, consequently, that her admonitions to him with regard to religion may have more influence over him than they otherwise would have, and that when she has converted him, and the alliance with your Majesty has been arranged, there might be an opportunity of begging your Majesty with greater justice to lend your aid towards their claim to the English crown.

She also saw that, when those people who surrounded her son and who were inclined to be Catholics recognised that she had taken this step for her son's advancement, they would be encouraged, now that Morton was out of the way, to help forward her son's conversion for worldly gain, if for no other reason, inasmuch as it would also be greatly to their own advantage, particularly to that of the duke of Lennox, as he was not a Scotsman but had been brought up in France, where his wife and children were devout Catholics, and even though he has joined with the heretics in order by dissimulation to strengthen his position, he will not be blind to the advantage of helping the King by any means, especially as he will also save his soul thereby. If, moreover, he be declared the King's successor in default of issue, he could not hope to hold the crown of Scotland unless the country were Catholic, as the Protestants would certainly invite another member of the family of their own religion, who would also have the support of England.

These considerations, and the belief that the conversion of her son will pledge your Majesty and secure her own release and happiness, I believe she has set forth in her letter to the persons I mentioned, who have approved of them and have followed her counsel in the matter. I have pondered much to discover whether, after all, there might not be some French aim behind this, but I do not find any signs of it whatever, because, so far as Scotland itself is concerned, there is not much to be gained by the French connection, the King having received his crown from the Scots people; nor would the French have more influence in the country in consequence of the association, the queen of Scotland still remaining

* Beal's account of this conversation will be found in Lord Calthorpe's manuscripts.

1582.

a prisoner as before. On the other hand, if the King becomes a Catholic and the alliance of your Majesty were offered to him, carrying with it the assurance that he should add the crown of England and Ireland to his own, by your help, and that of the Catholics here, he would certainly accept it rather than he would join with France where the country is divided and the resources exhausted.

If the king of Scotland be Protestant it is certain that he will not be able during the life of his mother to claim his right to the throne of England, as it cannot be imagined for a moment that she would be weak enough to fall away from the Catholic church, and she would in such case for her own sake immediately revoke the association, and resist his claim, with the aid of your Majesty, the Pope and the English Catholics, and even if the French did not help her, they certainly would not oppose her under such circumstances.

I have given an account to the queen of Scotland of the state of affairs in that country, similar to that which I send enclosed. I informed her that the Scots are asking for English priests, and not Scotsmen, without saying anything in detail of the four expedients which the Scots lords proposed, only that, if she determines that her son shall be a Catholic at any cost, they will adopt the course with regard to it, which she may command; thus giving her to understand that they are ready and determined, and that the main part of the business is in her hands, which is the important point. I avoid detailing the proposals to transport her son, or depose him, which might possibly cause her motherly tenderness to shrink from them. It is not advisable that she should hear particulars, unless they are to be put into practice. In this and all else, I am using such artifice in words as I can, in order still to encourage her and facilitate the object in view.

I have also endeavoured to dispatch William Holt at once on his return to Scotland, which I considered necessary for the following reasons. First he was in great fear that in view of the want of confidence displayed by the Scots as to any help being given to them in the business, the long delay necessary to communicate with the Queen and to get a reply from your Majesty and the Pope, might prejudice the business and cause the Scotch Catholics to lose heart, whilst the heretics became more inflamed by the negotiations with England. He became more alarmed at this possibility when he discovered that he had been sent hither to confer with me, which he did not know before, and had no idea that I was a mover in the business. The priest that went back a second time* learnt that the two English lords who had sent him were prisoners here, and I had told him that if he found the matters in Scotland promising, and had to send or bring any account of them hither, he or his companion should come to London to the house of a clergyman, who would conduct him to the person with whom he had to confer. When Holt arrived therefore the clergyman brought him instantly to me.

* Creighton.

1582.

It was also necessary that he should go back at once, in order that he might be in Scotland to give the necessary information to the priests who arrived from France, and if he delayed his departure from here it was possible that he would not be able to get across the border, seeing the daily increasing severity of this Queen's orders with regard to people passing, for the purpose of stopping communications between the Catholics here and Scotland, which she suspects but cannot detect, and it would have wasted much time if he had had to go by way of France.

I therefore sent him off immediately, with a letter in Latin written by me, to tell them (*i.e.* the Scots lords) that I had listened to the mission they had sent by the bearer and that, if they were resolved to carry the business through, it was so righteous and just a one, that I could assure them that your Majesty would not fail to help and support them to attain their object, as in detail the bearer would verbally make known to them.

I was moved to write this letter, because your Majesty in various dispatches has ordered me to encourage these Scots, and confirm them in their determination to make head against the heretics. I have hitherto conducted this business by promoting it without appearing to do so, until I was assured of the feelings of the Scots, so that, if they were false, no injury might be caused to your Majesty's interests by their publishing, either here or in France, that they had your Majesty's support. I have therefore worked under the cloak of the English Catholics, up to the present point, when I have been obliged to disclose myself, in order that I might hear minutely the mission brought by Holt from the Scots, and instruct him as to the course he was to pursue. For this purpose, I had him secretly for two days in a room in my house, impressing upon him carefully the mode of procedure he was to adopt towards them. I warned him that, before he delivered the letter, he was to confer with Seton, as to whether it would be better for Seton to hand it to them, or whether Holt himself should give it to the duke of Lennox.

The better to do this, I left the address blank that it might be filled in afterwards. I supplied him with money for his voyage, and for the maintenance of himself and the other priest, of which he was sorely in need.

I also advised Dr. Allen to hasten the going of the priests from France, he having told me that he had now got the fitting men ready for the purpose, but had no money with which to send them. I replied that I would, by order of your Majesty, find means to keep them on the road, putting it in this form in order, as your Majesty wishes, not to pledge you for the future. Although they are priests and humble people, and I am sparing in the distribution of the money, yet they need more than others would, as they have to buy horses and lay dresses, and particularly those going from here to Scotland, who have to travel by indirect roads and engage guides, as well as to pay liberally on the Border, to ensure their getting across safely.

As those who, by my intercession, promoted the business are now in prison, I am obliged to conduct it myself. I find an obstacle

1582.

to this, which I am trying to overcome, namely, that the Borders are so closely watched that it will be difficult for me to keep up communications with Scotland. If the letters come in plain writing some of these folks will certainly take them and the affair will be discovered, whereas, if they are in cipher, the bearer is in danger of losing his life for the offence of carrying them. For that reason I am trying to open a way for my letters to go through France, as ciphers can be safely sent and received by me in that way.

I hope that God will deign to aid this conversion, the condition of which I have here set forth. Some of the difficulties have disappeared since I stated them in a letter dated 8th February /79 to Secretary Zayas,* who asked me to give my opinion about it, in consequence of a proposition that had been made by the bishop of Glasgow to Juan de Vargas. Although God's grace is the first foundation upon which must be built the temple for the gaining of so many souls (notwithstanding the natural inconstancy of the Scotch nation), and full confidence may therefore be entertained of success, strenuous human aid may also be counted upon, as the business is honeyed over with advantage and interest for the persons who are to carry it out; and this will encourage them much to persevere, since hope of worldly goods, however transitory, often causes men to postpone all other considerations.

The queen of Scotland signifies that, with money and pensions, the Councillors of her son may be won over, and his conversion thereby secured by preaching, which will be a great thing, as it will avoid the shedding of blood. This course, although advantageous, yet offers some difficulties, because, as heresy is so deeply rooted in the country, for our sins it may be feared that it will not be so quickly converted, but that many heretics will still remain, who at the first signs will appeal to England, which is so ready to favour them and can do so by sending an army into the country. Such an army might be resisted by the Scots for a short time if they were united, but not for long, as the penury of the country is great, and the people are not obliged to serve the King at their own cost for more than a fortnight with their followers and horses, after which time they return home, and the chiefs are for this reason obliged to risk all by a hasty battle rather than find themselves at last without troops at all. There has, therefore, rarely been an invasion by one nation of the other without an engagement, and there are no signs of a disposition amongst Catholics here to rise unless they have foreign aid, nor is it likely that the Queen and Council would employ, at such a time as the sending of troops to Scotland, any person they suspect of being a Catholic in order to avoid any trick being played them.

There are difficulties also as well as advantages in the proposals offered by the Scots for the coming of foreign troops. They offer security for their reception, but, as the true Catholic religion is

* *See* page 647, Vol. II. of this Calendar.

1582.

so much decayed in France, it may be feared that, before their arrival there (in Scotland), the French will hear of it, suspecting that it is an affair of your Majesty, and may raise obstacles in various quarters. The advantage to be gained by the landing of foreign troops is, that the Catholics could with confidence immediately begin to oppress the heretics, whilst this Queen would not dare to delay entering Scotland when foreign troops were there, with the support of whom the Scots could encounter her; and if she attempted it the whole English north country would be disturbed, the Catholics there being in a majority, and the opportunity would be taken by the Catholics in other parts of the country also to rise when they knew that they had on their side the forces of a more powerful prince than the king of Scotland.

As one of the two courses will have to be taken, I have thought well to represent to your Majesty my view of both of them, as I cannot judge which would be the most fitting; that question depending upon the position of your Majesty's dominions elsewhere, and whether it will be advisable to arouse the jealousy of any other prince. I humbly beg your Majesty to pardon the boldness and prolixity of my letters, but, as present events are of so much weight and moment, I am emboldened to state fully the exact positon, sinning rather by lengthy plainness than by brief obscurity.

Begs for special despatch in answer to the present; sent in same way.—London, 9th February 1582.

12 Feb. **214.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K 1447. 125.

Having regard to the good report you give of Antonio Fogaza in your letter of 17th December, I have decided to order you to help and favour him, and take the necessary steps for having him set at liberty. It is also my will that, out of the credit for 3,000 crowns recently sent to you, you should give him 1,500 to pay his debts and his costs incurred in the Tower. You may also, if necessary, pay the other 400 crowns, which you think will be the amount of his expenses, or any similar sum, more or less, to obtain his liberty. When he is free you will take care to guide him and send him hither, reporting all you do to me.—Lisbon, 12th February 1582.

12 Feb. **215.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447. 126.

We learn from one of your letters that the duke of Alençon was on the point of departure, and as you advised the prince of Parma, he intended to go to Dunkirk. This was very wisely done, and you will continue to report to the Prince all that is plotted against those States. At the same time, you will take action with the Queen and her Councillors to dissuade them from assisting in such things, using the arguments you think most likely to move them, in accordance with my intentions which have frequently been explained to you.

The matter of Don Antonio's ships which were in port aban-

1582.

doned by their crews, appears to have been successfully settled by you and you must subsequently have used great efforts to get the Queen to refuse Diego Botello's request on behalf of Don Antonio since he went thither in the full expectation of receiving great assistance. To this end, doubtless, he was accompanied by the former French consul in Lisbon, and the other man you mention. In these matters of Flanders and Don Antonio it will be advisable for you, either directly or indirectly, to arouse all possible suspicion of these new-fangled friendships, and you may also revive the alarm as to my action, if the Queen offends me further, letting her know that if she aids either party against me, she may force my hand. Report fully to me what result is attained.—Lisbon, 12th February 1582.

19 Feb. **216.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since writing my last four letters news has come of Alençon's arrival at Flushing. The Queen has said that he is coming back within six weeks to marry her, in accordance with the conditions which the king of France has accepted. This she asserts with great oaths and protestations; and upon its being repeated to the earl of Sussex, he said that no matter what she said it was all lies and nonsense to believe that the Queen would ever marry. She says that if she had known that the towns were discussing submission to your Majesty, she would never have let Alençon go to Flanders; but, at the same time, she is using great efforts with Orange through Leicester and otherwise to get him to detain Alençon in the Netherlands. He is now, doubtless, quite undeceived about the marriage, as on his leaving here Marchaumont, by his orders, made inquiries of certain Florentine merchants about the parts of the eldest daughter of the duke of Florence, and asked them to obtain a portrait of her to show to Alençon, whom he might induce to marry her if the Duke gave her a dowry of a million and a half. I understand they have sent for the portrait. Marchaumont remains here to look after his master's interests.

Leicester has informed Orange that the Queen wishes to learn from the States what money they will find for Alençon to carry on the war, and also what places shall be given up to the English, who are to go, for their winter quarters, and also what security they (the States) will give for their promises. He replies that his belief is that the States cannot give any real security, as the Ghent people had written that they were determined to separate from the other States, and look after their own interests. He has only been able, by dint of great entreaties, to get them to wait until Alençon came, that they might hear from him the means he proposed for carrying on the war against your Majesty. I hear this from a certain source in Ghent.

They tell me that Leicester was thinking of sending some of the gentlemen who went with him to Casimir, and it is thought that it will end in his coming to see Alençon.

This Queen sent to tell me that as she had never had any reply

1582.

from the prince of Parma about the release of Rogers,* who was still detained, she knew not why, she was going to send a man thither with letters, and asked me to give him a passport, and a letter to the prince of Parma, from whom I have received nothing since the 28th August, although I have sent him constant advices, and even special messengers, who have been sent back to me without replies. I am therefore quite in the dark about this and other matters. Before Leicester left the Council met to discuss the detention of Rogers and the Queen's writing on the subject. Leicester and Walsingham again voted as before, to the effect that if the Prince did not at once release him I should be arrested. Cecil, on the other hand, said that there was a great inequality between my person and that of Rogers, besides the fact that I was here as an ordinary ambassador, and must be considered as such, whereas Rogers was only a servant of the Queen sent with letters. —London, 19th February 1582.

14 Feb. B. M. Add. MSS. 28,702.

217. MEMORANDUM on English affairs from CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

Don Bernardino gives an account of the close relations which exists between those two lovers, and also of some points of importance. He reports the dissension which exists amongst the members of the Council, and the opinion entertained by some, that the Queen should become reconciled with your Majesty, and restore Drake's plunder; but as they have settled nothing tangible, there is nothing upon which we can act or reply, but we might say that, as it is possible that these negotiations between the French and English may result rather in dissension than satisfaction, some good may come of it, especially in view of the fears about Scotland. All we can do is to stand by and await events, whilst the ambassador continues the course he has hitherto followed, of being very confident and paying little attention to their negotiations; this being the method most likely to disconcert them. At the same time he must be careful not to shut the door against them, but if they show signs of approaching him should receive their advances willingly, and offer his aid towards a reconciliation, as no harm can be done by it, whilst their plots against his Majesty may be cooled thereby. He should try to stir up the hatred of the merchants against the Queen, and the few Councillors who are interested, by pointing out to them, with his usual dexterity, and without his being suspected, the injury which may befall them and all the country for the sake of the private interests of these men. Praise him for saving that Englishman, and tell him to try to retain him.†—Madrid, 28th February 1582.

* *See* page 628, Vol. II., of this Calendar.

† In an autograph note to this the King writes as follows:—"I think there were "two, namely, Lord . . . . (Lord Harry Howard) and Francis Arundel. I knew one of "that name, but do not know whether this is he." I quote this note, one of many similar remarks on these documents, to show how closely the King followed the details of the despatches. Reference to the letter dated 25th December 1581 page 246 in this volume proves that Philip's memory was correct.

1582.
19 Feb. **218.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 9th I wrote four letters in duplicate, and on the 14th received your Majesty's letters of the 8th of January. In accordance with your Majesty's desire for information about the ships going to Moluccas, I beg to report that they are taking victuals for two years, and their course it is said will be from here to Cape Blanco where they will water, and thence to the Cape of Good Hope. I have been unable to obtain further particulars, and although they are taking artificers, as I said, I do not believe that it is their intention to colonise, but rather to plunder on the Indian passage. This, indeed, was confessed by a captain of one of the ships, to a friend of his, saying that the show they were making of another intention is only as a bait to get commercial men to risk their money in the adventure. Portuguese who know the voyage to the East Indies, tell me that if these ships put into the island of St. Helena they may injure your Majesty's fleets on their way from the Indies. The Muscovy Company have subscribed 4,000*l.* sterling to the risk of the voyage, the whole adventure being nearly 10,000*l.*

I have heard that, in Leicester's absence, the treasurer has received orders to dispatch these four ships, in which he adventures two hundred pounds, half of which he has already paid. They say they are going to the Moluccas by a certain strait which they are to discover. They believe that, on this pretext, that they will be able to anchor, if necessary, in any of your Majesty's ports, and it will be desirable that your Majesty should order the most rigid vigilance in examining every ship that comes. The stop which I said had been placed on Don Antonio's ships in the ports of Plymouth and Falmouth, was notified to Diego Botello, and on the 9th he left here to go to the place where the Queen was, and she, through Walsingham, ordered the embargo to be raised, and that Diego Botello, should have an authority given to him to compel all the Englishmen who had agreed to serve Don Antonio and who had abandoned the ships to return thereto, or be immediately hanged. Walsingham insisted upon this order being given, as the crews had fled from the ships and they could not be manned otherwise. I had notice of this, and took the opportunity of these ships having the stolen merchandise still on board of them, to ask the members of the council who remained here to order their arrest, which they did, and although the commission was given in such terms as only to comply with my demand in appearance, I sent a man specially with it, so that, pending the arrival of contrary orders, the sailors might escape and hide themselves, and the ships therefore might not be so easily taken to Rochelle, which was the object of Botello, as Walsingham assures him that the merchandise purchased by Englishmen there and stolen from your Majesty's subjects may be brought hither without the owners or any other persons arresting them or proceeding in any way against them. Diego Botello has fitted out a ship here of 140 tons called the "Julian" to go to Terceira. She will sail in a week, and takes 80 sakers* of cast iron, and 40 mignons, as they are called here, which are big

* Sakers were pieces weighing 1,400 lbs. and throwing a shot of 5½ lbs.

1582.

pieces, four-pounders, with a hundred balls for each piece; two bronze cannon of 50 cwt.,* and 150 cwt. of powder, with 30 sailors. A son of Loreston Haines (Anęs ?), who is a brother of the man your Majesty ordered to be arrested in Lisbon, is going in her. I am told that his father subsequently said here that, because his son in Lisbon had dispatched some people to seek Don Antonio and deliver letters, I had no right to have him arrested. All the above munitions were brought to the Tower by night, they having been sold to Diego Botello by Walsingham in his own name, as if they did not belong to the Queen, who certainly does not like giving things away.

One of the ships taken by Don Antonio's vessels was from Flushing, and I understand that they have agreed to serve him, offering to get two other ships from that place also to join. I have let people there know, and have warned them to stop it, for fear they should lose the trade with Spain. I hear from Flushing that Duarte de Castro, and Francisco Antonio de Souza, had come to see Alençon for Don Antonio, to ask him and Orange to give leave for ships to sail from the ports of Holland and Zeeland to prey upon your Majesty's subjects, and to sell their booty there. They both agreed to this, but the Guild of sailors said they would not allow it.—London, 19th February 1582.

21 Feb. B. M. MSS. Add. 28,702.

219. MEMORANDUM on English affairs from CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

The English affair is a great point, God grant that it may go forward and that they may not have deceived the Ambassador. If the matter should turn out as promised, it will prove the correctness of what I have so often said, namely, that all these embassies and messages of friendship would be more likely to result in disagreement than in closer intimacy, as they were undertaken by persons inexperienced in such affairs. God grant that this may be so. But if the Queen were to do as she ought, she would arrest Alençon and hold him for the restoration of Calais, Guines, and Boulogne, making an agreement with his Majesty. This is what would really be best for her country, whilst it would extricate us from this turmoil and so enable us to settle our business well in many respects.—Madrid, 21st February 1582.

24 Feb. B. M. MSS. Add. 28,702.

220. MEMORANDUM on English affairs from CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

These letters are of later date, and as matters are now changed there is nothing to say except that what has happened will be a guide for the future. Ghent and Bruges are probably not so ready to submit as they tell him. Doubtless it is set afloat to move their friends from whom they expect help. But still it looks as if God were finding for us a way to turn all our affairs to advantage if we seize the opportunity presented to us.

It is of great importance that those who go to Scotland should be Jesuits and fit men for the negotiation. The loss of John Desmond,

* These were Cannon-Serpentines, fifty-three pounders.

1582.

the brother of the Earl, will be a great one, as he was one of the most popular and trusted of their leaders. The Ambassador is doing well in the matter of the restitution of the plunder, although little may come of it; but it is fitting that nothing should be left undone, and that these claims and complaints should be kept alive in view of future eventualities.

No doubt later despatches ought to have arrived, but the French are treating the posts as badly as they could if we were at open war with them. They will continue to act thus so long as they see it answers their purpose and we are timid.—Madrid, 24th February 1582.

1 March. **221.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

When Alençon left the Queen told him to write to her from Flanders addressed to "my wife the Queen of England," which he has done, but it is all nonsense, and the letters are full of love and his desolation at being away from her. She makes much of them, and says openly that she would give a million for her "frog," as she calls Alençon, to be swimming in the Thames rather than in the stagnant waters of the Netherlands.

She continues to say that if the king of France will fulfil his promises she will marry Alençon, and, in order to forward matters, the latter has written to his brother saying that as he formerly agreed to defray half the expenses of the war if the Queen paid the other half, the same end might be attained even if the Queen did not pay her half, since the revenues of Alençon would provide for a quarter, and the States another quarter, by which means the Queen's demands might be met. She is encouraging these proposals, in order not to let Alençon slip through her hands.

I am told that the Queen has received intelligence from Cobham that the king of France is annoyed at the going of his brother to Antwerp, and says that he will throw every possible obstacle in the way of war, and in this he his brother's open enemy. Even if he does not go quite so far as this, he shows no signs of helping him in any way.

Alençon wrote to Marchaumont, for the information of his friends, that he found the rebel States not at all in a fit temper for the waging of such a war, and although Orange gave him plenty of fine words his deeds were scanty. He (Alençon) resents the refusal to allow his guard to enter Middleburg until after Leicester's intercession, and also that the Ghent people waited a whole week before they welcomed him, whilst they conferred secretly amongst themselves and with Leicester, upon matter of which he was ignorant. He was at last convinced, moreover, that that he would always have to be second to Orange.

The earl of Leicester arrived here on the 26th, he having been summoned in great haste by the Queen, in consequence of the heavy expenses he and those who accompanied him were incurring. His one theme is the devotion of the rebel States to the Queen, and the attachment of the whole people, since they allowed the English to go over all the forts in Zeeland, but would not admit a single

1582.

Frenchman. The fortresses would be surrendered to the Queen whenever she wished to have them.

He says that Orange assured him that the rebels would not submit to so weak and resourceless a prince as Alençon unless they were secured by his union with the Queen. Orange made a long speech to this effect to the States before they took the oath to Alençon, and Leicester has taken care to repeat it all to the Queen with no end of flattery, telling her that she alone in Europe can dictate peace and war in all parts. He was only three days with Alençon at Antwerp, and left the day after the oath was taken, at dinner time, fearing that Alençon might detain him, and that his enemies here might have time to undermine his favour with the Queen. Hatton sent a special man post-haste to him, telling him to return instantly, because the Queen had remarked that men did no know their great good fortune until they had lost it. Since his return, he tells his friends that his journey was a pleasant one and advantageous to the Queen's service, as he left Alençon in a place out of which he could not get when he pleased.

Leicester says that they took the oath to Alençon at Antwerp as duke of Brabant and Marquis of the Holy Empire, but I can give no further particulars until I get news from my Antwerp correspondents. Judging, however, from the general discontent in the States, it is to be believed that it is advantageous for your Majesty that Alençon should have gone. A pasquin was put on his door the night he arrived in Antwerp, saying he had better declare himself on one side or the other, Calvinist or Catholic, or else return to France.

The Burgomasters of Brussels protested that the oath should first be taken there, where also Alençon ought to reside, as the lords of Brabant usually lived there.

Simier sends a letter saying that, on his landing, a gentleman from the King came to thank him warmly for his services here. The Queen-mother wished for him to come here as ambassdor, but the King deferred the appointment as he wished him to be near him.—London, 1st March 1582.

1 March. **222.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In consequence of Alençon's stay here the Queen, until a few days ago, delayed replying to the point brought to her by Beal from the queen of Scotland. To the first message respecting the association, she replied that on no account would she consent to the queen of Scotland sending a person either to France or to Scotland to discuss the matter, which should be left in her (Elizabeth's) hands to be dealt with when she thought best. To the queen of Scotland's request that she should be allowed to make a progress to the earl of Shrewsbury's houses, she said she could go and welcome, but on condition that she did not go from one house to the other by the high roads and that her route should not be made public, in order that no people should be allowed to see her. With regard to the third point, the Queen replied that, in addition to her own coach, she might have two others made for her ladies-in-waiting, and

1582.

might maintain ten horses for them. I am awaiting reply daily from the queen of Scotland to my letter.

As Walsingham and Leicester have not been able to prevail upon the Queen to openly deprive the Earl of Shrewsbury of the custody of the queen of Scotland, they suggested to her that the expense she was incurring, of 200*l.* a month, was too heavy, and that 80*l.* might be deducted therefrom; the idea being that, as Shrewsbury was very fond of money, he would give up the charge, and the Queen might then, without apparent offence to him, dispose of the Scotch Queen as she thought best. Shrewsbury is annoyed at the reduction, but has not surrendered the custody, and has begged leave to come here to justify the expenditure, which request has been granted. When the Queen read the Earl's reply, she said to Walsingham "You do nothing but stir up things to gain other "ends, but it all ends in smoke; you see now that Shrewsbury will "not leave the queen of Scotland after all."

In reply to your Majesty's request of 28th January that I should report about Dr. Sanders, they are now certain here that he died of cold and hardship in Ireland, his body having been found in a wood with his breviary and his bible under his arm. The insurgents are as bold as ever, Desmond being in his usual place and Baron Baltinglass(?) in his former position, the Viceroy being undesirous of offending them, as he has the Queen's orders to keep things quiet, if possible. As I have frequently reported, she declines to make any provision for that island, and is determined that the only money spent there shall be drawn from the revenues of the country itself. Since the death of Desmond's brother, a gentleman there, who is considered by these people to be a man of spirit, has declared himself against the Queen and has 600 followers.—London, 1st March 1582.

1 March. **223.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I saw the Councillors on the 21st respecting the reply given to me about Knollys, and the pirates Robert and Bingham, who had letters of marque from Don Antonio. I used many arguments, which, according to all human right and reason, are unanswerable, and said they could not deny me the embargo I demanded on the property which had been captured from the subjects of your Majesty, whose minister I was. I was therefore entitled, not only to demand the custody of it but the possession, under the "Jure gentium, princeps pater republicæ et interes, &c.," in order to avoid its falling into the hands of Diego Botello and prevent the fitting out of more ships. I concluded by saying, that even if they were not convinced by these arguments, and would only acknowledge the owners of the property or their proxies, they could not refuse me the dues which were payable to the crown of Portugal on goods exported from Brazil, and for which, according to the edicts, security was given at the place of shipment for its payment at Lisbon. It was therefore a debt already contracted, and as such, I claimed these dues as your Majesty's minister, all of which demands tended to one point, upon which I wished for a reply,

1582.

namely, whether they recognised Don Antonio's letters of marque; because, if they approved of them, the Queen must not be surprised if her rebellious subjects were allowed to issue letters of marque in your Majesty's dominions; whereas, if they did not approve of them, they could not on any account deny me what I asked, namely, to restore the stolen booty to me, and to the owners, particularly as Don Antonio's business was so utterly ridiculous. The Treasurer made some reply and wished to discuss the matter, but I convinced him, and it ended in their declining to say whether the letters of marque were good or not, and that they would reply only to my demands and complaints about the robbery. They said that after the Judge of the Admiralty had examined the evidence, he would proceed against all property captured at sea, but not against that which had been brought from Terceira. I pointed out that these pirates also took that property on the high seas, and had conveyed it, with other goods, to Terceira, where, by virtue of Don Antonio's letters of marque, it had been confiscated, on the ground that it had not been brought first thither and the dues upon it paid. The merchandise was therefore delivered to the pirates again for the payment of their own wages, and to deliver the balance to Don Antonio. Thus the business rests, the Judge of the Admiralty telling me that he will proceed as they have said. I am pushing him on as much as possible to prevent any of this sugar falling into Don Antonio's hands. They gave orders formerly at my instance, for the delivery of the boxes of sugar from the caravel, which I said had arrived at Holyhead, but now they have countermanded them, on the ground that a merchant ship called the "Mignon," of which I advised the departure on the 13th October 1580, had been arrested on the coast of Brazil, and until she and the property of her merchants had been released, all goods coming from that coast belonging to your Majesty's subjects must be detained here. This is all a lie, as is proved by a letter brought by the captain of the caravel and confirmed verbally by him, saying that this ship "Mignon" had arrived at St. Vincent, and had taken two hundred boxes of sugar, sailing from there to Todos-los-Santos where she was found leaking, and was allowed to discharge her cargo in bond. This was on the 19th September last.

I have replied that as the property mentioned is in bond, I believed your Majesty would punish the officers of the two ports for having allowed the ship to enter, against the orders of your Majesty, in accordance with the prohibition decreed in the time of King Sebastian, against Englishmen going to that part of the coast, they being confined to certain specified places. I said that for this the "Mignon" might legally be arrested and confiscated; and although the treaty I have mentioned had only been for three years and expired in December 1579, when Antonio de Castillo came, "erat pro gentium tacito consensu et in re mutuo ,comercio," nothing having changed on either side. The English, therefore, had no ground for claiming the restitution of the ship.

They replied that they would send the secretary to me to discuss the matter, and I am going to reply that if the Council are

1582.

so unjust as to permit Englishmen here to detain property in respect of this ship, I have no doubt that your Majesty will at once order the detention in Portugal, and elsewhere, of all property belonging to Englishmen, as it is of the greatest importance that on no account, should the English be allowed to imagine that they can go on that or any other voyage to the Indies, where prohibitions exist, excepting at the risk of being sent to the bottom. Otherwise they would continually fit out ships under the guise of trade, which would simply be sent to plunder all the property of your Majesty's subjects they could come across. I think it will be advantageous, if this ship (the "Mignon") was not captured after the caravel left, that she should be seized, in order to warn them not to send any more thither.—1st March 1582.

1 March. **224.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

When I saw the Council, as I relate in another letter herewith, the Earl of Sussex, after I had done my business, asked me what news I had of your Majesty's health and when I expected to see the Queen. I replied that he himself had brought me the Queen's message that she would inform me when I was to go, and I was still awaiting the intimation. The next day the Lord Chamberlain gave me notice that the Queen would receive Antonio de Castillo and myself on the 24th, in order that he might take leave. Although he was not spoken of as an ambassador of your Majesty, and I was without a reply on the point mentioned in mine of the 9th ultimo, it was well not to refuse the audience offered by the Queen, particularly as it was very necessary for me to discover as soon as possible whether her coldness towards me still continued as at the last audience. I therefore went with him, and the Queen received us very well when I presented him, telling us both to be covered as he approached to hand her your Majesty's letter, which prevented him at the time from putting on his hat. She read the letter, and calling Castillo aside, said she could not understand some portion of it, which seemed by its wording to have been written in England. He will inform your Majesty of the conversation which followed, the substance of which was to urge him to assure your Majesty that she had constantly kept her eyes on Portuguese affairs without allowing herself to be mixed up in them, he being all the while uncovered. I have no doubt she thought thus to put a slight upon him out of revenge for his having told her, from the first day he set foot in England, that your Majesty's right to the crown was undoubted, and his having acted in conformity with this, makes her think that by treating him rudely she was doing a great favour to Don Antonio and the Queen-mother. At last she turned to me, and wanted to call me as a witness to her firmness in the matter of Portugal, which she proclaimed with as much confidence as she could have done if it had been true, instead of proved by many acts and witnesses to be false. I replied that,

1582.

when the king Don Henry died, she had told me that she did not intend to assist any person who claimed the succession until the justice of his cause was acknowledged. Although her own will and intention were thus evident, I said some of her ministers wished to prove to the world that it was different, as besides the aid which had been given to Don Antonio here, four fresh ships were now fitting out to sail for the Moluccas, and another ship loaded with cannons, powder, and other munitions, ready to go to Terceira. I said this thus softly to ascertain the temper in which she was, and she thereupon asked me what I meant, and to tell her in detail about it. She then sat upon a stool and ordered another to be brought for me, and I gave her a full account of the ships for Moluccas, and of the help given to Don Antonio here; all of which she listened to with much attention and kindness. When she replied, however, she suddenly changed her manner and said hastily and harshly that this was no time to deal with similar matters or to communicate about them to her ministers. I can only imagine such an abrupt change as this must have been caused by some sign made to her by Hatton, who was standing behind me, because, when I entered the presence chamber, a great friend of his said to another Englishman that Hatton did not expect Don Bernardino was coming with the Portuguese Ambassador or he would have prevented it. This was heard by a servant of mine, who understands the language. The person addressed asked for what reason he would have prevented it, and was told that Hatton did not wish me to speak to the Queen. When I entered the chamber the rest of the councillors all saluted me except Hatton, who showed in his face that he was annoyed at seeing me. I am informed that on the day that I saw the Council, after I had left, Cecil said that I spoke with much modesty and good sense, which could not be denied, and Hatton was extremely annoyed at it, saying that I had bribed the Treasurer.

I doubt not but that when Leicester returns to support him he will cause the Queen not to receive me, this being the aim for which both of them constantly strive, and they will have their way at last, unless the negotiations with the French fall through altogether and the Netherlands become peaceful. Otherwise they will get me referred to the Council for everything and try to cause my expulsion from here. I cannot avoid again pressing upon your Majesty that it will be advisable to send hither some person to succeed me, with the letters and powers which I described on the 20th October, and of which your Majesty approved; so that according to the state of affairs when he arrives, he may use the documents which may appear convenient, and we shall thus avoid our present suspense and also prevent the personal rancour of Leicester and Hatton (by their turning me out of here) from forcing your Majesty to break with them at an inconvenient time; and you will still be able to communicate affairs with the Queen, which is of great importance. Until I get a reply to this I will not ask for audience in order to avoid the slight of a refusal, unless

1582.

the Queen summon me, or some important matter occurs which should have to be conveyed to her personally. I will otherwise feign illness rather than communicate such a matter to the Council first.

It is very important in Drake's affair that the Queen and Council should see that the matter is not forgotten by your Majesty, and that you even send a special person about it, because otherwise she will proceed as she has done before, whilst the booty is being exhausted. I have had fresh signs that they want to make a common lawsuit of it, as Walsingham says that the evidence of the robberies which I had given the Judge of the Admiralty, when he requested me to do so from the Queen, had been sent to Drake for his reply, which should be given to me shortly. This, as I say, is making an ordinary lawsuit of the matter. The coming of a special man will also bridle them somewhat in their fitting out of ships to plunder on the Indian voyage.

God has been pleased so to forward the matter of Scotland as your Majesty will have seen in my despatches of the 9th ultimo; and to this I will only add that the business may be in such a position that the arrival of a man ostensibly to succeed me may imperil its success both privately and publicly, by reason of the correspondence with the queen of Scotland and the English and Scotch Catholics being suspended until they got used to him, especially as the queen of Scotland has been so frank with me, as I have said; and it will be necessary to discover first whether she is willing to communicate through any other Minister or not, which is a point upon which some princes are scrupulous and have special partialities, which may greatly influence the success of a negotiation. My successor should therefore come, not ostensibly as such, but on a special mission about Drake's piracies, bringing with him the other powers suggested, to be used if necessary. This will obviate the difficulties raised by Leicester and Hatton and the others, as well as give time to learn the queen of Scotland's wishes, and make the Scots familiar with him. As your Majesty tells me in your despatch of the 28th January, that the greatest service I can do is to forward the coversion of Scotland, I refer to this anew, foreseeing the danger that may arise. I humbly beg pardon for my great boldness, and repeat that, if it be profitable that I should remain here, I will willingly sacrifice myself for a matter so closely touching the service of God and the increase of His church, as well as serving your Majesty, since two hundred clergymen are risking their lives in the same cause in the face of great hardships, hunger, and need; which is, of itself, a proof of the mercy which God shows to those whom he chooses as His instruments. I do not say this to your Majesty in the belief that I can be of any service in so grave and arduous a business, as I know, too well, my own sluggishness and coldness in the service of God, and I am sure that whoever comes will be better able to serve your Majesty and with greater dexterity and vigilance than I can.—London, 1st March 1582.

1582.
1 March. **225.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I reply in another of the four letters sent herewith to the despatches of your Majesty, dated 28th January, in one of which I received the second bill for the 3,000 crowns sent to me, and also the statement of the men on the Dutch hulk, with the letter of the Licentiate Cabrera.*

I cannot understand how so many ships as he speaks of can have passed towards the Indies, nor can I believe that any of the seventeen great ships in Porto Santo were English, as no large ships or others victualled for such a voyage left here at the season in question; those that have gone out for plunder having been small and isolated, none of them carrying victuals to arrive beyond Cape St. Vincent. Even if any of them had taken a prize and had been able to proceed, I am sure that it was not an important vessel, because I have men in all the ports who instantly advise me of ships that are fitting out. Moreover, the ships which I have mentioned various times have returned from Terceira, and Don Antonio's vessels have never left the coast.

During the four years that I have been here the following are the expeditions which have been fitted out: first, Frobisher with eight vessels went to discover a passage to Cathay by the coast of Labrador; next, Humphrey Gilbert and Knollys, with eight ships, sailed on a voyage from which they returned in four months with prizes taken on the high seas; and, subsequently, Don Antonio's ships, and the pirates associated with them, have been dispatched, but they are all small craft. There is a large ship of 300 odd tons and three smaller ones ready to go to the Moluccas, carrying over three hundred men, but they have not yet left port in consequence of a quarrel about the lieutenant who is to go with Frobisher. The Muscovy Company wish to force upon him a lieutenant of their own choosing, but Frobisher refuses to undertake the voyage with that condition. I am secretly inciting this quarrel, as well as taking many other steps to delay the voyage, if I cannot stop it altogether by what I said to the Queen.

From what I had said, confirmed by the news I have from the coast of Brittany and Normandy, I have no doubt that the ships which Cabrera mentions are French, but I have not reported particulars of them, as I thought that Juan Bautista de Tassis would have much fresher news on the point than I.†

The twelve ships which were reported by the ship arriving at Belem, to be at the Isle of Wight, were doubtless those of Don Antonio, and the pirates that had joined them, the movements of which I have reported weekly to your Majesty. The number of men in them was exaggerated, as also was the statement that they were taking bricks and other materials for colonization, in con-

* The Spanish judge at the Canary islands.

† The large ships reported by Cabrera off the Canary isles were no doubt the French privateer fleet under Philip Strozzi, which appeared before St. Michael's on the 15th July and suffered so terrible a reverse at the hands of the Spanish Admiral, the Marquis of Santa Cruz.

1582.

sequence of Jacob Anes, when he came from Terceira, telling the Queen that the people of the island wanted nothing but lime to build forts, and begging her permission to send such material by the ships. The rumour therefore prevailed that Don Antonio's ships were loaded in the same way, as Drake was on board of them. Drake has not yet left England, but not a day passes that he does not say a thousand shameless things, amongst others that he will give the Queen 80,000 ducats if she will grant him leave to arm ships to meet your Majesty's fleets, although, of course, he has not the slightest idea of doing such a thing. The other night, whilst supping with the Earl of Sussex, Arundel, and other gentlemen, he was boasting of what he had done, when Sussex remarked that it was no great thing for an armed ship to capture another vessel loaded with money, but with only eight unarmed men on board of her. Drake replied that he was quite capable of making war on your Majesty, whereupon Arundel told him that he wondered how a man like him should have the impudence to imagine such a thing of the greatest monarch on earth, who was strong enough to wage war against all the world united. The above is all I can say about the arming of ships, but when any fresh effort is made, I will send special reports by courier before the vessels can leave port.

Diego Botello is here, trying to get hold of the sugar and other property from Terceira, whilst I am preventing it. I understand that he is short of money, and that he is unable even to pay insignificant debts which Don Antonio left here owing to workmen. Although he had obtained an order raising the stop placed upon Don Antonio's ships, I have taken action about the robberies in such a way that I have managed to get an order that all the property they have stolen shall be discharged from the ships and warehoused, and if Botello does not provide fully sufficient security, it will be difficult for him, excepting at heavy cost, to take the ships to Rochelle, which is his object.

I am told that Cobham informs the Queen that small hopes are entertained of Don Antonio's fleet there (*i.e.*, in France) coming to anything for want of money, and Diego Botello has been able to do very little here, at all events in the absence of Leicester.—London, 1st March 1582.

3 March[1]

B. M. MSS. Add. 28702.

226. MEMORANDUM from CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE to the KING on English affairs.

[EXTRACT.]

Several long letters have come from Don Bernardino de Mendoza, speaking in very variable and contradictory terms about Alençon's affairs, in consequence of the instability of the French and English. Alençon's proposition to the English council appears to be a sort of declaration of despair of his being able to carry through the intention of becoming master of the States of Flanders; whilst Pinart's sharpness with him soon caused him to slacken in his French designs. On such a shifty foundation as this, however, no solid presumptions can be based; and the only thing is to be ready to seize

1582.

the favourable opportunity now afforded in the States, thanks to the industry and diplomacy of the Prince of Parma, as his Majesty will see by the French despatches; and make an extreme effort, even if secretly, to raise the money necessary to obviate expense for the future. If we allow this opportunity to slip, as we have done before, we shall fruitlessly blame ourselves in future, as it is the only way to speedily expel Orange and reinstate his Majesty in the possession of his dominions, whilst bridling the English and French. All these plans of Alençon will sway to the interests of one or the other side, according to the amount of assurance and advantage they may give him in Flushing and Antwerp, whither, I must confess, I should not care if I were he, to go so poorly accompanied. As to the Queen's positive promise that she will marry him when he returns to England, I believe it no more than I ever did; and we have no intelligence from any quarter either in France, Germany, the rebel States or even in England, that preparations are being made for raising troops. I need not say anything about the Prince of Parma's letters, as the confident hopes he gave us in his previous letters have been fully dealt with in anticipation of the present favourable outcome of his negotiations. The English with every good reason, are laughing at us for not carrying out the edict,* and may well think that we are prevented from doing so by the interests of our own subjects, or of the King himself, or else because we are quite unable to get together the large number of ships required to carry the merchandise. The alarm showed by the English at the stoppage of trade proved clearly how important it is to them, and I once more repeat what I have so often said, that nothing we could do here would so greatly disturb the English, or set them against the Queen and Council, as the stoppage of trade with Spain.† In this nobles and common people alike are interested, and as the feelings of many people are already greatly inflamed against the Queen, on account of religion and other things, her Council being divided and Ireland still in revolt, whilst she is in fear of the king of Scotland, some advantage would be gained, by God's help, by the seizure of all English ships. This could be done with safety as we have no ships in England, whilst many of theirs are here. The arrest might be made with all politeness, by saying that we take the step to obtain restitution of Drake's plunder, and other merchandise of which they have robbed us, and of which the ambassador has demanded the restoration with so little apparent result, as he will continue to do unless we second his efforts thus.

The Scotch affair appears to be of the highest importance, and so far as I can judge, Don Bernardino has hitherto managed it excellently, with great dexterity and care. He should be thanked for this and encouraged to continue to act with the same secrecy and dissimulation as heretofore. If possible, I should like him to

* The prohibition of export from Spain in English bottoms, except under very severe restrictions.

† In the King's hand:—"I fully agree with all this, there is great laxity everywhere; remind me."

1582.

discontinue writing letters about it, in case at any time they should fall into the hands of the queen of England. It is true, as he says, that his letter is very carefully worded, and is only a credence, but still I think that there will be no harm in warning him that, if the letter should come into the queen of England's hands, he is to firmly maintain that the only object of it was to exhort the king of Scotland to embrace the Catholic religion, and was inspired solely by Don Bernardino's zeal and attachment to the faith, and his desire to save the King's soul.

Don Bernardino is also acting very prudently in preventing any responsibility from being attached to the queen of Scotland, for the efforts made to break up the friendship between the English and French, no notice having been sent to her of Don Bernardino's wise and timely intervention.

The queen of Scotland's letter in French is of great importance, and Don Bernardino should be instructed to continue to entertain her and to justify himself for advocating the sending of Englishmen and not Scotsmen to attend to the religious matter, by explaining the very excellent reasons he gives. Money must be provided for him to sustain this negotiation, for such things are not done empty handed.

The forces requested by the Scots Catholics are very limited. They will be satisfied with 2,000 Italians; and the pretext suggested, of Friesland is extremely apposite, the voyage from there to Scotland being very short, easy, and safe. Doubtless his Holiness will willingly contribute to this, a half the expense or more; the number of Italians to go to Flanders being increased in proportion. Captain Mario Corso would be a very fit man to take charge; he who volunteered to go with Sicilian and Neapolitan subjects of the King or Mario Canduino, who is here and speaks English, would do very well, as he knows the country and coast thoroughly. The affair is so important, both for the sake of religion and to bridle England, that no other can equal it, because by keeping the queen of England busy, we shall be ensured against her helping Alençon or daring to obstruct us in any other way.

The long-delayed reply to the queen of Scots should now be sent. From what I can recollect of the draft reply I indited and sent thither (*i.e.* to Badajoz where the King was at the time) without keeping a copy, I think it might be adapted to the present circumstances, since in the Queen's own letter she gives no assurance that her son is a Catholic, or will become one, as will be necessary if the marriage* is to be brought about. My draft reply said that whether the marriage was effected, on the assurance, of course, that the King would become a Catholic, or if on the contrary it fell through on religious grounds, his Majesty still wished to make an alliance with her and her son and to help them. It also expresses his approval of the deed of association she had executed with her son, of the wisdom of her reasons of which he is convinced—and it is now an accomplished fact. The Queen, in her letter, suggests that it would

* *i.e.*, the projected marriage of James VI. with the Infanta.

1582.

be well to grant pensions to some of the King's principal councillors, mentioning the names of some whom I do not know. Don Bernardino had better delay this question, until we see how things may turn out, by saying that he is instructed to inquire into the condition and qualities of these gentlemen, for the purpose of fixing the sums to be granted, without pledging us further for the present. Still if they really be the most powerful people in the country his Majesty would be the more certain if they were in his pay, particularly as, being needy, a little will content them.

It will be well to bring that Portuguese* away from England and give him the title if necessary, as it does not matter, and he received it from the King's predecessor, besides which he has already been once so addressed. He could then leave without Don Bernardino being called a liar, as the English are trying to call him, from no fault of his own, and it is necessary to keep up his credit.—Madrid, 3rd March 1582.

6th March. **227.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 1st I wrote five letters in duplicate to your Majesty, and have learnt that the first despatch was thrown into the sea as the boat was attacked by pirates. I have triplicated it, and have since received the despatch of the 8th January with the first bill for the 3,000 crowns.

Leicester says that he left Alençon like an old hulk run ashore, high and dry without wind and tide, unable to get off the sand-bank. He says the oath of allegiance of the rebel States was nothing but a joke and a hollow mockery. Marchaumont heard of this, and went to the Queen, complaining of Leicester's words, and that the rebels should have treated Alençon in such a way, making him the laughing stock of everybody. She swore that no such ceremony had been performed, and that the States would not think of doing such a thing until they had informed her, but that is all nonsense.

In consequence of the news she had from Cobham, the Queen had ordered a despatch to be sent to Alençon, and she afterwards summoned the Treasurer. He was ill of fever in London, but she sent word that he was to come to her in any case. She told him that as the king of France would not assist his brother, and the friendship of the latter could not much be depended upon, seeing his lightness of behaviour, she thought it would be best to make friends with your Majesty and the House of Burgundy. He replied that nothing would suit her better, especially if peace could be brought about in the Netherlands by liberty of conscience being conceded to the Protestants, for which they had suffered for so many years. She afterwards spoke to Sussex upon the subject.

* Don Antonio de Castillo, who had been Portuguese ambassador in England until the death of King Henry of Portugal, and the accession of Philip to the crown. The difficulty arose from his having no commission from the new King, and consequently that his quality as ambassador had lapsed, unless he was allowed to call himself ambassador of King Philip, who, of course, had a regular ambassador in England. *See* Mendoza to the King, page 284.

1582.

who replied that it was the best thing for the tranquillity of her realm, and that she must now choose speedily between two courses, either to become reconciled to your Majesty or marry Alençon, as it would be very dangerous to procrastinate much longer. After these conversations Stafford, who had translated the letter for Alençon from English to French, asked Walsingham when it would be sent. He replied that it would not go now, as the Queen had altered her mind, and was inclined to renew the treaties with your Majesty, whilst procuring the total ruin of those who, incited by her, had forwarded the war. He said that he hoped the humour would not last long, as otherwise it would turn out entirely to her disadvantage, as the Prince of Orange would immediately have all the fortresses placed in the hands of the French, which would cause greater harm to England than could be done by all your Majesty's treasure.

When my second confidant was talking over this with Sussex, he asked him whether he thought that the Queen inclined to seek your Majesty's friendship; to which Sussex replied that, although she exhibited many signs of it, he was afraid it was only a trick to see whether I should rise to it, and to discover the disposition of her Councillors. Because, he said, although the Treasurer persuaded her secretly to be friendly with your Majesty, he spoke very coolly about it in the Council, the result of which would be that the opposite side, who are now paramount, would have more influence over the Queen.

Marchaumont has seen the Queen in private audience, solely for the purpose of begging money for Alençon. She was very dissatisfied, and referred the answer to some members of the Council, who have not yet resolved upon it. Cecil, Sussex, the Admiral, and others, are of opinion that nothing whatever should be given to him, unless he marry the Queen; whilst the rest say that the rebels must be supported. Each one gives his own reasons privately to the Queen, and, between them, they have made her so perplexed and ill-tempered that it is noticed by every one, as she rudely scolds all the ladies and others in the Chamber. Walsingham, after this Council, told a friend of his, with great anger, that he had no idea that the Queen had so many Spanish Councillors as were in Council the day before.

The other day the Queen had a great squabble with Leicester, whom she told that he had only gone to Flanders for his own ostentation, and to make light of Alençon. Besides which, he had thought fit to be present when the ceremony of investing Alençon with the mantle and cap of duke of Brabant had been performed, whereby it was inferred that the Queen had sent one of her principal Councillors to assist by his presence at the investiture, and to violate the peace with your Majesty. She used the most scandalous words to him, and ended by saying that he was a traitor, as was all his stock, and that it was a planned thing between him and Orange, in order that the latter might be able to continue his tyranny with greater assurance. She then called Walsingham a rogue for having incited Alençon to go to the

1582.

Netherlands, wherefrom, she said, he would only reap infamy from all Christian princes.

She has written a letter to him (Alençon) with her own hand, which Sussex told Marchaumont contained, in substance, that he was not to trust overmuch that Flemish rabble, and not to engage himself too deeply in the enterprise, unless with full assurance and due regard for his own position and dignity. She asked him not to resent her avoidance of a breach with your Majesty, as she was not only pledged by old friendship to avoid war but it was necessary also for her own reputation. He must, therefore, not think her inconsiderate if, upon this point, she went beyond the King his brother; her sufficient excuse being that this was not a matter which touched her alone, but concerned the common welfare and quietude of her realm, and the maintenance of good faith between princes.

She hears from Antwerp that Alençon is thinking of leaving for France within a fortnight, in order to raise money and men, and persuade his brother to break with your Majesty. She has therefore resolved to send a gentleman to him, but his despatches are not ready.

I understand that whilst Leicester was in Antwerp, he, Orange, Lord Hunsdon, and Prince d'Epinoy met in a room alone, and after they had been conversing for some time they were joined by two burgesses of Antwerp, and presently by two from Ghent, who had just arrived, booted and spurred. Each one brought a key, and, bringing out a casket with four locks, they opened it and exhibited to Leicester and the others a gold cup set with many precious stones, and the "Landsjewel" which is a carbuncle, and other gems. Leicester was so much enamoured with it that he asked them why they had not sent it to London, as if the Queen had seen it she would have done anything they liked. They then closed the casket and Leicester put his seal upon the lock, a deed then being drawn up, and signed by him, Hunsdon, Orange, and the four burgesses. I have not been able to learn its value or whether the casket came hither. They say the jewels came from one of the abbeys.—London, 6th March 1582.

6 March. **228.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my last, Diego Botello left this place for Plymouth, after having a conference with Leicester, the orders which I mentioned having been sent thither, commanding the sailors to return immediately to the ships. Walsingham and Leicester sent also very strict letters individually to the officers of the ports, urging their rigid compliance with the orders, and I am told in my last advices from Plymouth that 200 sailors and others had already returned to Don Antonio's four vessels. I doubt not that on Botello's arrival many more will also return, in consequence of the severe orders he takes with him, if he has any money with which to pay them. His design is to take the ships to Rochelle, and they are putting on board of them a part of the artillery which was being shipped in the vessel for Terceira. This would show that the object is to fit out an expedition in France, particularly as orders have been

1582.

given for the ship that was to go to Terceira, to join the rest of Don Antonio's ships at Plymouth, for which purpose she has left this river. Those who have to do with the ships in Plymouth say that they are going to Bayona, Vigo, or Vianna, where Don Antonio has some scheme, but I repeat that from the first day I have seen clearly that all these vessels, and those being fitted in France, are destined for the coast of Brazil.

A Portuguese who calls himself a "Fidalgo,"* who was in the ships of Don Antonio, intimated that he wished to see me, and that an Englishman who was on board the ships has been to Lisbon with letters from Don Antonio, and has returned, which, he says, proves that they are finding money for him there. I have sent and told him that he can come, and have provided him with money for the road; my object being to see whether I can make any use of the man, in which case I will give instant advice to your Majesty. Although I am doing my utmost to hinder the success of Don Antonio's designs, and to detain his ships, Walsingham and Leicester counter-check me at every point. They summoned the Judge of the Admiralty to the Council, and blamed him much for the injury he was doing in proceeding in the matters of the robberies committed by Don Antonio's ships, and by those that came from Terceira. He exculpated himself with ambiguous expressions, but they again heaped reproaches upon him, and he at last said that he could not administer justice if, for their own ends, certain ministers addressed him upon the subject and forbade him by special orders from doing so. By this he meant Walsingham. Cecil rose from the table and said that it would be difficult for the Queen and Council to maintain peace with your Majesty, and for the Queen to do justice in her country, if the aims and interests of a particular minister were interposed to prevent it, whereby everything would be disturbed.

Frobisher is resolved not to go to the Moluccas with the four ships I mentioned, and the expedition will be commanded by the man who had been appointed his lieutenant. They are now being hurried off, and I am told that Frobisher has been in conference with Leicester, with the object of fitting out four more ships to go thither under his command.

It has been asserted here that a ship has recently arrived on the coast which had entered the South Sea with Drake, but there is no foundation for it, nor are they agreed as to what port she has arrived at, some saying that she is on the west coast, some on the north, some in Ireland, and others in the Downs. They have prohibited anyone from hearing Mass in Antwerp except Alençon's household.—London, 6th March 1582.

6 March. **229.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I send enclosed a copy of the letter the queen of Scotland has written to me, in reply to that in which I conveyed to her the

* *i.e.*, a gentleman. The word in its Portuguese form is often used by Spaniards jocosely and satirically.

1582.

resolution of the Scotch gentlemen. She requests me to communicate it to your Majesty, and for her part she is evidently doing her best to bring about the conversion of her son and the country. She points out, with much prudence and good sense, the undesirability of the Scots gentlemen even giving a sign of their intentions until everything is settled, and the forces that are to come to their aid ready for the work, in order that they may be able rapidly to be brought against those which this Queen may employ. I have replied as best I can, attributing to her management the favourable position in which Scots affairs now are, and encouraging her, as I always have done, in so holy and Christian a task, upon which depend all things which tend to her own happiness. With regard to what she says about ordering the Scotsmen now in Flanders to retire therefrom, saying that this will be very advantageous, when opportunity occurs, of paying them salaries in their own country, and placing them in charge of some of the castles and strong places, I point out that there is a danger in this, that the moment this Queen got the advantage of us these men would immediately change sides, as they have for so many years served the rebel States and Orange, and necessarily must be strongly attached to the cause of heresy wherever they are, since they have been ready to risk their lives for it. Although the chiefs may be trustworthy, yet, if the soldiers are faithless, nothing can prevent them from surrendering fortresses to whom they like. I have dwelt somewhat strongly upon this point to her, as it is most necessary that she should not count too much upon these soldiers for the reasons mentioned, as the Scots are naturally a faithless people, and it is very desirable for your Majesty's interests, with a view to French affairs, that the Scots forces should not be stronger than the foreign soldiers sent thither on your Majesty's behalf, and that upon these latter she must mainly depend. This is also necessary in the interests of the safety of the foreigners themselves, who would otherwise be at the mercy of the Scots.

I also ask her whether she wishes me to communicate with her ambassador the bishop of Glasgow if he arrives in Scotland, which she seem to hint at in her letter, as, in such case, I must arrange my correspondence with him before he leaves France. I also represented to her the difficulty which now exists in sending letters from here to Scotland in consequence of the vigilance on the borders, which will be certainly increased the moment her ambassador arrives in Scotland, as this Queen is extremely suspicious of matters there. She is determined to stop communications, not only from me, of whom but small suspicion exists, but from all Catholics here, and letters will therefore have to go by France, which is a great round. I think I have convinced her now that the priests that go should be Englishmen and not Scots.

The Queen says that she should not be doing her duty to your Majesty unless she pointed out that, in the event of the Scots having aid at their back and this Queen attempting action against them, which might cause the English Catholics to rise, it would be

1582.

necessary to have the latter part of the business arranged for beforehand, but in such a way that they (the English Catholics) should not understand what is intended, and should be told nothing until everything was ripe and the matter ready to burst forth, as otherwise the whole plan might be frustrated. As I have already said, I am obliged now to manage the entire business, as the rest of the men concerned are in prison and cannot proceed with it. In general terms they know that it is going on well, and by this and other means I am trying to keep the Catholics here in a good humour, preparing all things for their friendly communication with your Majesty's minister when the proper time arrives.

It is also highly necessary for your Majesty to gain over the house of Howard, which is the richest in kinsmen and followers in the north of England, the part of the country most necessary to ensure. The head of the house is the earl of Arundel, son of the duke of Norfolk, and he has two brother; the three being married to three sisters, daughters of a great gentleman in the north,* with whom their father linked them long before they were of an age to marry, in order to secure the devotion of the whole north country to his house. These three boys are very young still, but they have an uncle, a person of great valour and spirit, of whom I wrote to your Majesty on the 25th of December.† He completely rules his nephews, and constantly keeps before them the need for resenting the death of their father, and following the party of the queen of Scots, by whose means alone can they hope for vengeance. Leicester and Huntingdon, fearing this, have tried very hard to separate the uncle and nephews, and have pressed the Queen with this end, in the belief that, without their uncle, the lads will not be strong enough to take action when an opportunity occurs. This gentleman is in close connection with all the Catholic gentlemen in the kingdom, by whom he is greatly esteemed for the influence he has through his nephew, as well as for his own good parts. For this reason I have kept up a close intimacy with him, but still more in order to obtain from him news of everything that passes at court. In this way he serves your Majesty with greater intelligence and care than I can well say, his information being prompt and valuable, not a point ever being missed, as he writes to me twice every week minute details of all that passes touching France, Flanders, Scotland, and Don Antonio. He also lets me know everything that happens inside the palace, which he is well able to do. I am of opinion that it will be highly desirable for your Majesty to secure him at once, in order that he may not be persuaded to take the French side. The way will be for your Majesty to give him a pension commensurate to his rank, which should be paid quarterly. Two ends will be gained by this—first, we shall have won over the important house of Howard, and secondly, we shall have secured his personal co-operation. This is so valuable that, if he were a person to whom I could offer money without your Majesty's orders, I should give him many ducats

* Lord Dacre. † Lord Henry Howard.

1582.

every year in return for the information with which he furnishes me, and which I should have to purchase from others for more than its weight in gold, even if I could get it at all. The greatest risk we run, in the present state of Scotch affairs, is to have to pay him the pension at most for two or three years in periodical payments, and if it be treated as a pension the whole sum will not be a larger one than we should have to give such a man as this in one amount if we had to make him a present, which we shall be obliged to do in order to prevent the Howards, at any cost, from turning towards France.

He assures me that, seeing the many enemies he has in England, he is greatly desirous of rendering service to your Majesty, in order that, if he is unfortunate enough to be obliged to leave this country before he sees the queen of Scotland in the position he desires, your Majesty may receive him, and I have continued to hold out hopes of this to him. Leicester and Walsingham, finding that they have been unable, by false accusations, to discredit him with the Queen and banish him from Court, have now proposed that he will be a fitting person to be sent to Germany on the Queen's business, for the purpose of separating him from his nephews. I therefore humbly beg your Majesty, if you approve of what I say, to let me know at once what amount of pension you will grant him, as I may make this a means of preventing him from going to Germany or leaving the country. I can assure your Majesty that, without his communications, any Minister of yours here will be kept quite in the dark, as no one else will be able to do as this man does, besides which we shall not be sure of holding the Howards, as we ought to be, in view of Scotch affairs. I sent last night a clergyman to the duke of Lennox with the queen of Scotland's despatch.—London, 3rd March 1582.

Postscript.—I have had this letter written for three days, awaiting the passport for the special courier by whom I send it, as I dare not trust it to any one else. I am writing to Tassis, begging him to send it on by safe hands from Paris.—London, 6th March 1582.

6 March. **230.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After closing the three letters now sent, my first confidant informs me that he has read with his own eyes the letter to the Queen from the king of France, telling her that she must not expect that he will break with your Majesty, or help his brother to make war in the Netherlands. If she marries his brother, it must be for the purpose of bringing about a general peace. The courier said he left Secretary Pinart at Dover, but I do not know how true this is. The gentleman I mentioned that the Queen was sending to Alençon has gone to offer him 15,000*l.*, without the knowledge of the Treasurer.—London, 6th March 1582.

7 March. **231.** The DUKE OF LENNOX to J. B. TASSIS.

Paris Archives, K. 1559.

The bearer of the present is William Creighton, a Jesuit, who has come hither and told me that he was sent to me by the Pope

1582.

and the king of Spain. He brought with him a letter of credence from the Scots ambassador, and subsequently there arrived here another Jesuit, an Englishman,* with a letter for me from the Spanish ambassador in London, from which it appears that your King and the Pope wish to make use of me in the design they have in hand to restore the Catholic religion and release the queen of Scotland, according to Creighton's communication to me.

In the belief that this enterprise is undertaken for the advantage of the queen of Scotland and the King her son, and that the latter will be confirmed and maintained on his throne by his mother's consent, I am prepared to employ my life and estate in the carrying out of the same, on condition that I am supplied with all the things set forth in a statement taken by this bearer.†

In accordance with the reply you may send me I will go at once to France to carry out the enterprise, as it cannot be done without my going thither, for the reasons which I have told the bearer. Please give entire credit to what he says on my behalf, as if I personally were there.—Dalkeith, 7th March 1582.

19 March. **232.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 6th I wrote four letters by special courier, and since then a servant of Pinart arrived with letters from the king of France and his mother, which gave rise to the rumour that Pinart had himself arrived at Dover. I advised the purport of the letters in my last, and Cobham writes to the Queen saying that the last time he saw the King he found him extremely vexed and changed in his tone towards the Queen, of whom he bitterly complained for having, simply for her own caprice, done her best to degrade the Royal House of France. He swore that, so far as he was concerned, he would wash his hands of the folly his brother had committed in trusting thus a fickle woman, who behaved more in accordance with the fancies of those who ruled her than with sense and reason, and he said that, if his brother had taken his advice, he would have attained much greater prosperity by easier and safer means, instead of allowing himself to become the plaything of a woman's inconstancy, which changed like the wind from hour to hour. The King became so enraged that Cobham, in order to mollify him, replied that it was not the Queen's fault that the marriage had not taken place, as she had frankly offered to effect it if he would relieve her of the cost of the war in Flanders. The King replied that he was not so foolish as his brother, to allow himself to be deceived as he had been, and he would advise the Queen to proceed more straightforwardly with him unless she wanted to repent of her artfulness. He said the conditions he had granted were fully sufficient, and he would not go further in the matter until he had his brother's reply to guide him in his decision.

He also complained of Sussex, who he said, had caused his brother

* William Holt.

† *See* letter of 18th May 1582, Tassis to the King of Spain.

1582.

to go over, and had been the first one to incite the Queen to get out of her promise made when she gave the ring.

The moment she received these letters, before she had time to summon the Council, she replied to Cobham, telling him to assure the King of France, that if the conditions proposed were complied with, there was nothing that she desired more than to marry. She has also secretly told Sussex to deal with Marchaumont to renew the contract of marriage with the intervention of the Council. He said he could hardly do so for two reasons; first, because she had on so many occasions displayed her natural repugnance to marriage, which convinced him that she would never conclude it, and he thought therefore that it would be better to excuse herself for the past offences she had committed towards the French, rather than exasperate them with new ones. The second reason was that, even if she could bring herself to force her inclination to marriage, it was not now so advisable as formerly that she should do so; because, although Alençon was a fit prince for her husband, he was embarked in the Netherlands enterprise, and it would be extremely dangerous for her to unite with him now, and burden herself with the maintenance of the war, which would press hardly upon England, even were it against a less powerful Prince than your Majesty. He, Sussex, said he should be a bad vassal and servant if he did not advise her, if she married him, to persuade him to abandon the war and the style of duke of Brabant. The Queen assured him that if Alençon married her, the evils of the Netherlands war would be avoided, and she would influence him to retire therefrom. On the same day the Queen went to see Cecil who was ill of the gout, and addressed him in the same way as she had Sussex. He replied that matters had now reached a point when all the scruples which might intervene had been removed. The people were satisfied with Alençon personally, he having twice run the risk of coming to see her, and it was therefore desirable that she should herself decide the question, without further discussion on the part of the Council, as, after all, she would be sure to alter their decision, to the great danger of herself and her realm, added to which it was of the highest importance to bear in mind that Alençon was now pledged to the Netherlands war, and, to judge from appearances, his brother was more likely to oppose than assist him. After this the Queen saw Marchaumont, to whom she swore that nothing would please her better than to marry, on condition that her kingdom was not prejudiced. She asked him in such case to persuade his master to retire from the Netherlands until she had arranged with his brother to break with your Majesty. Marchaumont seized the opportunity to propose to go to Flanders for the purpose, and to take the money she was sending him. The Queen consented to this, but after discussing it with the Council, she told him it was better he should not go. He has therefore been detained, but the 15,000*l.* in the form of bars brought by Drake has been secretly brought out of the Tower at night and shipped, under the pretence that it only amounted to about six or seven thousand. The people in general and some of the Councillors

1582.

resent the money being given to him. Sussex and Cecil opposed it, but they will dissemble.

Diego Botello is still in Plymouth, whither a fresh order of the Council has been sent to him to enable him to take three out of the four ships of Don Antonio to France, the other vessel, called the "White Bear" remaining here, this being the largest. The captains and sailors are to declare the names of those to whom they have sold the plunder, in order that proceedings may be taken against them. I have men there pushing the matter on, in order to throw further obstacles in the way of their leaving, but Leicester and Walsingham with their private letters upset all the arrangements I can make with the Council. I can get no answer from them about the sugar at Bristol and elsewhere. The ships for the Moluccas are ready to sail and await another ship from the Thames, which is to join them.—London, 19th March 1582.

19 March. **233.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Many councils have been held here lately about Ireland, at one of which the Queen was present, in the Treasurer's apartment, he being, as I report elsewhere, ill of the gout. The principal point discussed was the desolation of the country by the war, to such an extent that the receivers of taxes report that, in place of the ordinary revenue reaching, as it did before the war, some 70,000*l*., they cannot count upon gathering more than 10,000*l*. if the war continues. Various remedies were proposed but no resolution was adopted. I understand that the Queen has not altogether in the island 1,000 soldiers, horse and foot, and that the country is completely exhausted. They greatly blame the Viceroy, who, they say, has spent more and gained less than any before, and has quite alienated the Irish from the Queen. By the persuasion of Leicester he accused the earl of Ormond of treason on the information of Captains Malbey, Denny and Maulez (?); and as Ormond saw that the Queen was lending ear to it, he determined to come hither and give an account of himself by virtue of a privilege granted him years ago, when he was the Queen's favourite, which allows him to leave Ireland when he pleases without consulting the Viceroy. The latest letters, dated 1st instant, report that he was ready to embark, and that Feagh MacHugh who some months ago declared himself against the Queen, has laid down his arms.

Leicester and his gang have also been urging the Queen to behead the earl of Kildare, who is a prisoner in Dublin Castle, on the ground that he was imprisoned before and nothing was proved against him, and if he is restored to liberty now, for the second time, he will certainly seek revenge, greatly to the injury of England. When the countess of Lincoln, the wife of the Admiral, heard of this she petitioned the Queen to have her brother's cause tried, and if he be found guilty of acting against the Queen that he may be punished, and if otherwise, released. The Queen has conceded this. This Queen's partizans (in Scotland) have sent a special envoy to inform her that it would be well for her to press forward the marriage of the king of Scotland with the daughter

1582.

of the king of Denmark, which had been discussed previously. When Walsingham took the message to her he urged the matter warmly, pointing out to her how important it was that the King should marry a person of their own religion. The Queen asked him why he was worrying her so about marrying the boy 'before he was out of the shell,' and said that there would be time for that afterwards.

There are some great plots being carried on through Leicester and Walsingham with the earl of Angus, the nephew of Morton, and other rebels here, with the object of getting possession of the King. Besides the offers I have already mentioned they made to the earl of Arran, they are promising him fresh things every day, and have sent money to gain over people and make head against d'Aubigny; Arran being the man who now leads the Protestants, and especially the ministers, who are becoming daily more suspicious of a change of religion. For this reason it is of great importance that your Majesty should send me instructions as to how I am to deal with the Scots, in order that they may not lose heart, as they are already so distrustful of help being sent them. I have informed the queen of Scotland of this, and sent her despatch immediately to d'Aubigny; so as to animate and comfort them. I have also written again to the Jesuit Father William Holt to continue in the same course. The Scottish Jesuit William Creighton, a prudent and learned man, has also been sent thither from France, and has been extremely well received. Father Persons assures me that as soon as he receives the money I have sent him to Rheims, another priest will leave for Scotland.

The Scottish ministers inform this Queen that his Holiness and the Christian princes have sent a personage to the king of Scotland recommending him to request his mother's release.—London, 19th March 1582.

20 March. 234. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

At seven o'clock this evening, whilst I am writing this, there arrived news here that on Sunday the 18th, the day before yesterday, between twelve and one in the day, a Biscayan Spaniard, servant of Gaspar de Añastro,* a merchant formerly in Antwerp, shot a harquebuss at Orange, the ball entering under the ear, and, according to some statements, coming out in a slanting direction over the other ear. Alençon immediately sent a burgomaster of Antwerp to Flushing, with the news that treason had broken out. He arrived there at night of the 18th, and at once sent news over here, arresting all ships excepting the English vessel that brought the intelligence. The burgomaster said that, although the wound was not mortal, they were afraid the bullet was poisoned.—London, 20th March 1582.

* Gaspar de Añastro, formerly a wealthy merchant, had been ruined by the war, and appears to have suggested the attempt to the lad Juan de Jauregui as a means partly of rehabilitating his fortunes by the reward placed upon the head of Orange, and partly impelled by religious fanaticism. It was generally believed by the Flemish protestants at the time that Alençon was at the bottom of it.

1582.

27 March. **235.** SECRETARY MATEO VASQUEZ to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The King has conferred upon him the commandership of Peñausende in the order of knighthood of Santiago, on his relinquishing the pension of 500 ducats he receives in Naples.—Lisbon, 27th March 1582.

1 April. **236.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

With your Majesty's last despatches replied to in the four letters herewith, I received your Majesty's instructions to endeavour to procure the release of Fogaza, and to pay, from the proceeds of the three thousand crowns credit recently sent me, not only the twelve hundred ducats which he owed here, but if necessary the four hundred ducats for his maintenance in the Tower. Knowing the humour of these people I did not lose a moment, after receiving your Majesty's instructions, in taking action, which I did through a certain Portuguese doctor here called Hector,* who was attending Fogaza. He represented to the authorities Fogaza's age and infirmity, and begged for his release without my appearing in the matter, because if it had been openly done by me these people would not have liberated him for a long time. Their insolence, moreover, is such that they would have thought that they were doing a great favour in the matter to your Majesty's minister, and would have looked upon it as a full return for all the injuries they have done your Majesty. Hector managed it, and obtained an order from the Queen, by which he undertook, on his own security of 500*l.*, to send Fogaza to Portugal by the first ship which offered, which I promised him, in the presence of Antonio de Castillo, should be done. Fogaza was therefore allowed out of the Tower, and I have placed him in a lodging, having arranged that his creditors shall not arrest him. I have not let him know that your Majesty has ordered me to pay them, because the moment any of them got wind of this they would all know it, and the suspicion of these Councillors would increase to such an extent that they would claim not only the cost of maintenance, which he has not yet paid, but also that of some other necessary things which were supplied to him there, and in default they would imprison him again, under the impression that he was an important personage in your Majesty's service, as we were paying his debts so suddenly, particularly as Antonio de Castillo, who was a minister of your Majesty, has been here for years unable to pay his own debts, which has given rise to much talk already. For this reason I have only told Fogaza that, out of my own small means I shall be glad to help him to get away to Portugal, where I am sure your Majesty will favour him, to which end I will give him letters begging, on my own part, that it shall be done. As soon as I see him on shipboard I will discharge his debts, for which I am already responsible.

As Antonio Fogaza has corresponded with the duke of Alba, the

* Dr. Hector Nuñez.

1582.

Grand Commander, Don John, and Gabriel de Zayas, the favour your Majesty shows him has been well deserved. The charity is really a great one, and will still be greater if your Majesty deigns to grant him some small means by which he may live the few years left to him; but I should not be doing my duty towards your Majesty if I did not say that, after the first year Fogaza was here, most of his advices were vain and foolish discourse, with but little foundation, as he had not facilities for hearing anything important. He is moreover an extremely tiresome person, whom I have merely endured out of sheer pity, and Dr. Hector himself assures me that whilst Fogaza was in the Tower, he asked him to go to Don Antonio, and beg him to send some confidential person to see him as he had most important intelligence to communicate, whereupon Hector told him that he would have nothing to do with affairs of State. A Portuguese also, who goes to Castillo's house and was in the habit of visiting Fogaza in the Tower, was asked by the former why he had ceased his visits to the latter, and he answered that he had done so in order to avoid being requested to go with messages to Don Antonio.—London, 1st April 1582.

1 April. **237.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 25th ultimo at night a clergyman brought me from Scotland letters and reply to that which I said I had written to the duke of Lennox by Father William Holt. The substance of Lennox's reply is to refer me to the letters which will be written by Fathers Holt and Creighton, the latter of whom is the Rector of the Company of Jesus in Lyons, and, as I understand, a very wise and virtuous person. They write saying that, in consequence of the great vigilance on the Borders and the many spies which the Queen had in the Court of Scotland, they dared not trust to letters or ciphers, or even to verbal messages, except from the lips of one of themselves, to inform me of the details of their conferences with Lennox and the rest of them. They have therefore decided that Creighton and Holt should themselves go to Rouen in France, of which they hasten to advise me, so that I might go over and see them! The good men coolly say this, as if I could do such a thing without special orders from your Majesty, and as if my sudden departure from here would not immediately arouse the suspicions of this Queen and her ministers. They ask me to set out at once, as they have a ship ready to take them over to Scotland again as soon as the weather serves, and they say that, unless I can confer with them personally they considered it difficult to effect the conversion of the country; and that it is necessary that there should be a minister of your Majesty with whom they could confer in France, they having some objection to the present minister,* as he has not yet been concerned in the negotiations, whilst Lennox and the rest are so willing to correspond with me. They say that Lennox is extremely well disposed towards the

* Juan Bautista de Tassis.

1582.

affair, and that, although he was a Frenchman, I had no reason to be suspicious of him. They had therefore given him a copy of the key to the cipher in which the Fathers corresponded with me, in order that he might communicate with me direct. They ask me to write to the queen of Scotland and advise her, in my cipher, to send immediately to her ambassador in France two letters of credence, one for Alexander Seton to deal with his Holiness as ambassador, and the other for John Seton to go with a similar mission to your Majesty, sending them at the same time instructions as to the heads of the negotiations which they would have to undertake. They say that, if it be not possible for me to go to Rouen, I should send them an order for the provision of money to enable Creighton to go and see your Majesty in Spain.

They ask me, unless there be something of the greatest urgency, not to send anything over the Scotch border excepting by the priest they send me, who came in the guise of a toothdrawer, travelworn, and footsore, as he had come on foot for over three hundred miles, any other way of travelling making it extremely difficult for him to pass. He left Edinburgh on the 12th ultimo, things there being quiet. Arran is now tranquil and at Court, Lennox and the rest having patched up a friendship with him in order the better to carry out their objects.

I have been endeavouring to find means of sending the despatch to the queen of Scotland, which is now difficult by reason of the guards which this Queen has again placed around her. I repeat to her what the Fathers told me, and point out the impossibility, which she must see, of my going to Rouen to confer with them, and learn what they had arranged. I asked her to inform me if she wishes for them to communicate with your Majesty's minister in France, and I do this as the Queen virtually manages all these matters, and the Scots are unwilling to conduct them otherwise than by her instructions and directions. I therefore think best, since, by God's grace, I have already contrived to overcome so many obstacles, not to offend her, nor introduce more people into the business than she desires.

I have also written in cipher to Father Persons in Rouen, telling him to detain there the two priests who have gone thither from Scotland, and who doubtless will have arrived, until I can send them the instructions of the Queen, pending which they are not to do anything, but that they may safely let me know what they have arranged by a special messenger whom I will send to them for the purpose. My object is that I may be able to advise your Majesty of the instructions which are to be taken by the men going to his Holiness and yourself before they arrived. I have ordered, however, that if it should be necessary for Creighton to leave before this reply, money should be given to him for the voyage. I will instantly report what the queen of Scotland and they reply, but I have no doubt that the decision of Lennox and his friends to send ambassadors to Rome and your Majesty arises from their having seen my letter, which will have banished the distrust they entertained of receiving any help from the Pope

1582.

and your Majesty, and that, being now satisfied on the point, they are anxious to lose no time, and not to allow the matter to be frustrated prematurely by the intrigues of this queen (of England) in Scotland.

I send enclosed copy of a letter just received from the queen of Scotland, which displays clearly the straightforwardness with which she treats me, as she lets me know instantly anything she hears touching your Majesty's interests, and she is extremely well informed of everything that passes at this Court. The Queen is sorry for the reconciliation between D'Aubigny and Arran, and says that the King made a speech to them before the reconciliation showing much understanding, and pointing out how injurious it was in the eyes of foreign princes that dissensions like this should exist in the country. This was settled by D'Aubigny.—London, 1st April 1582.

1 April. **238.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have received your Majesty's instructions of 12th February, ordering me to report to the prince of Parma the plots which may be hatched here against the Netherlands. I have done so constantly; and have sent couriers to him whenever necessary, but I have had no reply to any letter of mine since August last, and only a short notification from the Prince of the surrender of Tournai. With regard to your Majesty's orders, that I should use every effort to prevent the Queen and Councillors from assisting the Duke of Alençon, I may say that they are so tempestuous with me, that, although I have used every artifice to get on good terms with some of them, they all turn their faces from me, and particularly the Treasurer,* whom I formerly used to see, the rest of them being openly inimical. Only lately I sought an opportunity of approaching him again, and sent to say that I had some business which I wished to discuss with him. He replied that his colleagues looked upon him as very Spanish in his sympathies, and therefore he could not venture to see me alone, except by order of the Queen, and I had better communicate my business through Secretary Walsingham in the ordinary course. My hands are thus tied, as I can only get personal conference by extraordinary means, and their dislike to me has reached such a point that when I send to Walsingham for passports, or about other trifling affairs, they keep my servant there from morning till night, without even reporting his presence to Walsingham, and he can therefore only address him when he comes out in public. This and the fact that all my business is looked upon askance at Court has made my first confidant† so suspicious that he hardly dares to speak, excepting upon very rare occasions, to the person through whom he was in the habit of communicating with me. If I had not got intimate with the second personage,‡ who is more vigilant than I can well

* Lord Burleigh.
† Sir James Crofts, the Controller of the Household and a member of the Council.
‡ Lord Henry Howard.

1582.

express in letting me know all that occurs, I should not be able to learn anything, and I am therefore preserving his friendship and entertaining him until I receive your Majesty's reply, in order not to remain entirely in the dark.

Your Majesty will understand by this how the venom of these people against your Majesty's interests has grown. Within a day after they learned the news about Orange they arrested two Spanish merchants who were entering my house, on the charge that they were accomplices in the affair, which they said I had arranged. One of these men was Pedro de Zubiaur, who in consequence of the failure of a correspondent of his in Seville, had left here shortly before and gone to Gravelines. The English merchants went to the Council and requested a passport enabling him to come back, in order that they might examine into his accounts with them. This passport was given in the most ample form for three months, in the name of the Queen, signed by Cecil and Walsingham, and was accompanied by two letters from the same ministers, assuring him that his person should be inviolable. No fuller assurance could have been given by a Prince, and yet they broke it, seizing him at one o'clock in the morning with all his papers; the fact of the offence (*i.e.* the attack on Orange) having been committed since the safe conduct was given being the only satisfaction they would give him. It is very necessary that such a scandalous abuse as this should be spoken of to the Queen, but until I receive your Majesty's instructions I am, so to speak, holding the wolf by the ears, because if I ask for audience I am afraid I shall be refused, and yet it will be a great breach in your Majesty's interests if this matter be not laid before her. This greatly perplexes me, and I am at a loss to know how to act in the face of so much malice, since I have full proof that not only do these people break the divine faith, by persecuting the Catholics as they do, and feeding the abominations of the heretics, but they also violate the laws of man, first by stealing the boy from me, and now by disregarding their own passport.*

Leicester, whilst supping the other night with his sisters, sisters-in-law, and many kinsfolk, said openly that I had caused Orange to be shot, and that the man who shot him had been seen leaving my house a month ago. He said that, under cloak of reticence I was weaving the most pernicious plots that ever a minister had done, and he would therefore endeavour by all means to get the Queen to expel me. He went so far in the matter that, out of sheer pity for me, his sister-in-law the countess of Warwick said that she had always noticed that I had acted with great modesty whenever she saw me at Court.

I have requested a reply from the Council about the sugar that came from Terceira to Bristol. They have continued to say every day that I shall have a reply to-morrow, but yesterday, after a month's delay, Walsingham sent and asked me to have patience,

* The failure of Zubiaur's correspondent in Seville, Pedro Martinez, had caused the insolvency of Zubiaur in England. Zubiaur was a prisoner for debt for a long period.

1582.

as the Council had not met to consider the subject. The whole object is to procrastinate, so that the merchandise may be distributed. With regard to Drake's business, the Council has assured me, that they would reply favourably to the statements I had sent them with regard to the robberies, Walsingham himself saying verbally a month ago, that as soon as the reply was copied out fairly it should be sent to me, but yesterday he sent me another message saying that the paper had been lost, and that the Queen intended to consider the matter herself, and consequently a reply could not yet be sent to me. I will try to obtain an interview indirectly for the purpose of speaking to her on the matter.

Diego Botello has left Plymouth with Don Antonio's ships. Until my man comes back, I do not know whether all have sailed, as Leicester and Walsingham, after sending the first order, dispatched another, enabling him to take the "White Bear" as well. I hear that Botello wrote complaining that he was going short-handed as the men had deserted. I do not know whether the ships for the Moluccas, have gone though the weather is favourable.—London, 1st April 1582.

1 April. **239.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 21st reporting that Orange had been shot at Antwerp on the 18th, and although I sent the despatch post through France, and a duplicate by sea, the ports are so closely watched that no foreigner, even though he have a passport, is allowed to leave, and I fear that the news will not reach your Majesty as quickly as it ought to do. The man who was to go through France was detained by two officers at Dover who told him that they had orders not to let any person pass with letters even though he bore passports. It was therefore necessary for him to give the despatch to a sailor to take it to Calais, whilst the packet I sent by sea, although the weather was so fine that it could have reached Lisbon in six days, was stopped at Plymouth.

It is reported that Alençon almost entirely lost heart as soon as he learnt what had happened to Orange, and he is now much discouraged and discontented to find himself in the power of the rebels, who blame the French for any disturbance that takes place. In addition to this, when he asked them for some money to pacify a riot in one of the towns, they would only give him, after much importunity and discussion, 6,000 ducats, and Alençon was obliged to provide some himself. As soon as the Queen heard the news, she sent off a gentleman of her chamber, begging Alençon to leave the States instantly, but when Walsingham heard her determination he told her to consider well what she was doing, because if Alençon came she would be forced to marry him, or the arms of all Catholic princes would be against her.

He enforced this with so many arguments that she changed her mind, and the following day she sent for the French ambassador and told him that as she was an honourable Princess, she had determined to marry Alençon and wished to tell him other things of great importance for him to convey to his master. He (the

1582.

ambassador) replied that, as she had slighted him in the notorious way she had by making him so often write things she had no intention of fulfilling, he begged her not to do so again. She replied in a way which caused him to write, and he has since said publicly that, as the Queen wished him to go on deceiving people, he still had paper and ink for the purpose.

Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, I understand, are complaining much of the Queen's proceeding, and amongst themselves agree that as they are sure she does not mean to marry, they are afraid that this fresh demonstration of hers, coming after the others, will irritate the king of France so much as to alienate him altogether. Sussex is always of the same opinion, that if the friendship of France is not gained by means of the marriage, it will be better to renew the alliance with your Majesty.

I understand that the Treasurer has been earnestly pressing upon the Queen lately to adopt measures for the declaration of an heir to the throne, unless she wishes to ruin the lives and properties of all her subjects. I am endeavouring to discover what the proposed measures are.

As the weather did not serve for the conveyance to Flanders of the 15,000*l.*, of which I wrote, orders were given for it to be detained, and for a "writ," as they call it here, to be drawn for the remittance in the same way as the previous 15,000*l.* The writ was drawn hy Leicester, Walsingham, Knollys, and another Councillor, but as the official thought that the sum was a large one, and the authority insufficient, as the Queen and the Treasurer had not signed, he asked the Lord Chancellor about it. The latter told them that the accounts could not be passed with these five signatures alone. The despatch was therefore delayed, and I have not learnt that the Queen and the Treasurer have signed, although Leicester is urging them to do so.

Alençon wrote recently to the Queen saying that, in order to raise sufficient money and men in France to maintain the war, unless his brother would break with your Majesty, it was necessary that he (Alençon) should go in person to France, and he intended to do so. Marchaumont tells some of his confidants here that this is the excuse he is making for leaving Antwerp. The Queen sent a gentleman to him approving of his determination, and to visit Orange, but she writes to the rebels secretly that they are on no account to let him go, or they will never see him again.

The shooting of Orange has been reported in detail to the Queen as follows, not differing greatly from the intelligence which I first sent to your Majesty. A servant of Gaspar de Añastro, a lad of eighteen years, born at Bilbao, and named Jauregui, son of a sword-maker of that place, as I am told by a servant of mine, who knows him, went to see Orange at dinner on Sunday the 18th. When Orange rose from the table he went and seated himself on a stool in one of the corners, and then beckoned the lad to him with a movement of his hand, the lad no doubt having previously desired to speak to him. When he reached him, he took a pistol from under his cape, as if it were a roll of paper, and fired it off close to

1582.

his head. When Orange saw it, he suddenly turned his face away and the ball entered between the jaw and the right ear a little beneath the jaw-bone, issuing under the left eye. The lad remained perfectly calm and Orange fell at once to the ground crying out "Help" in Flemish. The youth, however, apparently could not fulfil his intention, as a pistol without a sheath was found in his pocket, and he seems to have overcharged the pistol he shot which burst in his hand and blew away his thumb. A bastard son* of Orange who was in the room at once stabbed him, and then the rest ran to him and dispatched him in a moment, afterwards quartering him in the Place, exposing the four quarters on the gates, and his head on the castle.

When the shooting of Orange was known in Antwerp, the Flemings believing he was dead raised the cry of "death to the French," but as soon as Orange recovered his senses he sent word to the Burgomasters that the duke of Alençon had come thither at his request to defend them, and as he was so great a prince and of the Blood Royal of France, they should duly respect him and fittingly protect his person. As for him, he said, his day had come, but they must not think that any suspicion attached to the French in the matter of the pistol-shot, as he was quite sure that the matter had been ordered by your Majesty. This pacified the people, although they all say that if the lad had only waited until the evening, when there was a great banquet to be given by Alençon, the latter would have been killed, and every Frenchman in the place. It is impossible to exaggerate the grief which the affair causes to the Queen and her ministers. They are so sad and disheartened that on the day that the news came it was the same as if she had lost the crown and they were all ruined.

I have kept back this despatch until I could send positive information as to the character of the wound. The last news received by the Queen, dated the 25th, say that before the fifth day, fever had supervened and the wound was inflamed, the cheek beneath the eye being swollen in a way which showed that the injury caused by the ball was greater than had at first been perceived. They had bled him twice for the fever and inflammation, and although he was somewhat better on the seventh day, the date of the advice, he was very weak with the bleeding, and the doctors did not consider him out of danger, they being unable to say, until after the eleventh day, whether the bullet had injured an artery in its passage. A well-known surgeon of Herenthals is attending him.

When the news of his slight improvement came, the Queen dispatched a gentleman named Gabriel to Orange, who was instructed to say that she sent him to congratulate him for having had his life preserved, and hoped that he would shortly recover perfect health. She assures him that she will never fail to assist him against his enemies and try to avenge his injury, whilst she warmly thanked him for his care in enjoining the rebels to be careful of Alençon's safety and dignity. She also sends to the

* Maurice of Nassau, according to Strada.

1582.

latter, saying that he was not to waver in the war for she would help him in the way he wished, and certainly would marry him. As I have said, under cloak of this she advises Orange and the rebel States to detain him whilst she gives him nothing but words.

Some arrests have been made at Antwerp on suspicion, but as they write to the Queen such a variety of things about the confessions of the prisoners, I do not presume to repeat them to your Majesty.

Letters have arrived from the king of Denmark for the Queen respecting a certain expedition that the English are making to Muscovy by the Frozen Sea. He tells her that this voyage must not be made, as he is determined to prevent it, and will send to the bottom all ships which may in future try to go thither. No answer has yet been sent to him.—London, 1st April 1582.

3 April. **240.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since writing on the 1st, my man has come from Plymouth, and tells me that Don Antonio's ships left there on the 18th. There were two of them and one pirate vessel, of 100, 120, and 140 tons respectively. They do not carry more than 150 persons of all sorts, a very poor array, and with victuals for not more than a week. The weather is so bad that I am told they will be driven to the coast of Ireland before they can make France, and will have to re-victual there. Leicester's fly-boat which had been with them and the "White Bear" have remained on the English coast to plunder, and they tell me that the "White Bear" has already captured a ship. If Leicester and Walsingham had not made extraordinary efforts and brought great pressure to bear upon the earl of Bedford, who is the Governor of the place, and a great Protestant, Botello would never have got the ships out, but they managed to counter-mine all my obstacles which, nevertheless, delayed the ships here for months and have resulted in their sailing in such poor case and short-handed.

I am informed to-day that Botello had returned to court, but I cannot affirm this, because my man tells me that he saw him go on board.

The Queen has news from Antwerp of the 27th, saying that Orange was worse rather than better, as great quantities of blood had issued through the nostrils, and they would not now let him see even the colonels of Antwerp, which looked very suspicious.—London, 3rd April 1582.

4 April. **241.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Last night I wrote reporting the condition of Orange, and whilst I am writing this, I learn that on the 1st instant, the fourteenth day after the attempt, he had lost two pounds of blood from the wound, and was at the last gasp, the doctors having abandoned hope. The Queen has been informed that he is dead. I will report instantly, if it be confirmed, but to judge from the descriptions of the wound, it may be taken now as certain that he will die, and we may give infinite thanks to God for having been pleased to visit with such a punishment so abominable a heretic and rebel.—London, 4th April 1582.

1582.
6 and 8 April. **242.** The QUEEN OF SCOTLAND to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

French. I have received through the old channel your letters of 2nd ultimo, and from the last address I gave you your other letters of 26th ultimo came to me. I think best to send you a prompt reply, especially with regard to the overtures made to you from Scotland for the re-establishment there of the Catholic religion, upon which the duke of Lennox is now resolved, if I approve of it, as you will see by his letter of which I send you a copy. Now, to carry this extremely desirable enterprise to a successful issue, two points only are needful: first, to learn whether the Pope and my good brother, the Catholic King, your master, will approve and aid it; and, secondly, that in Scotland itself everything should be carefully prepared and arranged for the successful attainment of the object, in accordance with the goodwill which exists towards it on the part of so many great personages and others there. I myself can do much towards this second point, as soon as I am assured with regard to the first one, upon which everything must depend. I have therefore most affectionately to beg you, with all diligence, to convey to his Holiness and to the King, your master, intelligence of the favourable appearance now presented for the successful establishment of religion in this island, commencing with Scotland; and to learn from them both at what time, and to what extent, in forces and money, they will be willing to help those who undertake the said enterprise. I have no wish to rashly and fruitlessly draw them into risk, or to let them precipitate themselves to their ruin, as I recently wrote to you. You will observe by the copy of the duke of Lennox's letter to me, that he is persuaded that the force to be sent will amount to 15,000 men, which is the first I have heard of such a thing. It will be necessary, in order that they may not deceive themselves, that he and the others shall be soundly informed, in as much detail as possible, of the aid and support which his Holiness and my good brother the King may be pleased to contribute; but I will nevertheless negotiate, with all circumspection, in order to encourage and strengthen the party in Scotland, and to have the necessary ports and harbours appointed for the reception of the foreign contingent, as well as the fortresses inland, which will be on their side. I will give you due advice on these points, as soon as I receive the reply from his Holiness and the King your master, or will have you informed by the principal intermediaries in Scotland, so that a perfect understanding may exist between you and them, as I am desirous, by all means, that the affair should only be managed by you. I will at once write to the Archbishop of Glasgow, my ambassador in France, that he is not to convey any intelligence to your colleague in France, but to act in the matter entirely through you alone. For this reason I send you a cipher key, by means of which you may in future write to the Archbishop of Glasgow, and he to you. I am sending him orders to this effect in the letters I enclose for him, and which I beg you will be good enough to forward to him by the first opportunity.

The request sent to you by those Jesuits, that you will go and see them at Rouen, will prove to you how far their experience in

1582.

matters of State is from corresponding with their zeal in religion; and it will be necessary, therefore, to keep them well and frequently instructed, as to how they are to conduct themselves in all that concerns State affairs, for these good people may blunder seriously unless they have wise counsel and advice. You may judge of this by the proposal they make to me to send Lord Seton's two sons as commissioners, in the form of ambassadors, both of them being so young and quite inexperienced in matters of such importance as this. It is quite out of the question that they could be entrusted with such a negotiation, in which, if they were discovered, my own life and the whole future of my son would be imperilled. Besides this, it is my intention that these negotiations shall be conducted in such a way that it shall never be discovered that they were undertaken with my authority; but if it should be necessary for me to intervene, I have ready very much more fitting means of doing so than this.

You may therefore inform these Jesuits that I will, on no account, allow that anything concerning this matter shall be done in my name, or with my authority, unless necessity should demand it. For this reason I do not approve of sending anyone on my behalf to negotiate with his Holiness and the King your master, especially before I am assured of their co-operation.

I send you a little packet to forward to the duke of Lennox, whom I am advising to stay in Scotland, and I disapprove entirely of his suggestion for raising forces in France, or of his own voyage thither, which, whilst it will necessitate his abandoning my son, will not be of the slightest advantage to the affairs of Scotland, because, as he is a subject of the king of France, the latter may retain him and compel him to declare what he knows.

I thank you for the good information and advice you have given him in the interests of my son's safety and his own. I am ordering him to be carefully on his guard, but you will greatly forward matters if you will kindly send him word, in the name of my good brother the King, in your next letter, that they are to proceed promptly in the matter of the association of my son with myself in the crown of Scotland, about which I have sent to them, as all future negotiations must be based upon this, telling him, at the same time, that without such association you see no chance of help coming from the King your master, who will not listen to any treaty with them, except on my account, and that without my authority the projected enterprise would be simply a rebellion against my son, whilst you will promise all your good offices to me in the matter. I will say no more but to pray God to have you in his safe keeping, and that he may grant just vengeance against the Prince of Orange and all his fellows, the enemies of religion and public peace.—6th April 1582.

Since I wrote the above letter, a despatch from Walsingham and Beal has arrived here, containing in substance, after some excuse for the long delay in the sending of their mistress' reply, that she has given favourable consideration to the remonstrances addressed

1582

to her by Beal, on my behalf, on his return from here. In order to give me a proof of her goodwill touching my state and treatment here, she grants me all necessary exercise for the maintenance of my health, within the park surrounding this house, and outside the same, so far as may be permitted by the earl of Shrewsbury at her instructions. Two physicians, as I had requested, will be sent to assist at the treatment which I have decided to undergo immediately after Easter. In order that I may be able to arrange certain matters touching my dowry in France, one of the men of my Council there is to be allowed access to me. As regards the journey of my Secretary to Scotland to treat of the overtures placed before my son and myself, although my Secretary's voyage would be mainly for the purpose of promoting the proposals made to me by Beal, with the object of establishing a sound understanding and friendship between the two countries, which the Queen and her Council show some desire of bringing about, the Queen intended to proceed in the matter of the journey with a due regard to her honour and safety. My son having recently refused entrance into Scotland to Captain Errington,* whom the Queen had sent to him, she could not consent to send any other person to him until he had given her some satisfaction for refusing to receive her envoy, and Beal has requested me to write to my son advising him to send an apology. As this was only a matter of ceremony I have made no difficulty in consenting, and, in order to banish all suspicion, I have sent them the letter to forward to my son.

On the second point, as to the assurance of the Queen and the confirmation of the promises and remonstrances which Beal had addressed to her in my name, either by a writing under my hand or verbally to the earl of Shrewsbury, as the promises were in general terms and might be interpreted very broadly, I have thought best to send them immediately to the said Earl, accompanied by the various conditions and limitations which I have imposed in conference with Beal when I made the promises, so that if these conditions were not complied with by the Queen I should remain free and absolved from the fulfilment of my promises. In the meanwhile I am not pledged, as I understand was their intention. This is mainly what has passed in the matter, and as affairs progress, although I do not intend to make use of . . . . . , as you will judge it is very necessary, and I will not omit to let you know about it, in order to obtain your good advice and counsel which I pray you will give me freely. Above all, you will do me a great favour by having the enclosed little packet sent to the duke of Lennox with all diligence, so that he and my son may be acquainted with what they have to do in the matter before my son receives my open letter sent to him through Walsingham. I shall be glad if you will send me ample memoranda of all that you think necessary to be arranged in Scotland, so that my secretary may be ready. I can assure you of his efficiency and trustworthiness,

* Sir Nicholas Harrington, who was a distinguished English officer stationed at Berwick.

1582.

both in religion and my affairs. The enclosed letter is an addition to the duke of Lennox's despatch. Pray send to him at once the part that is for him, as it is so important to me.—8th April 1582.

Enclosed in the aforegoing letter is the following headed:—"Copy of the last letter written to me by the duke of Lennox "which you sent to me the 7th March 1582."

Madam. Since my last letters a Jesuit named William Creighton has come to me with letters of credence from your ambassador. He informs me that the Pope and the Catholic King had decided to succour you with an army, for the purpose of re-establishing religion in this island, your deliverance from captivity, and the preservation of your right to the crown of England. He says that it has been proposed that I should be the head of the said army. Since then, I have received a letter from the Spanish ambassador resident in London to the same effect, through another English Jesuit. For my own part, Madam, if it be your will that anything should be done, and that I should undertake it, I will do so, and am in hopes that, if promises are fulfilled, and the English Catholics also keep their word, the enterprise may be carried to a successful issue, and I will deliver you out of your captivity or lose my life in the attempt. I therefore humbly beg you to inform me of your wishes on the matter, through the Spanish ambassador in London, with all speed, and I will follow your instructions if you approve of the enterprise. As soon as I receive your reply I will go to France with all diligence for the purpose of raising some French infantry, and receiving the foreign troops and leading them to Scotland. I will feign to be going solely on my own private affairs, for six months, and as for my return, do not be troubled about that, for I promise you on my life that when I have the army which is promised to me, of 15,000 men . . . . . of Scotland and England I will land. Courage! then, your Majesty, for you shall find servitors determined to offer their lives in your cause. For myself I ask nothing of you, only that if this enterprise be successful, your son should still be acknowledged as king. It is unnecessary to communicate to him anything about the business yet or to the lords, until the army be assured and ready, because, when I arrive with it, I am sure that I shall be joined by two-thirds of Scotland, seeing the forces that I shall have. They dare not declare themselves now because they fear to lose their property if the plan were discovered. This letter is only to learn your wishes on the enterprise and I will do your bidding.—Dalfair reity (*sic*), 7th March 1582.*

9 April. **243.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In case your Majesty should not have received my previous advices about Orange, I may say that on the 1st instant, the

* Both of the above important letters were printed as appendices in Mignet's "Histoire de Marie Stuart." They are not contained in Labanoff's collection.

1582.

fourteenth day after the attempt, he was apparently at his last gasp, but by means of the remedies adopted to staunch the blood, the last of which was to cauterise the wound with gold, the bleeding was reduced for a time, and so continued until the morning of the 7th, when they wrote from Antwerp that during the preceding night he had lost so much blood as to be almost dead, the doctors saying that he could not live beyond dinner time, as he was pulseless and unconscious. Letters from Flushing written the same night report that he was dead, and the news is believed here, as it has been since the fourteenth day, but God was pleased to delay the end in order to punish him with more terrible sufferings than they say were ever undergone by man. From the time he was wounded until the end his pain hourly increased, especially after the fifth day, when the blood began to flow, and on the fourteenth day, when the vein again burst; at which time Alençon was with him, as well as his wife, and they were playing with one of his daughters.

He has enjoined the rebel States to respect Alençon as a Prince whom God has sent them to uphold their liberty of conscience. This message was briefly written by him, as also was his will. I have thought well to advise your Majesty instantly of the news; and will now add that Juan Diaz de Caraballo, a gentleman of Terceira, has been here to see me. At first, seduced by the false news of your Majesty's death, which was sent by the Chamber of Lisbon, he took the side of Don Antonio, but when he found by later letters the untruth of it, he served your Majesty with zeal and loyalty and abandoned the Chamber of Lisbon, which he had always advised the Terceira people to regard as their guide. He says that the Jesuit Fathers of Angra and several other persons (whose names are given), who left the island in December with him, will confirm this, they having mainly at his instance left there on pretence of his going to see Don Antonio. He has now come hither for the purpose of conversing with me.

He has given to Antonio de Castillo and me an exact account of affairs in Terceira as they were on the 5th of March when he left, and I send a full statement enclosed in my packet despatched by special courier through France. As he appears a sensible man, well informed about the island, I have decided to dispatch him at once to your Majesty that you may hear from him verbally, before the departure of the fleet, a full relation of what has happened. I am sending him away also to avoid his being shot, as I hear that Diego Botello, who had returned through bad weather to Plymouth, had tried to entice him on board the ships and carry him to France, but he feigned illness and refused to be caught. Botello thereupon wrote to the agents of Don Antonio to press Leicester and Walsingham to send him at once to France, as he was one of the principal persons at Terceira, and was well informed of affairs there. For these reasons, and because it is necessary for your Majesty to have information before the fleet leaves, I send him by sea without loss of time, accompanied by a servant of mine called Hans Oberholtzer, who is a good linguist, and a person whose

1582.

trustworthiness is beyond doubt. I pray your Majesty to favour Juan Diaz, who will be very useful in the enterprise (of Terceira), and to send Hans back to me by land as I need him much, and would not send him but for the importance of the errand.—London, 9th April 1582.

11 April **244.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since I wrote last there is no fresh news from Antwerp, only that many letters of the same date from there and Flushing confirm the death of Orange.

Three days since this Queen sent a gentleman named Norris to Antwerp with letters for Alençon, in which she makes him a thousand promises, which her own Councillors say she has not the slightest intention of keeping. He has also orders to treat secretly with Prince d'Epinay, St. Aldegonde, and the rebel States to prevent Flushing, Middleburg, and the rest of the places in Zeeland from falling into the hands of the French. I hear that Marchaumont said, when he learned what the Queen had written to Alençon, that if the latter had believed his brother and Councillors, and the promises of the christian princes, he would not have reduced himself to having need of the queen of England.

The French Ambassador has addressed the Queen in the name of the queen of Scotland, to request permission for her to send a gentleman to Scotland for the purpose of renouncing in favour of her son all her rights and claims whatsoever, as she wishes to divest herself of them entirely, leaving her body alone to suffer her afflictions and imprisonments, and so by banishing the Queen's jealousy to induce her to treat her with greater gentleness. She replied that she would not give any such permission until the king of Scotland had given her satisfaction for having refused to grant a passport to the gentleman* whom she had sent thither when the Parliament was sitting. Besides this, she did not wish to consent to a matter which it was so very doubtful would be advantageous to the mother, for the benefit of the son, whose conduct was so questionable, and which certainly could bring no profit either to herself or her kingdom. She did not, moreover, consider it would tend to its tranquillity for this to be done whilst the king of Scotland was ruled by the duke of Lennox.

The Queen has granted permission for two English doctors to visit the queen of Scotland and consult on her maladies.

News comes from Ireland that Desmond and the insurgents had captured a castle, and massacred therein Captain Fenton and all his company. This is another blow to the English, and, as there are now so few soldiers there, they are arranging in the Council here to send some fresh troops.

The ship which I said had gone to Barbary with timber to build galleys, bringing back a return cargo of sugar, has been wrecked in the river Thames at a part where a ship has never been lost before. It looks like a judgment of God for their sin.

* Captain Errington. *See* Queen Mary's letter of 6th April 1582, page 332.

1582.

On the 2nd instant one of the priests who were condemned with Campion was martyred at Chaford (?) in the county of Sussex.(?) He died with the greatest fortitude, and asked the Judge to exhort the Queen not to spill innocent blood, which was great sin. It is a matter of infinite thanks to God to see the large number of conversions which these martyrdoms bring about. The man who guarded Campion, who was a most terrible Puritan, was won over, and is now firmly resolved to suffer martyrdom, if necessary, for the Roman Catholic religion.—London, 11th April 1582.

11 April. **245.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After closing the accompanying letters, at the hour I am writing this—six o'clock on Wednesday evening—news has arrived from Antwerp dated the 9th. The report is that Orange was still alive, but the bleeding could only be restrained by pressure upon the vein, and this the doctors kept up in one hour relays all through Sunday the 7th. The doctors even express surprise that he should have survived the day, but say that it is humanly impossible that he can last much longer. They had treated him as if he were a dead body, for they had gashed open his right cheek from the mouth to the cartilage of the jaw, to see whether they could close the vein with a plaister. The severed vein is one of the four principal vessels of the throat. It may be looked upon as a judgment of God that his sufferings are thus prolonged, as they say again that the pain is terrible. They are convinced here now that he must die in a few hours, as Alençon is assured by the doctors.—London, 11th April 1582.

11 April. **246.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 9th to your Majesty by Hans Oberholtzer, my servant whom I sent with Juan Diaz de Caraballo by sea, in order to avoid the danger of his going by France. I arranged for them to freight a small boat at Plymouth or Southampton, according to the weather. Diaz had fled from Terceira, where he was looked upon with suspicion, as being well affected towards your Majesty; the keys of the city of Angra having been taken from his custody and his murder advocated from the pulpits, on the ground that he was a Castilian. He had temporised until he could find an opportunity of leaving the island, in the hope of being able to be useful to your Majesty prior to the departure of the fleet. He left in company with Bartholomew Fernandez, a merchant of the island, and came hither to see me. They arrived on the 6th, and at once sought an interview with Manuel Martinez Suarez, of St. Michael's, who has lived here for two years past, and who they knew was a faithful servant of your Majesty's. This Martinez has never ceased to write to his friends and kinsmen in the islands, urging them to submit, and both Antonio de Castillo and I can bear testimony to the good services and information he has rendered to us about the islands, all of which will be confirmed to your Majesty by the bishop of Angra, and the Jesuit Fathers from there.

1582.

He at once advised me of the arrival of Diaz and Fernandez, and I had them brought to Antonio de Castillo's house, which was a quieter place for me to see them in than my own, and would enable me to learn more about them from Castillo. We have found them loyal and true subjects, and see that Juan de Diaz Caraballo is a man of understanding, whose services and information may be very important in the matter of Terceira, before the departure of the fleet, and for that reason I despatched him instantly.

They report that Manuel de Silva arrived on the 24th of February at Terceira in a French ship, accompanied by not more than 50 men in all. He took with him six men of the Order of Christ, amongst whom was a noseless mulatto, but no soldiers. He bore ample powers from Don Antonio, both in lay and ecclesiastical affairs, as no doubt during his stay in England he (Don Antonio) had caught the trick of making himself Pope. They received him (de Silva) with a canopy and procession, as if he were a king, in consequence of his claim that he came as the King's lieutenant. He bore the title of Count de Torres Vedras, and had a large revenue from Portugal.

Four days after he arrived he beheaded Juan de Betancourt, who died serenely, as he knew that he was defending the cause of God and your Majesty, and upholding truth and justice. On the same day Silva went to the Misericordia, and he was begged to suspend the execution of Betancourt, but he ran out of the church to avoid granting it. He was proceeding against other prisoners whose lives were in danger, although the people were much displeased at Betancourt's death. Silva had knighted the sailor who took Stephen Ferreira to France, and many others; he had indeed been so liberal with "habits" of knighthood that he had ordered a whole piece of red stuff for them, as well as a vast number of certificates and warrants of nobility, offices, prelacies, abbacies, and the like. They had decided to send the Jesuit Fathers to the island of Santo Domingo, and had established a mint with the intention of coining the silver taken from the churches and from private persons, who are ordered to carry it thither on pain of death, as he (de Silva) had not brought a *real* with him.

The Governor of Terceira was extremely angry at finding himself deposed by the arrival of de Silva, as also was Captain Jean Carloix the chief of the Frenchmen there, who on visiting de Silva was only invited by him to be seated on an ordinary bench.

He gave leave to two merchants to load two cargoes of woad, but when they had the cagoes on board he seized them both for Don Antonio. They raised a great outcry at this and took their wives and children to him to pray for mercy, whereupon Silva made them give a written undertaking that they would deliver half of the woad in Antwerp to the factors of Don Antonio. When these merchants arrived in Plymouth they saw Diego Botello, who had returned thither by reason of foul weather, and on their complaining to him of the way in which they had been treated by de Silva, he made them give bills on themselves and Manuel Enriquez, a Portuguese merchant, who he thought had property in Antwerp,

1582.

the bills being payable at sight, for 3,000 ducats. They, being cooped up in their ships, were obliged to do this, and one of them had also to undertake to pay the cost of three culverins in Antwerp to Duarte de Castro (one of Don Antonio's factors there).

The merchants came hither and told me what had passed, whereupon, as the ships were still detained by contrary weather, I ordered them to be brought up the Thames, in order to prevent Don Antonio's factors from seizing the woad by virtue of the documents they had signed, and to prevent the 3,000 ducats falling into the hands of Don Antonio. At the same time I sent word secretly to Antwerp, ordering Manuel Enriquez, in your Majesty's name, not to accept bills coming from Terceira, or to acknowledge that he had any property in the island.

There has arrived here also Gonzalo Pereira, a native of Fayal and first cousin of Manuel Pereira, who was a secretary to your Majesty. He is the richest and most important person in Fayal, and tells me that he has your Majesty's pardon, allowing him and six men to remain there. I knew him here two years ago, when he came to tell me that he would bring the island to submit to your Majesty, whenever necessary, as he had the sworn support of 60 of the principal men there, who would sacrifice their lives for him. He pretended that he was coming to visit Don Antonio on behalf of the people of the island, for which reason they gave him leave to come and letters of recommendation. He and the friars, learning that Botello was in Plymouth, went to France. The commission he brought was to ask Don Antonio for 400 men and 60 pieces of artillery, with which, and the two thousand fighting men they had in the island, they said they could hold it against the world. Gonzalo Pereira came to see me and Antonio de Castillo after writing a letter to Don Antonio requesting a reply to the demands from the island, and saying that he was too unwell to visit him in France. He gave us full information of the state of things in Fayal, and the neighbouring islands, and although it will be easy to bring them to submission, yet as I hear that Silva is sending 400 men to the island and an equal number to the neighbouring islands, it will be necessary for some men in your Majesty's interests to be there, in order to prevent the spoilation of the place by these men, and I have therefore, as your Majesty's minister, given to this Pereira a patent as Captain of the Island, pending fresh orders from your Majesty, and am sending him off thither. I doubt not that this step will greatly animate the people to defend themselves against any force sent from Terceira, and that they will at once declare themselves on your Majesty's side. I also give them letters for the Governors of St. Michael and the captains of the six ships which your Majesty sent thither, asking them to render the necessary assistance to Fayal. I instruct them, if they find the Terceira people too strong for them, to surrender until they have news of your Majesty's fleet, when they are to send a letter, which I also give them, to the Marquis de Santa Cruz, submitting to your Majesty. This will be useful, as there is a port there, and victuals and other things can be obtained for the use of

1582.

the fleet, whilst the Terceira people will be deprived of their support. As the people of the island appear to have a great reverence for the name of Ambassador, I have taken the liberty of extending the patent to Pereira in my capacity as such, for which boldness I beg your Majesty's pardon.

I have received advice that in a ship which Botello has dispatched from Lyme to Terceira, there has gone a Dominician Friar who was with Don Antonio in France. His name is Friar Juan del Espiritu Santo, thirty years of age, a man of good appearance and fair face, the son of a low official in Lisbon. He takes letters and decrees of Don Antonio for the islands of St. Michael and Madeira, in which he promises (and gives on paper) wealth untold. This Friar bought a great quantity of poison of an apothecary at Plymouth, whom he told that he was going to poison the preserves which they make in the island of Madeira, and particularly those which are made for your Majesty's guard there. This, and much worse things may well be believed of this Friar, judging by accounts given to me of him by these Terceira people, who say that he is no Friar at all, and that his behaviour there has been worse than that of the devil himself.

Antonio de Vega has left here in great need of money to go to Don Antonio, and Diego Botello was actually in want of food on board the ships, many of his men having deserted from sheer famine, the whole of them would have gone if they had not been strictly guarded. I have no doubt that by this time he has arrived at Rochelle.

Diego Botello earnestly begged Gonzalo de Pereira, as a man of wealth and credit, to buy here three culverins, for which Don Antonio would pay him in the island, as this Queen would not supply them without the money. He said that Alençon and Orange would help Don Antonio with twelve Flushing fly-boats, well armed, as well as thirty hulks, but I cannot find that they are fitting out any ships in Zeeland or Holland, excepting the three at Flushing which Francisco Antonio is trying to purchase. Two ships have left there for Terceira to bring the merchandise which de Silva has taken from people in the island.

It is probable that the death of Orange will stop the fitting out of such ships, if it has commenced. The principal business of Don Antonio's factors here is to grant letters of marque, but they have sent from here to Terceira a quantity of a metal similar to tin for the purpose of coining false money. I send this by special messenger to Paris in case the weather should prevent the prompt arrival of the despatches sent by sea.—London, 11th April 1582.

16 April. **247.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my last three letters of the 11th, the Queen has news from Antwerp, saying that they have made an experiment on a man condemned to death to see whether they could stop the vein which Orange's wound had severed, but they found they could not do it by any means, nor prevent the bleeding. They have continued, in the case of Orange, the treatment I described before, namely, that

1582.

of pressing the vein constantly with the finger, relays of persons being kept in attendance for the purpose. This unheard-of way retains the blood but his sufferings are dreadful.

The thing is looked upon here as irremediable, and as they have no news since the 10th, they believe it is all over, as otherwise they would get news hourly.—London, 16th April 1582.

20 April. **248.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 14th Alderman Barnes of London left here for Southampton, charged with the dispatch of the four ships I have so often mentioned as going to the Moluccas, which he is to send off immediately. Although I have given an account of these ships before, it will be well, as they are ready to leave, that I should now send a statement in detail about them.

The ship which left the Thames, called the "Edward Buenaventura"* is of 300 tons, armed with thirty-six great cast-iron pieces, and carrying 100 men, the other ship is of 500 tons and takes 200 men, being armed with 70 cannon. There is a pinnace also of 40 tons given by Drake, and which carries 35 men; in addition to which there is a small craft of 14 tons. Amongst these three hundred and odd men there are some gentlemen and excellent sailors, as the Council gave licenses to press the most suitable men for the voyage. Some of those who went with Drake accompany them, whilst six men who go have already been in the Moluccas, and, having lived for eight years in the Portuguese Indies, are well acquainted with the coast. The pilot of the principal ship is a Terceira Portuguese, called Simon Fernandez, a heretic who has lived here for some years, and is considered one of the best pilots in the country. They take victuals for two years, and the cost of the expedition will reach 12,000*l.* in addition to 4,000*l.* or 5,000*l.* worth of merchandise.

Their intention is to sail from here to Cape Blanco in Barbary, where they will water and then continue their voyage. From what I have heard lately from persons who have been in communication with Drake and others, and have seen the secret chart of the voyage, I infer that their course is to be different from that which they originally intended, which was to go to the Cape of Good Hope and thence start for the Moluccas. The intention is now to run down the coast of Brazil to Port St. Julian and the Straits of Magellan, which Drake discovered not to be a strait at all, and that the land which in the maps is carried Tierra del Fuego is not a part of a continent,† but only very large islands with canals between them. When Winter, who was one of those who went with Drake, returned hither, I wrote to your Majesty that he with the other three ships had entered the Straits, but after he had proceeded eighty leagues therein, he was separated from the other ships by a storm on the 6th of September, which storm he says was the greatest that ever

* This was afterwards one of the principal ships under Howard at the Armada.

† The Spaniards had hitherto believed that the Continent extended indefinitely to the South.

1582.

he had experienced. He then steered south with a north-west wind towards Tierra del Fuego, which is in the Strait itself, and was seeking a port until the 28th of October, without being able to find one. At the end of this time, in order to find out where he was, he took observations and found that he was in the same latitude as the mouth of the Straits. He therefore concluded that what Magellan described as straits and the continent were really channels and islands, all the way from Puerto Grande to Cape Deseado and from Cape Bonaseñal to that of Maestre, as they are marked on the maps, since he had run for 54 days without finding a port. Drake who had a fair wind and fine weather ran back to reconnoitre in the same direction as that in which he had been driven by the storm and then sailing north outside the islands which look like a strait, and entering the South Sea, proceeeded to Panama from whence, after he had committed the robberies, he sailed to the Moluccas and returned by the Cape of Good Hope.*

That the straits are really formed by islands is proved by what happened to Winter, because, after having proceeded for 80 leagues, the storm carried him back to Port St. Julian† without his again passing out of the opening by which he had entered, which made cosmographers here think that Winter had not entered the straits at all. Although he affirmed that the straits were formed by islands, he was not believed until Drake himself returned, who has not explained the secret to any one but some of the councillors and the chiefs of this expedition who placed before him the danger which would be run by sending these ships whilst your Majesty had so large a fleet in the Straits of Magellan. Drake replied, "So much the better; as they were thus assured that your Majesty's "vessels would stay there and keep guard to prevent anyone "entering the South Sea"; but, after all, they would find themselves deceived, as it was not continent but only very large islands, and there was the open sea beyond Tierra del Fuego. The person who has given me this statement, although he saw Drake's chart and has discussed it with him, does not understand navigation and cosmography sufficiently to tell me exactly the degrees of latitude, but only asserts the point that the land consists of islands and not continent. I am obliged to give your Majesty an example in order to make my meaning more clear, as to what happened in the straits to Drake and Winter. Suppose Ireland were as near to France as are the Scilly Isles, and Drake's three ships had left Nantes for the purpose of entering this Channel, in the belief that the Irish Sea was a strait, and that the tempest had there overtaken him, Winter running up St. George's Channel and emerging into the high seas running round Ireland would return that way to Nantes, whilst Drake, sailing round Scotland and returning by the high sea to below Cape Clear, which would be about the same latitude as the mouth by which he had entered, he would therefore

* The passage is somewhat obscure, but it would appear that after groping through the Straits, Drake and Winter were caught by a "Norther" and driven far south; Winter drifting round Cape Horn and Drake remaining on the west side of it.

† Port St. Julian was near the Atlantic entrance to the Straits of Magellan.

1582.

prove that it was not a strait but channels between islands as he had reached the same point by way of Hamburg.*

These ships expect to bring back 500 tons of spices, and they have already calculated the amount which will accrue to each adventurer. They are so confident about it that they are fitting out other ships for a similar voyage, and it would therefore be very desirable that, wherever these ships are encountered, they and every man on board of them should be sent to the bottom and these expeditions stopped, as their effrontery has reached such a pitch that the Councillors even openly say that they will send to these islands or wherever else they think proper to trade and conquer. As it seems to me highly important to discover the truth of these statements which are made by Drake in all confidence, and believed by the Councillors, I would suggest that your Majesty's fleet, which was sent to the Straits of Magellan, should be ordered to thoroughly explore their position.—London, 20th April 1582.

22 April. **249.** The QUEEN OF SCOTLAND to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I have received intelligence of the danger in which the Prince of Orange recently was in consequence of the great loss of blood from a wound under the eye. I praise God for this, seeing the advantage which may accrue to His church and to the King my brother (Philip) who is now its principal protector.

If you think that His Majesty will be willing now to take in hand the affairs of this island with the aim of establishing the Catholic religion and frustrating this Queen's designs on the Netherlands by keeping her busy at home, I am of opinion that our object would be greatly forwarded by your encouraging the principal Catholics of this country, so many of whom you know, although most of them are already well disposed towards me. I shall always be willing to employ my life and everything I have in this world in order to push this matter well forward, that is to say, with such promptitude and care as will produce the desired effect. The extreme persecution of the Catholics here, I am told, is causing many of them to think of shaking off the oppression, the only thing needful being foreign support; so that if we can once succeed with Scotland, there is every appearance of our being able to bring about some great good to this country. I thank you affectionately for the good advice you have given me about the succession to this Crown, in which matter, if it be formally taken in hand I will certainly not fail to take the necessary action publicly, whilst at the same time endeavouring to direct it through my friends as much as possible. —Sheffield, 22nd April 1582.

23 April. **250.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.†

Paris Archives. K. 1447. 130.

The present letter is especially to reply to yours of 9th February and 6th March about Scotland. I was glad to see the letter the

* The writer's illustration certainly does not seem to make the matter clearer to us, who are perfectly acquainted with the exact position of the Straits of Magellan, but it would probably aid a person who had never seen a map to roughly realise the position.

† Another copy of this letter undated and purporting to have been signed at Lisbon instead of St. Ubes is in the Simancas Archives amongst the papers of 1581 (Secretaria de Estado, packet 835).

1582.

queen of Scotland had written to you and also the good reception which Father William Holt received from the principal councillors of the King, as well as the negotiations which were being carried on by her and the Catholics of the country with a view to its conversion. Before going further I wish signally to thank you for all your care in a matter which is especially for God's service, and is consequently looked upon by me with the greatest regard. Of the four methods proposed by the Catholics for the conversion of the country, the first, that of preaching is certainly the mildest and surest, the rest being risky and needing much consideration. It might not be so easy for the Catholics to seize the Government in a way which would allow them to utilise the King. The other suggestion of deposing him pending the arrival of his mother, unless he were to become a Catholic, offers great objections, and is also against their oath. The Queen, moreover, being absent and a prisoner, great confusion would arise as to the persons to administer the government. The last plan of deporting him out of the country to convert him will be almost the same as deposing him, and the conversion will still be in doubt. Their remark that, if none of these methods succeed they and their families will abandon their homes and properties, if carried out will simply make amendment impossible altogether and must not be thought of, but they must dissemble and be patient, awaiting the means that God will provide. You will therefore use every effort to prevent them from despairing on the one hand, or rashly precipitating matters on the other to their own damage. Great care and caution must be exercised and zeal must not outstrip discretion until the affair be ripe, and I enjoin you for your part to keep this well in view. From what the Queen writes to you she appears to be well alive to all this, as she strives for the conversion by reading and persuasion, and is also aware that the best time for sending foreign aid would be after the pacification of Flanders. Although she herself has sometimes hinted at conveying her son out of Scotland, you may, in your own name, point out to her the evils of this course and reply to her on my behalf on all other points. Say that I desire to see her free, and herself and her son safe, with religion restored all over the island. She will always find in me the same attachment and goodwill as hitherto, and I beg she will continue her efforts to enlighten her son and bring him to the true path. Urge her to strive to unite the efforts of all those Catholics towards gaining ground quietly, whilst things are being brought to the point when it will be possible to aid them with foreign troops, and, in the case she mentions, of the pacification of Flanders, I will not fail to furnish such aid, and even before then, if possible. It is most important, however, that she should advise me through you how her son receives her counsel and admonition as regards his conversion, upon whom she can depend in Scotland, whom she distrusts, what troops there are, what fortified places, what port of debarkation could be provided for foreign troops, what may be expected from France; from England we well know what we may expect. In short, you may let her know that when I thoroughly understand the state of affairs, and fair and honest conditions are proposed to

1582.

me, they will find me most willing to reciprocate with help and friendship, and I will use my influence with the Pope to the same end. I have no doubt that his Holiness would render assistance, at least in money, if the King were to give hopes of becoming a Catholic. This is what you will say to the Queen. As to her suggestion that some of the principal Scotsmen should be gradually won over to my side by presents, with a view to the conversion of the country, it will be well to communicate with her on the subject and ask her whether it will be best to give them pensions as she says, or offer them rewards in accordance with the service they may render. If she thinks it will be better to give them pensions, (although this course rarely turns out well) you will inform me as to the persons who should receive them and to what amount.

Whilst this is being discussed and things are being prepared for a successful result, you will use your best efforts to carry forward the sending thither of preachers from England and France, with the same dissimulation as hitherto, and you may aid with money the priests who go on that errand, for which purpose a credit of 2,000 crowns was recently sent you, and more shall be provided as required. Your communications with the Scottish Catholics had better be verbal, by means of trustworthy persons, rather than by letter, the loss or miscarrying of which might cause suspicion to the French and others who might undermine the business.

With regard to your departure, as the queen of Scotland thinks (as I hear through other channels) that it would militate much against these negotiations, and you yourself will recognise this, I beg you to reconcile yourself to staying there as long as I may consider necessary for the object in view, and attend to all my affairs with your accustomed diligence. In the meanwhile we will be on the look out here for a fitting person to send under the pretext of demanding especially the restoration of Drake's plunder as you suggest.

As you consider it necessary to oblige that gentleman* who influences the house of Howard, please advise fully what should be given to him and in what form. We will then decide, and in the meanwhile you will keep him in hand as cleverly as usual.—St. Ubes, 23rd April 1582.

25 April. **251.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I reported to your Majesty that Antonio de Castillo had taken leave of the Queen, and as your Majesty's Treasury officers in Portugal were so tardy in sending him his wages, as had been ordered by your Majesty years ago, whereat these people began to cavil and raise a thousand suspicions, I thought that it was not decorous in your Majesty's interests, and for many reasons, that he should stay here any longer; and I arranged his departure, making myself responsible for the greater part of his debts, borrowing money on my own responsibility to pay the most pressing ones and to provide means for his voyage. He will therefore sail in an

* Lord Henry Howard.

1582.

English ship with the first fair wind, as I think this the safest way, I having arranged through third persons for the Queen to give him a safe conduct to all her allies, ordering the captain in her own name to take him safely to Portugal, so that if anything untoward happens to him she will be responsible. Before sending him the letters and the usual present, to the value of 800 ducats in silver, Walsingham sent to tell him that he wanted to see him, as he had a message from the Queen for him. Antonio de Castillo went to him, with my consent. Walsingham told him that, although the Queen had resolved not to write to your Majesty until you gave her some satisfaction about Ireland, she would nevertheless take this opportunity of doing so. He said that the fact of the Queen's having sent so many envoys to your Majesty to propose a renewal of her treaties with you, none of which envoys your Majesty had received, had caused her to become reconciled to the French, who had always previously been her enemies. Although, he said, your Majesty had ambassadors here who did as they liked in their own houses, her ambassadors were not allowed the same privileges in Spain. Walsingham has publicly repeated this, and the Treasurer said the same thing to two Spaniards here, whilst secretly sounding them as to whether I was authorised to renew the treaties. He always harps upon the fact that, as I have liberty for my religion here, the same right should be given to the Queen's ambassadors.

I can only suspect that they are stirring up this matter for the purpose of finding an excuse for expelling me, to which end Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham are always working, and pointing out to the Queen that, as your Majesty has an ambassador here, she ought to have one in Spain on similar conditions. As the point is so important a one, I humbly beg your Majesty to instruct me how I am to proceed if they address me on the matter, and I repeat that, for this and other reasons, it is highly advisable that a man should be sent hither authorised, if necessary, to replace me, on the pretext of a special mission, so that if these people force me to leave, the communications with the queen of Scotland may not be discontinued.

For the reasons which I laid before them, the Councillors have desisted from their intention of seizing the property which might arrive from the coast of Brazil, as a reprisal for the ship which I mentioned had been detained there. The ship escaped from port and arrived here on the 22nd, having left sixteen men on shore.

At my request the Council ordered the restitution to the representatives of the owners of the sugars from the caravel seized under Don Antonio's letters of marque, by which means I have succeeded only in preventing them only from falling into the hands of Don Antonio, since the owners themselves will reap no advantage, as the Admiral of that part of the coast demands 1,000*l.* sterling besides the costs incurred, which is about the value of the merchandise. I am also assisting another Portuguese from whom Silva took six hundred quintals of woad at Terceira, and for the ransom of which Botello made him give a bill.

1582

News arrives from Terceira of 15th March, that Antonio de Rivero had delivered letters to Cipriano de Figueredo from Don Cristobal de Mora, with great promises in your Majesty's name, which Rivero had sent to Don Antonio, and at the same time had gone to de Silva and told him that, as a man was coming with similar papers to St. Michael's, he should be instantly seized and punished.

They report also that a caravel had arrived from Lisbon, from which there had landed a native of the island named Gaspar, who had in the name of your Majesty and the Chamber of Lisbon represented to Silva and the Governor the punishment that would befall them if they continued in their contumacy. They replied that they acknowledged Don Antonio as their King, and as he had ordered them to defend themselves, your Majesty need not trouble yourself to send similar admonitions to them.—London, 25th April 1582.

25 April. **252.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The Queen has received intelligence, dated the 15th, that Orange is now only seen by the doctors, and although the flow of blood had been stopped, he was so weak that there were no hopes of his recovering, and much surprise existed that he had survived so long, as it was whispered by some of the Councillors that he died on the 10th, although they kept the news secret, in order that the oath of allegiance to Alençon might continue to be taken. There are letters from foreigners in Antwerp of the 15th confirming it, but I do not venture to assert its truth until fresh confirmation arrives.

Alençon has written to the Queen, saying that when the rebel States learnt of Orange's peril, they had sent special representatives to him, with the assurance that, if Orange died, they would acknowledge him, Alençon, as their sovereign. This has been published by Marchaumont, who exhibits letters in Alençon's own hand, expressing certainty that he might now possess the States, especially in view of the fair answer brought by M. de la Nouville from his brother, who, since he had heard of Orange's dangerous wound, had less desire to interfere in the business.

Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham have endeavoured to persuade the Queen that it is desirable for her to openly take the States under her protection, as she could then settle with your Majesty on better terms, whereas if she lets this opportunity pass she can only look for ruin; because, if either your Majesty, or Alençon and the French, get possession of the country, neither one nor the other could be trusted. This view they have enforced by many arguments, but they have been opposed by Cecil and Sussex when the matter was discussed in the Council, and the question therefore remained undecided. When it was referred to the Queen, I understand that she complained greatly, saying what a miserable state was hers, since the death of a single person made all her Councillors tremble and her subjects lose their courage. This was seized upon as an excuse for her to take up with greater warmth

1582.

than ever the talk about the marriage, and she swears and protests publicly now that she is determined to marry. She asked Sussex again to write in her name to Alençon, saying that when he had made peace with your Majesty, or otherwise had avoided the necessity for her to contribute anything to the war in Flanders, she would immediately marry him, to which she would pledge her faith as a Queen, and her oath as a Christian. Sussex refused to write, and said that he wanted to have no more to do with a thing that he knew was repugnant to the Queen's nature, and begged her not to order him to write, but to be content with his having been the cause of injuring her reputation so many times before, to which he had been impelled by others, who made him their tool, in order to avoid loss of credit to themselves. The Queen nevertheless resolved to give the message to Alençon's gentleman Pruneaux, who was here. She has tried to get Marchaumont also to induce the king of France to write her a letter, undertaking to break with your Majesty if she marries his brother, with which she said she would be satisfied, although if afterwards the king of France did not think fit to fulfil his promise she would not press him to do so unless he was quite willing. Alençon has been urging this point strongly, but the King has hitherto refused. The Queen is therefore now jealous of the French, to such an extent that when Walsingham came to see her on business the other day she said: "You knave, you ought to have your head off your shoulders, for "having urged the going of Alençon to Antwerp, where he is now "trying to get hold of the seaports; but they shall see whether I "will coolly put up with that." Walsingham did not answer a word to this.

I understand that when Leicester went with Alençon, he asked Orange why he did not proclaim himself duke of Brabant, instead of having Alençon recognised as such. Orange replied that it was from no want of courage, but only because, as the Queen of England was so alarmed at war with your Majesty, he was obliged to turn to the French.

On the 15th the Queen sent to Alençon the 15,000*l.* which had been brought out of the Tower in ten boxes, each of which took four men to lift. They were put on board a fly-boat, which took them to Gravesend, where they shipped on board an English vessel called the "Giles," which conveyed them to Antwerp.

On the morning of the 22nd the Queen and Council resolved to confer the Order of the Garter on Alençon, on St. George's Day, but at a meeting of the Council the same night they changed their minds, in order not to have to address him by more titles than the dukedoms he had in France, whilst Marchaumont said his master would not accept the order unless he was acknowledged first as duke of Brabant, and the proposal was therefore suspended.—London, 25th April 1582.

26 April. **253.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The enclosed despatch has been detained until now for a passport, and in the meanwhile letters came to the Queen from Antwerp,

1582.

dated on the morning of the 16th. They report that the vein in Orange's head had again broken out, and he had lost twelve ounces of blood, whereupon the surgeons said that the wound must again be cut open, which could only be done at great risk, whilst his life otherwise could not possibly be saved. Another letter dated on the night of the same day afterwards arrived, saying that he had since become much worse and was expiring. The Lord Chancellor says that, judging from what they write he can only escape by a miracle, whilst Sussex and Lord Montague say that it was of no use to count upon him any more, as they believe he died days ago. If such be not the case, it may be looked upon, as I have said before, as a special judgment of God that he should suffer these torments as a foretaste of the punishment which he will have to endure for his abominations. I hear that the Queen has sent a letter to Alençon, saying that if he would return here she would certainly marry him, and that the marriage should not stand in the way of the continuance of the war, so long as she and her subjects were not called upon to contribute to it, whilst she assured him that if the war was continued and the marriage did not take place, she would be his mortal enemy, and would spend the last coin in her treasury, and the last man in her realm, to prevent his getting possession of the States, which would be so injurious to this country. When she gave Marchaumont an account of this letter she promised him, on the word of a princess, that she would write to the king of France and his mother about the marriage, in terms which would not displease them.

She also wrote to Alençon that she sent him the 15,000*l.* more out of regard for him than as a subsidy for the war; and under cover of this I hear that she is treating through her confidants with the rebels, that if by means of this money or a larger sum they can arrange to deliver to her Flushing, if not all the Isle of Zeeland, they must make every possible effort to do so. She is pressing very earnestly about this, as she considers that she will be able to keep the French in check in this way, and prevent them from openly taking the Netherlands, whilst she holds in her hands the key to an arrangement with your Majesty. All her other actions towards Alençon are simply stratagems. In conversation likewise recently with the French Ambassador, she set forth the many reasons which would force her to marry, whereupon he replied that, besides the reasons she stated, she had forgotten one, which was of more importance than any, namely, that it was said that he (Alençon) had slept with her. She replied that she could disregard such a rumour, to which he answered that she might well do so in her own country, but not elsewhere, where it had been publicly stated. She was extremely angry, and retorted that a clear and innocent conscience feared nothing, and that the letters which Alençon had written to his brother and his mother were written before the existence of the rumour, which she would silence by marrying.

I send orders for the despatch of a courier to the prince of Parma, on the arrival of this packet at Calais, to report about

1582.

Flushing, and that Alençon has written to France saying that the troops and ships which are ready for Don Antonio could be used for seizing Zeeland, and for assuring the possession of the Netherlands, since Orange was no longer in the way.—London, 26th April 1582.

26 April. **254.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have to-day learnt that the ships which were ready to go to the Moluccas have sailed, and that Humphrey Gilbert* is fitting out three more to go to Florida, and land in the place where Stukeley went to, and subsequently Jean Ribaut, who was killed by Pero Melendez. When the Queen was asked to assist this expedition Gilbert was told in the Council that he was to go, and, as soon as he had landed and fortified the place the Queen would send him ten thousand men to conquer it and hold the port.

Frobisher is also pushing forward the fitting out of three more ships for the Moluccas, affirming that he means to arrive in the South Sea by the islands that form the Straits of Magellan, before the ships which have sailed.—London, 26th April 1582.

26 April. **255.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Two days ago I received the reply of the queen of Scotland to the letter which I had sent her with the despatch I had received from Scotland from the duke of Lennox, and conveying to her the information I had received from Fathers Creighton and Holt, as I wrote to your Majesty on the 1st April. I enclose copy of her letter herewith, and also of that which the duke of Lennox wrote to her.† These fully confirm what I have always said, namely, that she is virtually the mainspring of the war, without whose opinion and countenance Lennox and the others will do nothing. I have therefore endeavoured to keep her well disposed, and, in order to facilitate the business, continue to impress upon her how ready the Scots and the Catholics here are to undertake the enterprise. In the meanwhile I have always proceeded with the plumb-line in my hand, trying to sound the feelings and aims of the Scots, without going beyond generalities, in order not to pledge your Majesty more than necessary, and yet not to lose hold upon them. I have also instructed the priests who have gone thither to act in the same way, only that as Creighton went from France at the request of the Scots ambassador, and by order of His Holiness, without seeing me, he has changed my mode of

* Sir Humphrey Gilbert had received letters patent dated 11th June 1578, "To "discover remote heathen and barbarous lands not possessed by any Christian prince "or people, and to hold and enjoy same with all commodities, jurisdictions, and "royalties, both by sea and land" (Patent Roll, Eliz. 21, printed in Hakluyt). A full account of the agreements and preparations made by Gilbert, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir George Peckham, and others for the above-mentioned expedition to Florida, will be found in the recently published Calendar of Colonial State Papers edited by Mr. Noel Sainsbury.

† See letter of 6th April, page 330.

1582.

procedure, promising, as will be seen, in the name of the Pope and your Majesty, to the duke of Lennox 15,000 men for the war in Scotland. He has no grounds whatever for this, as is pointed out clearly by the queen of Scotland, who says that she does not know the origin of the promise, which I have no doubt that the good man has made entirely on his own initiative, in the belief that, as in May last year, when he was in Rome, his Holiness told him he would assist with the necessary number of men, he might promise the round number, perhaps under the impression that the Catholics here will rise and assist the Scots the moment they know that foreign troops have come to their aid. It is out of my power to prevent this error and others of a like sort, which may be committed by the priests who go from France (where the business however must be managed), unless they are extremely well instructed. They (the priests), although ardently zealous as regards religion, cannot be trusted with matters of State unless they are taught word for word what they have to say, and in order, if possible, to prevent such mistakes in future, and avoid the disappointment of the Scots if the aid promised them be not sent, I have replied to the queen of Scotland on the point to the effect that, though I was sure that your Majesty and his Holiness would assist, even with a much larger force than stated, whenever it might be necessary for the attainment of so inestimable an object, yet there were great difficulties, as it would be impossible to form a fleet, since French affairs were in their present state and religion in France so unsettled that the moment an expedition was fitted out the suspicion of the French would be aroused, and they would be led, in order not to lose entirely both England and Scotland, immediately to join with this Queen more intimately than ever, whilst heretics on both sides, and especially Alençon, fanned the flames of war between France and Spain. This would enable the heretics to crush the Catholics here, and, such is their malice, that they might turn their weapons against her own person. For these considerations I said it was best that the aid to be given to Scotland should not be strong enough to drive the French to despair of preserving the ancient alliance with Scotland at seeing a powerful foreign force there. It was also necessary that the force should not be so weak as to render it impossible for the Scots Catholics to subdue the heretics, and it is certain that this Queen would not dare to interfere unless she had the French at her back, as she is so apprehensive of the English Catholics joining those of Scotland. When the French see her position they will presumably stand by and watch events, as they will consider it no disadvantage to them that their old allies the Scots should become more powerful, especially in the absence of any of the Queen's forces which the Scots themselves could not withstand. From these points, which I summarised to her, I said depended many others, which she herself would perceive, and I therefore thought it would be best for her to convey them to the Scots, so that the affair might be managed in the way best calculated to obtain the end in

1582.

view with peace and quietness, rather than to inflame fresh wars between Christian princes. I said that the duke of Lennox should be instructed not to move from Scotland, as, amongst other reasons, it is of the highest importance in your Majesty's interests that the troops to be raised should not be, as he says in his letter, collected by him in France, but should be sent by your Majesty.

With regard to the instructing of the priests, I said I was pleased that those who had gone from here had proceeded prudently, and the errors committed by those who went from France were no fault of mine. I would do my best to confer with them if it were possible for me to be in two places. I had written to them in Scotland what she replied with regard to the commissions for the two ambassadors, adding that, if it were not evident that the Pope and your Majesty were so ardently anxious to help forward the war in these countries it might be necessary to send special ambassadors to lay before you the opportunities for doing so; but since we are already so well informed upon the subject, and as the ambassadors to be sent would necessarily have to be persons devotedly attached to the Catholic religion, well versed in matters of State, and of high standing in the country, it appeared to me that their absence from Scotland at this time would do more harm than their embassies would do good, whereas if they did not possess the qualities stated, the two Setons, whom I do not know, being so very young, it would be much better for them to stay at home in order to avoid attracting attention, and arousing suspicion by going to foreign Courts.

I also replied to Lennox in general terms, agreeing with the despatch to the queen of Scotland, it being taken by the same priest that came hither. For greater security he returned as he came, on foot disguised as a tooth-drawer, and he took with him a looking glass which I had made for him, inside of which the letters were concealed, so that unless he himself divulged them no one could imagine that he had them. I say nothing to Lennox about the promise made by Creighton, in order that he may understand that it was made without any foundation, but I inflame him with the glory and grandeur which he may gain by the enterprise, which I say will be entirely attributed to him, he being by his person, gifts, and position worthy to lead such a cause. I write thus as I am told this is in accordance with his humour. I also touch, but lightly, on the queen of Scotland's remarks about association with her son, in order, in the first place, to satisfy her, and, secondly, because I see that the Scots should proceed under this pretext, which will pledge the Catholics and adherents of the queen of Scots here unanimously to join in the claims of mother and son, and will bind them together to attain the end, leading them, in the interests of their lives, property, and children, to prefer your Majesty's friendship to that of France.

I have also written to Dr. Allen and Father Persons in France, requesting Persons to leave for Scotland immediately, as we had agreed, with the money which I had sent him for the purpose. I

1582.

say that as Fathers Creighton and Holt had not gone thither,* as was expected, they had no doubt changed their plan until they received news of the reply that the queen of Scotland and I sent to Lennox; and he, Persons, should therefore tell them that it is not necessary for them to leave Scotland or to send the ambassadors they speak of. They should, on the contrary, stay where they are, and endeavour as gently as possible to convert the kingdom to our Holy Catholic faith, gaining souls, and giving me notice of what the Scots want. I say also that it is not necessary for them to trouble to take to the road themselves, as their profession is not that of arranging warlike matters, which must be done by other ministers, their function being to act as intermediaries, for which they are better fitted than any others.

I have also written to the bishop of Glasgow, ambassador of the queen of Scotland, in the cipher which she sent me. I press him to hasten his departure for Scotland, but say nothing to him about the promise except speaking of it as a thing without foundation, to ask him what were Creighton's grounds for making it; I will immediately advise your Majesty of the replies I receive, but as I have not your Majesty's special instructions to proceed in all these details, I trust them all into the hands of God, and do my best in the interests of His service, and that of your Majesty. I send this by special courier to Tassis, and ask him to forward it in the same way.

This Queen sent four days ago one of the Scotch rebels who was here with the earl of Angus to the Border, with a quantity of money, chains, and other jewels, to buy over some of the Scots, the sole object being to get possession of the king of Scotland and stir up civil war there.

Lord Harry (Howard) continues to give me information with great vigilance and care, and keeps me well posted as to what is going on. This forces me again to press upon your Majesty the importance of rewarding him, and at the same time pledging his house, by favouring him in the way I have already suggested. In order not on any account to lose him I have prevailed upon him to refuse the embassy to Germany.—London, 26th April 1582.

4 May **256.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In my former letters I sent an account of what the Queen had written to Alençon, and as he did not reply with the usual promptitude she began to conceive some suspicion; and speaking to the Earl of Sussex, she remarked that it was very strange that Alençon did not reply, and that it would be well to summon the Council to discuss the matter of the marriage. Sussex said, in the course of conversation, that Alençon's marriage with the Queen, now that he was in Flanders and at war, would not produce so much advantage as the seizure of the States by the French would bring

* That is to say to France (Rouen) where, however, they had not arrived up to the 11th April, as was expected.

1582.

injury. Leicester, Walsingham, and their party opposed the Queen's marriage, setting forth that religion here would immediately be changed thereby, which they said was clearly proved by the earnestness with which Alençon was favouring the Catholics in Antwerp, he having insisted that they should have a public church. They, the Council, informed the Queen of their discussion, but she gave them no reply, excepting that it would be well to await Alençon's answer. Bacqueville, one of Alençon's gentlemen, brought the reply on the 2nd. He writes with his own hand to the Queen, saying that he had given her no just reason for complaint of his lukewarmness about the marriage, as he was more ready and desirous for it than ever, for the sake of the happiness of both of them, who loved each other so well, and also for the advantage which would accrue therefrom to the crowns of France and England. He says, it is true that he had not mentioned the matter in his letters for the last two months, as he had quite despaired of bringing it about, she having said with her own lips in his presence that it would be easier to move the mountains than for her, willingly, to make up her mind to marry. Since, however, she had changed her humour, he would not only speak of the matter in his letters, but, like a swallow, would pass the sea and build his nest in this country; this being his ultimate resolution which he conveys to her in accordance with her request. He begs her at once to let him know her mind and wishes upon the subject, and asks her, with all speed, to fix the day of the wedding so much desired by him, in order that he may then be with the person whom he loves more than his own life; and he repeats earnestly and often his request that the Queen will decide. This is the substance of the letter, which fills more than a whole sheet of paper; and I am told by a person to whom the Queen showed it, that the expressions are such that it is impossible to believe them to be insincere. At the end of the letter he thanks her warmly for the 60,000 ducats which she sent him, which he promises to spend in her service, although the sum is not a very large one for the needs which are occurring. He ends with an infinity of flatteries and endearments, saying that his reputation and his life are in the Queen's hands.

Since the Queen received the letter she appears more ardent than ever in her desire for the marriage, and at once quarrelled with Walsingham, whom she told that he had been the cause of the coolness between her and Alençon, and had induced the others to assert that she did not wish to marry. She then summoned in great haste the French ambassador and Marchaumont, to whom she conveyed the intention of Alençon, and assured them how sincerely she desired to effect the marriage, in spite of all opposition on either side of the sea. She again renewed the promise which she made when she gave the ring, and swore that she had never wavered in her intention of fulfilling the pledge she had given him before both French and English witnesses, that she would be the wife of Alençon if the King complied with the conditions which she had requested.

1582.

After this, she began to complain of Marchaumont, whom she told that he might almost be looked upon as a venal person to be bought and sold, as he had never said anything to her excepting about money since his master left, as if both of them thought nothing of her excepting as an aid to the forwarding of Alençon's ambitious schemes, and their only object was to worry an old woman until they had drained her purse to the last. Marchaumont excused himself by referring to the needs of his master, whereupon the Queen retorted in much harder and more stinging words than before. She ended by asking the ambassador to write to the King the following points. First, that Alençon desired to come over to be married as soon as he was notified; secondly, that she, the Queen, was of the same opinion; and thirdly, that the final conclusion of the marriage therefore depended entirely upon the King, since she, as from the first, again requested that France should defray half the expenses of the Netherlands war, not because she wished for a war against your Majesty, nor disunion amongst Christian princes, but because Alençon out of a spirit of adventure, desiring to make war upon your Majesty, she did not wish for her subjects to have the opportunity of saying that the long peace had been ended and treasure consumed in a dangerous war at the expense of this country. She therefore desired that the King should on no account fail in his promise to defray half of the expenses of the war before the marriage was effected, in order that there should be no alarm and suspicion in regard to this point between the two contracting parties. She said that this was most important, and the payment of the money by the King before the marriage would enable her to make certain arrangements with the rebel States. She did not see any way of carrying through the marriage if these terms were not acceded to, and she urged the ambassador most earnestly to assure the King of her desire for the marriage, and of her straightforward proceeding with regard to it. The fourth point to be conveyed to the King was a request that he should send a person of quality here with sufficient powers for the purpose, and she would then summon Alençon, and marry him, without making any fresh alterations in the conditions, or raising any further delay.

The ambassador replied that he was afraid to convey this to the King, on her verbal assurance alone, as she had deceived him before, and his master had rebuked him for allowing himself to believe her so easily. The Queen replied, that these were not words alone but oaths, which she took solemnly as a Queen and Christian, calling God to witness them, and to punish her if she failed in the promises which she now made in the presence of the ambassador and Marchaumont. She also told the ambassador to warn the King that if he failed to comply with so just a demand as this she would think that all the negotiations that had passed on his side, had been mere artifice, without any intention of fulfilling the promises made, and, as soon as she saw this, she would be his mortal enemy to the death, and to his brother as well. She then repeated that she would not leave a penny of English money, or

1582.

the life of an Englishman unspent, in preventing the French from gaining a footing in the Netherlands unless the marriage took place, as it would be a perpetual peril to herself and her country. She told the ambassador to recollect that she would have powerful and resolute friends, even though the king of France were to abandon her, "and the king of Spain," she said, "is striving "by all imaginable means to gain my friendship, giving me his "faithful word and pledge that he will help me against all "Christian princes if I will consent to renew the old alliance with "the House of Burgundy, and leave my new friendship with the "French." She therefore told him to advise his King that he had better not delay the conclusion of the treaties and marriage for more than three months, or they may find her more fit to marry the earth than his brother. After that period she said that any delay raised by the king of France will be looked upon by her as a definite negative, and she will at once come to terms with your Majesty, and refuse to allow herself to be deceived any longer by mere pastime and empty words.

The French ambassador wrote to the King as desired, but has kept the letters back until those from Alençon come, so that they may all arrive together. I understand that the ambassador is writing a great discourse of his own, pressing upon the King the need for great caution in the reply sent, because, if the Queen really is offended, she will join with your Majesty, to the great injury of France and Alençon, and again enter into the usual understandings with the Huguenots. This is the present state of affairs, and I will duly advise the purport of the answer taken by Bacqueville,* who also came to ask for more money. All these professions of a desire on the Queen's part to effect the marriage are, like the former ones, merely meant to lead Alençon astray with lies about your Majesty seeking her, whilst she gets hold of Zeeland, by which she might make terms either with him or your Majesty.—London, 4th May 1582.

4 May. **257.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my last, with which I enclosed a letter from the queen of Scotland I received two more letters from her, which I enclose, and the instructions she gives me in one of them translated into Spanish, which will prove that I was not mistaken in the advices I gave your Majesty with regard to the action which was going to be taken by that captain.† I reply that, as this Queen and her Ministers are on somewhat bad terms with me, it will be necessary for me to await an opportunity of ascertaining what she wishes to know from some of these councillors. At the same time I press her to maintain the duke of Lennox and the rest of them in their good disposition, and tell her that I am expecting hourly a reply

* The Queen's answer will be found printed *in extenso*, dated 4th May 1582, in the Hatfield Papers, Part 2, Hist. MSS. Com.

† *i.e.* Errington, who had been sent by Elizabeth as an envoy to Scotland, but had not been allowed to enter the country.

1582.

from your Majesty on the points she mentions. She has also sent me letters for the duke of Lennox and the ambassador (archbishop of) Glasgow asking me to forward them with all speed.

I have received news to-day from the Border of the arrival there of the priest I sent on the 19th with the despatch. They advise me that printed papers are in circulation in Scotland to the following effect:—"I, the Catholic Church, command and admonish "you, all bishops, abbots, ministers, and guardians of the churches "to restore the property you have so unjustly usurped for many "years, because, if you do not do so, you shall be cast out from "the kingdom on the day of St. John, with all your households, "goods, children, and strumpets. God save James VI., King of "Scotland." I have not been able to discover yet whether this is a stratagem of these people fearing the conversion of Scotland, and wishing to prevent it by arousing the indignation of the Protestants against the Catholics by this admonition, or whether it is a Catholic affair to embitter the feelings of the people against the ministers and ecclesiatics, whom they hate already for their impure lives, so much so that the king of Scotland himself says that the word they preach is good, but the lives they live are very bad.

These folks have been unable, notwithstanding all their bribes and promises, to prevail upon the earl of Arran to break with Lennox, and they have, therefore, taken to inciting the ministers, who are now preaching with greater fervour than ever against Lennox, who they say is enjoying the revenues of the bishopric of Glasgow, whilst the titular bishop receives only a very small salary.

I also understand that the King says that the ministers are depriving him of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, whilst they assert, both in and out of the pulpits, that the laymen are consuming their property.

An ambassador from Denmark has arrived here, and had audience with the Queen on the 6th. I believe that he comes upon the same business as the other envoy who came recently and has now left, namely, the navigation which the English are attempting to Muscovy. This matter is of much importance even to your Majesty, in consequence of the negotiations which these folks are carrying on with regard to it with the Turk. I am getting information about it, which I will send to your Majesty.

I also understand that this man will discuss the marriage of the king of Scotland with a daughter of the king of Denmark, which project, as I have already reported, is being warmly pressed upon the Queen by her ministers, and particularly by Leicester, Walsingham, and the rest of their faction.—London, 4th May 1582.

4 May. **258.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In some of my former letters I advised your Majesty of the arrival here of the ship from the coast of Brazil, leaving there seventeen men. I am informed by the Englishmen themselves that

1582.

this was not caused by an attempt to capture their ship, which would have been extremely easy if those on shore had wanted to do so, since all the artillery and men had to be put on shore whilst the ship was careened and repaired. But the Governor had given them licenses to trade on payment of the dues, which was also confirmed by the Bishop. By virtue of this the merchandise was placed in the stores, and the supercargoes for the merchants here who were in charge were so favourably impressed with the country that they resolved, four or five of them, to appropriate some of the merchandise and settle there. Another of them was converted to the Catholic faith by the preaching of the friars there, and as he regularly attended the ceremonies of the church his companions began to mock him, which came to the knowledge of the Bishop and the Inquisitors.

At this time the men on board the ship, seeing that the other factors were keeping the merchandise, sent a boat on shore with ten men to warn them to come back to the ship. The Inquisitors arrested these men in order to examine them, which, coming to the knowledge of the rest of the crew on board, they in return captured two Portuguese sailors who were there in a caravel from Lisbon, and then weighed anchor. The cannons on shore were immediately fired at them, and some of the balls hit the ship. The vessel in question arrived here after a voyage of two months and a half. I understand that the Council has inquired into the case, and that many merchants had gone to them to say that they too desired to send ships on a similar voyage to trade on the coast of Brazil. This would be greatly to your Majesty's prejudice, and should be prevented by issuing orders to the Governors on the coast, in the case of foreign ships arriving, not only that they should be prevented from trading, but that they should be sent to the bottom without fail, with every man on board, As I have on many occasions written, directly these people are treated in any other way it will be impossible to prevent them sailing thither, or to check their activity, excepting by keeping fleets everywhere at great cost.

The ships which I wrote had sailed for the Moluccas* have returned to the north-west coast of England, by stress of contrary wind. Captain Fenton has landed from them in consequence of a sealed order of the Queen and Council appointing the Captain having been sent in the ships, which order was not to be opened until the expedition was on the high seas. When it was opened it was found to appoint as Commander of the expedition, Winter, who was the man that went with Drake and brought his ship back from the mouth of the Straits. For this reason Fenton refused to proceed on the voyage. Humphrey Gilbert is continuing the fitting of the ships I mentioned; and Frobisher is ready to sail with two ships, which he says will arrive there (at the Moluccas) before the others.—London, 4th May 1582.

* The galleon "Ughtred" of 400 tons, and the ship "Edward Bonaventure" of 250 tons.

1582.

4 May. **259.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 25th and 26th ultimo I sent five letters by special courier to Paris, giving information with regard to the state of Orange. Although a gentleman from Alençon since affirms that he is convalescent, Sussex continues to be incredulous, and says that it is only a French trick to conceal the truth, with the aim described in my previous letters. A Bolognese merchant, who left Antwerp on the 18th, and who had been there since the day that Orange was wounded, and is an honest man, says that he will bet two hundred crowns to one hundred that he was dead, and he assures me that he saw evident indications of it, especially that when the vein burst forth and so much blood was lost, not only was every physician and surgeon in Antwerp consulted, but every man or woman who chose to come and professed to have a remedy for stopping the bleeding, was allowed to make the experiment. They sent horsemen galloping about the streets, who, to save time, took up behind them the people who professed to have a remedy, and carried them off to the patient immediately. Although no means was successful, they published next day that the man was well, whilst they had, night and day, to compress the vein by pressure with a finger. They then dismissed all medical men, excepting Alençon's physician, and would allow no one to see Orange but certain private persons. The heretics who maintain that though you may pray for the living you may not pray for the dead, ceased to offer prayers for him from that day, which caused the suspicion to deepen. This merchant relates many circumstances which I do not repeat, but which all confirm the supposition, as do letters from Spaniards in Antwerp.

Notwithstanding this, and that the Queen has had no letters from Orange since he was wounded, they assert that Alençon writes that he is convalescent, although not out of danger, which physicians here find it difficult to believe, as it is more than forty days since he was wounded. I cannot say for certain what the facts are, but can only repeat what they say here. The wife of Orange was dangerously ill, which the heretics publish with great clamour.—London, 4th May 1582.

6 May. **230.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447. 134.

Very many thanks for your full and frequent advices. Please continue them, and also your efforts in favour of the individuals who have been plundered, and in obstructing Diego Botello about the ships.

As a long letter was recently written to you respecting Scotland, answering your various questions relating thereto, there is now nothing further to say, except to thank you and approve heartily of the course you are following of keeping in hand the Queen and Catholics of that country. I was glad to see the copy of the letter written to you by the duke of Lennox, and I am anxious to receive a report of the message sent to you by the fathers in

1582.

Rouen by the confidant you intended to send to them. As you say, they showed their simplicity in asking you to leave England to see them; but you managed the matter excellently, as you do all things. If the ambassadors or persons you mention are to be sent hither and to Rome, you will inform me beforehand of their instructions. It would also be well if you had some prudent, quiet, person at Rouen; or could send such a one thither, to go carefully into this matter of Scotland with the priests, so that the correspondence with you might be carried on better than at present.

I hope your next letters, or others from those parts, will tell me how the matter of Orange ended. With regard to Alençon, if it be true as you are told, that the Queen is opposing the delivery to him of certain fortresses in Holland and Zealand, it would appear probable that she may lend ear to what is written to you in another letter, and understand that the course suggested will be the best for her. This view, however, is contradicted by the queen of Scotland's letter to you of the 2nd of March, saying that the Queen (of England) is likely to help and support Alençon in Flanders. Act for the best and report.—Almerin, 6th May 1582.

6 May. Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 135.

261. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

From many quarters we have confirmation of your news that Orange is dying, and he doubtless is now dead. In any case the position that Alençon is taking up in the country is intolerable, and the Queen cannot be so blind as not to see how injurious it is for her and her country for the French to gain a footing in any part of the Netherlands. I enjoin you, therefore, to request audience and deliver the new letter of credence now enclosed, trying to convince her of the danger that may result to her from such neighbours. Say that, however much they may temporise with her now, as soon as they get their way she may know what she has to expect from them, as their one object is to usurp all they can without any consideration of right or reason. Open her eyes to what her position will be if she is surrounded on all sides by Frenchmen, or if she allow their force to grow to an extent which may threaten herself. Let her not think that she protects herself by aiding them with money and otherwise, for people whose habit it is play such tricks are not likely to be bound by any considerations of gratitude.*

In addition to the unmerited offence she will commit against me if she helps Alençon in Flanders, the French will only be too

* In the King's hand :—"It is possible that if this is expressed on my behalf it "may do more harm than good, and you (*i.e.* Idiaquez) may therefore write to "Don Bernardino, saying that if he be of that opinion he is not to act as if in my "name, but to speak as for himself, intimating, however, at the same time, that he "knows I think in the same way. I believe this will be the better course, but "leave it to Don Bernardino to act as he thinks best." A letter from Idiaquez to Mendoza was therefore written in that sense, 7th May 1582. (Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 137.)

1582.

pleased to drain her substance, so that when she is exhausted and bereft of money they may be able to treat her country as they treat others. Beg her to consider this whilst it is yet time, and avoid the danger. If it be an injury to me that the French should nest in the Netherlands, it is none the less an injury to her also, and it will be unwise for her to reject this advice of mine because she thinks it may be inspired by considerations of my own interests; and to turn against good and old friends for the sake of embracing the natural and ancient enemies of her country, in the belief that they will change their nature.

You will argue in this way, touching the various points as you see may be advisable. As you know their temper so well I leave to your discretion the details of your proceeding, so long as you bear in mind that the object is to open the Queen's eyes to the evil of having the French for neighbours, and making her suspicious of them. Report what you do. I recollect that on various occasions the Queen has suggested that she might be instrumental in effecting a general pacification in my Netherlands, and although it is easy to imagine what sort of a peace would be made by her means, I shall be glad to hear from you what is meant by it, and with what object or result she might intervene in the matter.*—Almerin, 6th May 1582.

15 May. **262.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 4th I wrote four letters, and now send copy of an autograph letter written by Don Antonio to Diego Botello, and another from Francisco Antonio de Souza, which have fallen into my hands. I keep the originals for several reasons, and particularly to be able to show this Queen, when opportunity offers, what she gains by favouring rebels, and how they thank her for it, by what Francisco de Souza says about her in his letter. I have no doubt that this will goad her into terrible resentment against Don Antonio. I also enclose letters from Manuel Silva and others, contained in the same packet, which together may prove to your Majesty the correctness of the advices I have sent. I hear from the Isle of Wight that one of the three ships which Don Antonio is sending from England to Rochelle had arrived there, the Englishmen on board of her having deserted in consequence of famine, and they thought that the same thing would happen to the other two ships. A man from Rochelle tells me that when he left on the 1st they were fitting out there eight or ten ships for Don Antonio, but there was neither money nor men, and at the rate they were going they could not have them ready for a long while.

Gonzalo Pereira, whom as I wrote to your Majesty I was sending to Fayal, writes from the Isle of Wight that the servant he sent to Don Antonio had returned with a letter telling him on no account to fail to go and see him. The servant tells him that he heard in Don Antonio's house, from men who are in his confidence, that

* The above letter is accompanied by a fresh letter of credence in Latin addressed to to queen of England in favour of Mendoza.

1582.

the design of the fleet he is collecting in France is to defend Terceira and land on some of the islands if possible, and otherwise to go and attack the fleets from the Indies. If none of these things succeed, they are to land all the Frenchmen that go in the expedition in Florida where Jean Ribaut landed.*

News comes from Terceira of the 19th March saying that Captain Carloix had gone to Manuel de Silva to ask him to pay the soldiers, to which he had replied that he must have patience; whereupon Carloix retorted that if he did not give him the money immediately he would pay himself. He then ordered the drums to be beaten, and said that he would sack the country, and it was thought that this would cause a contest between the people and the soldiery. The Captain of the Englishmen writes begging his friends here to send him ships for them to return in if they do not wish them all to die there.

This Queen has not yet received replies from France nor from Alençon to the messages she sent, and she has acquainted Marchaumont and Bacquevllle with her grave suspicions that the King of France should raise so many fleets at Brouage and others parts of the coast without the object being evident, since they were not needed for any purpose in his own country. She also complains of the intimacy with which the duke of Guise was treating the king of Scotland, to whom he had sent six well-trained horses. These, and other things, made her distrustful, considering the devotion which the duke of Guise had always shown to your Majesty's interests, and the close communication which had been kept up between you and his house. She said that it might be easily concluded, that if the king of France was favourable to her, and wished for her union with his brother, he would not thus favour her mortal enemy, to which she added some very foul words applied to Guise. The suspicions which Cobham continues to write to her confirm the statement that the King is receiving Juan Bautista de Tassis more graciously than ever. Marchaumont and Bacqueville satisfied her, saying that it was not for them to answer for the actions of the King, but only for those of their master; but it could not be believed that the duke of Guise had so ill a will towards her as she said. She had received news from Berwick with great haste that the wife of the duke of Lennox had arrived in Scotland. I do not affirm this, as they do not always write the truth from those parts.

There are no fresh letters from Antwerp. but letters from Flushing of the 9th report that the wife of Orange was dead; whilst he was convalescent, and without even a patch upon the wound, although it is not asserted that any one had seen him but his own family. I cannot therefore solve the mystery.

The Danish ambassador still tarries here, and the Queen is sending as ambassador to Denmark a son of the duchess of Suffolk by her second husband.† He has been ordered to be ready to go in a

* See Volume I. of this Calendar.
† Francis Bertie.

1582.

fortnight, and some people think that the design may be to send him to Terceira, whilst they detain the Danish ambassador here for some time. The latter reports that the duke of Saxony has had a book written, in which the writings of Luther are so corrected as almost to form a new doctrine, and he has had it confirmed by the signatures of 4,000 different people. He sent a copy of the book by an envoy to the king of Denmark, to ask him to append his signature. The ambassador presented it and the King asked him to stay to dinner and he would see afterwards what he thought of the religion of his brother the Duke in order that he might tell him. After dinner he took the book and threw it into the fire and said that that was the way to treat it, as he was a good protestant and did not want any fresh opinions.—London, 15th May 1582.

15 May. **263.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In conformity with what your Majesty has ordered me with regard to Scotland, I wrote to the Queen, who, by letters of which I forwarded copies, had informed me that she was anxiously awaiting your Majesty's reply. I have represented to her the objections to either the duke of Lennox or any of his adherents leaving the country. As regards my communicating with the Scotch Catholics in writing, I may say that I have only done so with Lennox, since my first letter to him, when the queen of Scotland asks me to write to him, and sends letters for me to forward to him. Even in such case the letters are in cipher and unsigned, so that even if they be lost I can safely declare that they are not mine. As your Majesty will have seen, the Queen of Scotland asks me to write to him and to her ambassador, her desire being that communications should be held in this way, and if she saw a disinclination on my part, it might arouse her suspicion of me, and there is no way of preventing the French from getting a knowledge of the affair if she thinks fit to tell them. I only express in my letters your Majesty's desire for the conversion of Scotland, and do not dwell upon any other point, and although under cover of this I do all I can to conduct the business as your Majesty desires, I am aware that it is not in my power to avoid the thousand difficulties which occur. From the first I have foreseen and represented these to your Majesty, as it was necessary to set the web here and weave the warp in France, whilst, to satisfy the queen of Scotland, your Majesty's minister there is not to intervene.

The priests, who must act in unison with the others in France, are conducting matters differently from what the queen of Scotland and I desire. In addition to the absurd promise given by Father Creighton to the duke of Lennox, they have again changed the order that I had given for them to remain in Scotland, and that Father Persons should go thither to strive by preaching and reading to convert the King; and Fathers Creighton and Holt arrived in France on the 14th ultimo. They detained Persons, who was on the road, and after having communicated their mission to the

1582.

bishop of Glasgow, the queen of Scotland's ambassador, they had an interview with the duke of Guise. At this interview there were also present the said ambassador, Creighton, Father Robert, Dr. Allen, and Persons. Creighton made a statement as to the condition of Scotland, and said how ready the people were for conversion. He then proceeded to say that the duke of Lennox was resolved to convert the people and the King himself, if your Majesty and the Pope would aid him with 8,000 foreign troops paid for six or eight months, and sufficient arms of all sorts to supply as many more Scotsmen. With this force, after the conversion which would immediately follow the landing, the King would march upon England, where they would be joined by the English Catholics, and would release his mother, reducing England to submission to the Apostolic See. He begged that this force might be sent in the month of September, or October at latest, as otherwise he was resolved to leave Scotland, taking the King and the Catholics with him. This determination was taken on conscientious grounds, and because of the intrigues which the queen of England was carrying on in Scotland, and which he (Lennox) would be unable to counteract if the aid did not arrive at the period stated.

The duke of Guise approved of his resolve, and pledged himself to aid the enterprise, not only by his counsel, but with his means, and, if necessary, his person and his life. This was on condition that the coming of foreign troops to Scotland should not be known in France, as in such case he was sure it would be hindered. This was confirmed by the queen of Scotland's ambassador, and Guise urged that, in order to report this to your Majesty and his Holiness, Father Robert Persons should carry letters from Lennox to your Majesty, whilst Creighton took similar ones to the Pope, both of them taking also letters and instructions from Guise. He offered immediately the foreign troops landed in Scotland, to bring over 4,000 to the county of Sussex to divert the heretics ; and urged that, in the meanwhile, your Majesty and the Pope should order the provision of 10,000 crowns to fortify the castle of Dumbarton and Edinburgh, and strengthen the King's guard. This is reported to me by Dr. Allen and the rest of them, who ask me to convey it to your Majesty immediately, and to send a letter, so that Persons may start at once and be duly recognized on his arrival. I send him the letter and another for the minister at Rome, and in view of your Majesty's last instructions I think necessary to send this by special courier, in order that your Majesty and the Pope may take steps to prevent the Scotch business from being precipitated and the conversion of the countries thus rendered impossible. I therefore send these five letters by special to Tassis, with a request that he will forward them in the same way.

I humbly thank your Majesty for deigning to say that it is to your interest that I should stay here, and although there is nothing but my salvation which I desire so much as to leave England, I will postpone everything for your Majesty's service if affairs look as if they may be settled in reasonable time ; but if they are long deferred I must represent to your Majesty that my sight is getting so bad that if I have to stay in this damp climate for long I shall

1582.

lose it altogether. I understand that Persons is to be accompanied by William Tresham, who left this country under suspicion of being a Catholic. He is the person through whom I have from the first been in communication on these matters with his brother Lord Thomas Tresham, and for this reason he is well deserving of some favour from your Majesty. Lord Harry continues to serve with his usual care and intelligence. I understand that we cannot give him less than 1,000 or 1,200 crowns a year, which will only last for two or three years; whereas if your Majesty makes him a present, you could not give him less than three times that sum. If he gets the 1,200 crowns in two half-yearly payments from me, it will have double the effect in encouraging him, and will pledge his house; and if he slackens or things change, the payments can be stopped. I am entertaining him, and have persuaded him to refuse to go on a mission abroad.—London, 15th May 1582.

15 May. **264.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The behaviour of these folks is so strange and fickle that, although I try to keep pace with them, it is impossible for me to do so without stumbling over a multitude of difficulties. Since I informed your Majesty of the message which the Queen sent by Walsingham to Antonio de Castillo when he was leaving I have received your Majesty's letter, in which you deign to say that I should serve you by remaining here; and as it does not appear to be consonant with your Majesty's dignity that I should do so without having access to the Queen when circumstances may render it necessary, Walsingham having told me months ago that the Queen would examine the documents which I had given her about Drake's robbery, and would give me a reply, I wrote a letter to the earl of Sussex, saying what Walsingham had promised, and I wished that the matter should be mentioned to the Queen, in order that I might know when she intended to give me the answer, for your Majesty's information. I thought that this was the best means of opening the door for them to give me an audience, without directly asking for it. Sussex sent to say that he had mentioned my letter to the Queen, and, as the business had been previously discussed with Walsingham, she would send her answer by him. The answer was that she had sent a message to your Majesty by Antonio de Castillo, and until she had a written explanation from your Majesty about Ireland, she did not intend to decide the matter about the restitution of Drake's booty, and would not consider the business before she had a reply to the message she sent by Castillo. She did not, moreover, understand your Majesty's maintaining a minister here, if she had not a minister in Spain in the enjoyment of similar privileges. These are all the machinations of the men I have mentioned, in order to drive me to demand an audience point blank, the dangers of which are evident, because if I press them very closely it may place your Majesty under an obligation to resent their action, which I understand arises mainly from the personal hatred against me entertained by some of these ministers. As I have already written

1582.

I can devise no better means to solve the difficulty than for your Majesty to hasten the coming of the man who, under the pretext of a mission about the restitution of Drake's plunder, may be prepared to replace me; whilst in the meanwhile I reply to the Queen that, as I had been promised an answer upon the subject, I cannot avoid surprise, and some personal mortification, that she should simply refer me to what she expected would be written by Antonio de Castillo, who she knows is now merely a private person, and, being in Portugal, can hardly conduct affairs here. This message I will convey verbally, and will also write it to the earl of Sussex, taking the opportunity afforded by the news I recently received from Irun, that eight or ten English pirate ships had sacked and burnt a place called Boro in Galicia, but I will ignore the Queen's message by Walsingham about retaining a minister here. I wrote to Sussex, saying that I had received special despatches from your Majesty reporting this raid, and as it was my fate to complain constantly to the Queen, whenever I had the honour of seeing her, I should be glad to know whether she would listen to my present grievances, or whether she preferred that I should communicate them to the Council. I say this, in order that I might appear to be the person who avoided an interview, which I think is the best course if she will not see me, whilst it is a gentle method of getting an audience, without risk, if she desires it. I will report the result, and I doubt not that, if Flemish affairs are going ill for her, she will give me audience, whilst, if the contrary be the case, she will refer me to the Council.

This is their invariable course, and when they are absolutely obliged to seek your Majesty we shall see that they will be earnest enough, but until then all is falsehood and artifice, in order to sell themselves at a higher price. With the same end they are sending men over secretly to Flanders more actively than ever and are increasingly intimate with Alençon and the French, with whom they are temporising, whilst they are seeking opportunities for getting possession of Zeeland.—London, 15th May 1582.

15 May. **265.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In former letters I reported about the mission of an ambassador here from Denmark. In order now to give your Majesty full information upon the subject, it will be necessary to dwell somewhat at length upon the matter and begin at the beginning. In order to avoid paying to the king of Denmark the dues collected by him on goods to or from Muscovy, the English attempted to navigate to the east by the Frozen Sea to St. Nicholas, and succeeded in the year 1550; since when they have continued to carry their goods from there by the river Dwina to Coulobrod, and from there sending them by the River Octrung, where they are shipped to Suctrabam (?), and brought thence to the river Volga in six days by men on horse back. They are then shipped on the Volga and carried down to the Caspian Sea.

In order to conduct this navigation more easily and keep up the current of trade, they have built four custom-houses in the

1582.

four places above mentioned for the storage and forwarding of merchandise, and to make themselves masters of the trade they have attempted to build a house on an island called Kola, where merchandise brought by all other foreigners was to be registered. By this means they thought to dispossess the king of Denmark of the island, and with this object they won over the merchants of the family of Buican, who are the richest in Muscovy, and by whose favour they obtained from the Muscovite permission to build on the island. They had commenced to do so, when the king of Denmark heard of it and sent two very large ships and three galleys to prevent it, and to cast out the English from the island. At the same time the former ambassador was sent hither from Denmark, bringing an intimation, as did the present one, that if the English were willing to pay him the same dues as were paid by all other nations, on passing through the Sound, he would allow them to trade with Muscovy without offering any impediment, which arrangements he hoped the Queen would settle with her subjects without it being necessary for him to use force, and defend his rights and revenues by arms.

The English also settled through the Muscovite with the Tartars on the banks of the Volga to allow the free passage of their merchandise down the river to the Caspian Sea; whilst the Persian, building large ships in Astrachan, should give them leave to trade and distribute their merchandise, through Media and Persia, in exchange for goods which reach the Persians by the rivers that run from the East Indies to the Caspian Sea. This privilege was granted to the English by the Persian.

Two years ago they opened up the trade, which they still continue, to the Levant, which is extremely profitable to them, as they take great quantities of tin and lead thither, which the Turk buys of them almost for its weight in gold, the tin being vitally necessary for the casting of guns and the lead for purposes of war. It is of double importance to the Turk now, in consequence of the excommunication pronounced "*ipse facto*" by the Pope upon any person who provides or sells to infidels such materials as these. As the merchandise had to be sent from these parts, the dues were very heavy when the voyage was made in the ordinary way by the Straits of Gibraltar and the light of Messina; not only had the merchants to pay toll in many places, but their trade could only be carried on by consent of your Majesty, as the possession of Portugal made it easy for you to stop at any time the passage by the pillars of Hercules. In order to carry on the trade with more safety and speed than by coasting the territories of your Majesty, his Holiness, and other Christian Princes, they with the aid of the king of France and this Queen requested permission of the Turk to go from Azov by the Don and Port Euxine and sell their goods freely in Constantinople, the design being to bring the goods from Media and Persia by the Caspian Sea and the river Volga to the river Don, the distance between the two rivers at one point not being more than a German league. A house was to be built in the place where the distance across was shortest to transport the goods

1582.

overland to the Don, and a depôt was thus to be formed to concentrate the trade of the two rivers Volga and Don, and to serve as a point of distribution for goods brought from England, for Constantinople and the whole of the Levant, without their having to pass, as at present, by Italy. They also calculated that by this trade with Media and Persia they might monopolise the drug and spice trades, which goods could be sent from here to all the northern countries, where they are mostly consumed.

The Turk saw through their plan and understood how profitable he might make it for himself if he could manage to bring the spices and Indian trade by this road to Constantinople, thus reviving the commerce of the place to the grandeur it attained before the Portuguese discovered the Indies. He also saw that he would be obliging this Queen and the king of France by granting the permission requested, and thus weakening the forces of your Majesty, by diverting the English trade from Italy, as the English had pointed out to him. He therefore gave privileges to them, as I wrote some time ago, allowing them to have a house in Constantinople and trade freely there. He was artful enough, however, not to send them any answer to their request about the Don and Astrachan, whilst he made himself master of the Caspian and continued his conquest of Media. I understand from Cristobal de Salazar in Venice and from others that the Turk has been victorious, and I learn from France that he was about to build a number of ships and galleys to take possession of Astrachan, in the belief that when this is done, he may adopt the English method and bring trade down the Volga, cutting a canal from the Don by which he may utilise the water of the Volga, as the former river in certain seasons has but little water for navigation.

This action of the English with regard to trade in those parts has opened the eyes of the Turk to the advantages of it, and this has not stopped at words, as for years past the trade has been active. Only last October an expedition with a return cargo of goods came from Persia after two years absence, during which two-thirds of their return merchandise had been stolen by Tartars, whilst trade with Media and Persia had been bad in consequence of the war, and the Turks had stolen some of the goods they took from here; and yet, notwithstanding all this, the adventurers received back all their capital and six per cent. profit.

I was already interested in this business, but I have been able to completely master it mainly by the help of Gaspar Schomberg, the German Baron of whom I wrote, who, when he was ready to leave, fell ill and was unable to start. This has enabled me to communicate more intimately with him than before. As he is well acquainted with the northern countries, having been thither, he is friendly with the merchants who trade there, and has been able at my request to discover the plan in which he was aided by his knowledge of cosmography and the geography of those and other provinces. He has even drawn with his own hands the map I send to your Majesty enclosed, made on white satin, by which the position

1582.

of the provinces and rivers may be the better understood, as it is much more correct than ordinary maps.

Although always giving him to understand that the trade with the East Indies would be impossible, even if the road to Persia were open, in consequence of your Majesty's fleets in those seas being strong enough to beat both the Turk and the Persian united, I have asked him what he considers would be the best means of preventing it if it were attempted. He was of opinion, seeing the way in which the English had already traded in Persia, that if the Turk could establish his naval supremacy in the Caspian, he would undoubtedly be able to divert the spice trade of India into his hands, through Constantinople, and as this is of such vital importance to your Majesty, he (Schomberg) thought it was necessary to keep the matter a close secret, and not allow it to be mentioned to the Venetians, the Emperor, the German Princes, the French, or English. When therefore the question of hindering the trade is considered, it should be done under some pretext through the king of Denmark, to prevent the decline of his own revenues, and that he should be prompted to refuse to allow the English either to build on the isle of Kola or to continue their navigation from St. Nicholas through the Frozen Sea.

The other step to be taken would be to influence the Tartars on the banks of the Volga to prevent the navigation of the river either by the Turks or the English. These Tartars, although they are attached to the Muscovite, are oppressed and miserable people, and will serve any chief for a year for a single crown. They might be reached through the king of Poland, who is so good a Catholic, and might be informed, in the name of your Majesty and the Pope, how prejudicial the trade would be to Christianity; or otherwise might be inflamed against the Turk. He could persuade the Tartars to leave the Muscovite, and prevent foreigners from navigating their river, and Schomberg thinks that, if the king of Poland were to undertake the negotiations, he would succeed. He, Schomberg, is a very good a Catholic himself, desiring the exaltation of our holy faith (although all his kin are protestants), and repeats to me, as such, urgently, that the matter must be treated with the utmost secrecy and not mentioned to any other Prince. I raised many difficulties to his suggestions, and especially pointed out that the Turk would find many obstacles in his way; although I hear from Englishmen who have made the voyage to Persia, that once the Turk becomes master of Astrachan and the Caspian Sea, there will be little to stop him. From what I see of his (Schomberg's) zeal for the Holy Catholic religion, and his devotion to your Majesty, I consider that he would be a fitting minister to serve your Majesty in these matters, as he has great experience of the northern provinces and tongues, as well as being pledged to the interests of your Majesty; he is moreover, a man of wealth, of great spirit, and a good soldier, and understands perfectly the management of artillery. The piece which I wrote to your Majesty he had invented, is certainly more ingenious than I had originally understood before

1582.

I saw the model. It is mounted flat on a board, and when it recoils it does not kick backwards, but in a circular direction, and only sufficient to bring uppermost the touch hole of the next barrel of the seven after the one which has been discharged. In this way the whole seven barrels can be discharged with great rapidity, without the necessity for aiming each separate one, after the first barrel has been pointed. These pieces will be of great service to your Majesty's fleet as they will not need to be mounted on wheels, like ordinary pieces, but on the flat, and by this means the space occupied by the ordinary carriages will be saved, and more room given for men and stores. Another advantage is that, whilst the ordinary wheeled carriages when the ship rolls, often run to leeward, and capsize the ship, this cannot happen with the new pieces. He (Schomberg) is so ingenious, that on my telling him when he was confined by his illness for so long that I had seen a wooden gun, he employed himself in making a wooden cannon of the calibre of eight pounds, which a man can easily carry, and which may be discharged forty times in a day. It is so constructed, that it may not only be used for a short time, but will last for years; and such pieces as these would be most useful for service in Barbary and the Indies, as they can be constructed with the greatest ease, and for every purpose but battery may be made useful, whilst in a battle or a skirmish they will produce as much effect as any other guns. They may be made of much larger calibre if necessary than his specimen.

He has also shown me a model he has made of a breastwork of wood, 30 feet high and the same size square, which can be carried by two four-horse waggons, and can be erected by two men in two hours, they the while being under cover and unassailable either by harquebussiers or musketeers. After the breastwork is erected there is room to mount thereon two culverins, the erection being strong enough for them to be effectively employed. I can quite believe this seeing the strength of the model, which is made of small and thin timbers, and I doubt not after discussing with him, that these breastworks will be very valuable, as they are inexpensive and may be used by anyone who has seen them once.

As the king of Poland knew this Baron, and understood his acquirements before anyone else, he recently summoned him by means of the palatine Lasqui, for the purpose of consulting him respecting artillery and fortifications, intimating that if he would enter his service he should be honourably treated. He tells me that he will leave for home in two days, and thence will go to Poland to see what the King wants. I have told him to take the opportunity of sounding the King as to his disposition towards your Majesty's interests, which he promises to do. On taking leave of me he said that, as he knew the King's humour, he would incite him to war with the Turk the moment your Majesty's truce with the latter expires, and he asked me to point out to your Majesty the facilities that exist for pressing him in those parts if your Majesty and the Pope desire to do so. He considers that this

1582.

will agree with the king of Poland's humour, as he is fond of war, and wishes to leave a name behind him, he having no children. I have told Schomberg what your Majesty orders me in your despatch of 23rd ultimo, and he highly esteems your Majesty's having borne him in mind. He will not fail to see Don Guillen de San Clemente,* on his passage through Germany, and will send constant advices to me, so that if your Majesty should be pleased to make use of him in any way I may be in touch with him.

The king of Denmark has received no reply to his mission, which has been referred for discussion and report to the merchants who are engaged in the trade.—London, 15th May 1582.

18 May. Paris Archives, K. 1559.

266. JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

Two or three days ago two Jesuit fathers came to see me, one an Englishman and the other a Scot.† The latter told me that, more than a year since, he was at Rome to attend a meeting or chapter of his order, and by command of his general, gave to His Holiness an account of the state of affairs in Scotland, and the good hopes that existed of success attending the attempts to restore the Catholic faith in the country if the task were undertaken in earnest. His Holiness liked his discourse so much that he sent him hither and gave instructions to the Nuncio, and to the Scots ambassador here, to consider what steps could be taken in the matter, evincing a desire to aid it effectually if there seemed to be an appearance of hopefulness. The Nuncio and the ambassador decided to send him to Scotland to inform M. D'Aubigny, duke of Lennox, a Frenchman and a kinsman of that King, of the Pope's favourable disposition, as he (Lennox) had the principal influence over the King and exercised great authority in the country, and was known to be a Catholic. They therefore expected to find him very willing to assist, and the Jesuit was instructed to encourage and exhort him to this end, bearing a letter of credence to D'Aubigny from the ambassador, founded on the Pope's instructions. He (the Jesuit) had gone thither and with great difficulty (seeing the suspicion in which the godly live there) had seen D'Aubigny once, after secret communications had passed between them by letter. The interview took place in a castle belonging to D'Aubigny, whither he had gone on the pretext of other business, and another Jesuit, an Englishman and companion of the man who came to me, was present. This Englishman appeared to arrive at the same time with a similar mission on behalf of the English Catholics and carried a letter of credence from Don Bernardino de Mendoza for D'Aubigny. After hearing what both of them had to say D'Aubigny decided to give the support desired by His Holiness and your Majesty to the project, if he were furnished with the things set

* The Spanish ambassador at the court of the Emperor.
† *i.e.* Fathers Holt and Creighton.

1582.

forth in a statement which he handed to them. He gave me this statement to read and delivered to me a letter from D'Aubigny, copy of which I enclose.*

The demands contained in the statement are substantially tha 20,000 men shall be placed in Scotland during the coming autumn, their wages paid for 18 months, composed of Spaniards, Italians, Germans, and Swiss, a certain number of footmen, and a large quantity of war material and artillery. He asks also for some money to raise native troops if necessary, and 20,000 crowns to be provided immediately here, for which he will have a similar amount paid to him in Scotland to enable him to begin the fortification of certain places, which in any case will be necessary. He indicates the ports where the troops may disembark and demands that his King should have supreme command of the army, and in his absence that he (D'Aubigny) should have sole control over the troops of all nationalities. If the attempt fails and he should lose his estate in consequence, he demands that His Holiness and your Majesty shall give him property of equal value in some secure place, and he lays it down as a condition that the object in view should be declared to be the restoration of the Catholic religion and the liberation of the queen of Scotland. He is confident that his King will assist the enterprise and proposes to come hither to make preparations for it as soon as His Holiness and your Majesty decide upon it.

This, unless I err, is a summary of the statement or memorandum ; and when I said to the Scotch jesuit that the demands were high, he said that when he himself made the same remark to D'Aubigny the latter replied that, although he asked for so much, he left that point and the whole question to the discretion of the Duke (of Guise) here, whose relative he also is,† and who doubtless will have been concerned in the business from the beginning.

I asked the jesuit what was the state of things in Scotland when he left with regard to religion. He replied that publicly it was bad, as the ministers (*i.e.* clergymen) dominated as much as ever, but that secretly many persons of influence wished to bring about this change, and would join D'Aubigny when he declared himself. The Prince, still quite a lad, was under the influence of heretic ministers, and continued in their religion, but hopes were entertained that if this enterprise succeeded he would very soon be converted to the good path.

He said that the young King was in constant danger to his life by reason of the plots which were being carried on against him by the queen of England, and it therefore behoved us the more to seize this opportunity, because if the queen of England was before-

* *See* letter from Lennox to Tassis, 7th March 1582, page 316.

† The King has written in the margin against this, "I do not well understand this." D'Aubigny's relationship with the Guises was only an indirect one, through his first cousin Darnley's marriage with Mary Stuart. James the Sixth's kinship with the duke of Guise and D'Aubigny was in the same degree, namely, that of first cousin once removed.

1582.

hand with us and had her way, the whole affair would be ruined and could never be restored.

When the Scotch father had said all he wished to say, the Englishman commenced, assuring me that the English Catholics were extremely anxious for this design to be carried out, and that arms should be taken up in Scotland for the restoration of the Catholic faith and the release of the queen of Scotland, because if the business were seriously undertaken and success rendered probable, they would do the same and join the army when necessary. They had great facilities for doing this, as the whole of the country adjacent to the Scotch Border was full of Catholics; and the territories of the earl of Westmoreland, whom your Majesty maintains in Flanders, are in the neighbourhood, as well as a great bishopric,* to which they wish His Holiness to appoint some person of spirit who will be able to raise the people. They think also of summoning the earl of Westmoreland for the execution of the business. He assured me that England was incredibly full of Catholics, and I asked him what assurance they could give me for all this, and whether any persons of position had met and mutually pledged themselves in writing, as is usual; to which he replied that they knew all he told me through the confessions and spiritual confidences of so many people, and that matters were so far advanced that no doubt whatever need exist, as it was quite certain that things in England were very propitious for such a movement to be attempted.

He said they had communicated with regard to this project lately in secret with the duke of Guise, the Scots ambassador here, and with Dr. Allen, who is an English ecclesiastic of great esteem, director of the English seminary at Rheims, and doubtless has had the matter in his hands from the beginning. It was evident to me, from his words, that they had remarked on the large demands made by D'Aubigny, which demands they thought could not be complied with, and they considered 8,000 men would be ample, if money were provided for the raising of what other troops might be required in the country itself at the time of the execution of the project. They thought that the majority of these 8,000 men should be Spaniards or Italians. I asked him whether it was intended to admit the Christian King into the enterprise. He said not by any means, as they thought that the business would be ruined by the humours current here, which would be more likely to resent than aid such a project, and it is certain that the queen of England would immediately be informed of it from here. I could see also that the jealousy the business might arouse in this King (of France) had been pointed out to them, and this is a sign that it is being considered in all its aspects.

He told me at last that the Duke, the ambassador, and Allen, were to meet again in a few days to decide definitely about the business, and that afterwards the Scotch father would immediately start for Rome, and he (the Englishman) for Madrid† in

* Durham, to which See it was proposed to raise Dr. Allen.

† Persons went to Madrid, not Holt as is here suggested.

1582.

order to give a full account to His Holiness and your Majesty, respectively.

Before these fathers came to see me the matter had been mentioned to me by the Scots ambassador, and since the interview he has again spoken to me about it. I see clearly that they have gone very deeply into the matter amongst themselves, because he told me that the duke of Guise, being of opinion that on no account should D'Aubigny come hither, as he said he intended to do, they had already advised him not to stir. He (Guise) was determined to take part personally in the enterprise, and throw himself into England in the part opposite the Normandy coast, where the number of Catholics is large, at the same time as the movement was made in Scotland, so that by this means the whole country would be thrown into confusion. He thought he could easily do this as he has a port of his own in Normandy, where he can prepare the expedition secretly. He (the English jesuit) told me also that the Duke took some exception to the employment of Spanish troops, as he feared that if he had anything to do with an enterprise in which they took part, it would be looked upon as a confirmation of the idea that already exists that he is completely Spanish. I expect the two fathers will depart for Rome and Spain respectively next week, as the Duke is expected here on his return from Fontainbleau to-morrow or the day after.

I have thought advisable neither to divert nor encourage them in any of these projects, as I am not sure whether I should be doing right, but as the design is so Catholic a one, I listened to them sympathetically, and expressed a wish as a Christian that all might succeed as they designed.

The English father who is going to your Majesty will be accompanied by a countryman of his, who came to this country perhaps a month since.* He has been all the while with Allen at Rheims. Don Bernardino wrote to me very emphatically about him, asking me to caress and make much of him, as he was a person of very high position, which I have done. He is doubtless a member of the party, as he is going on the same business.—Paris, 18th May 1582.

20 May. Paris Archives, K. 1447 . 140.

267. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Yours of 16th, 25th, and 26th April received and noted. Nothing could be better than your letters to the queen of Scotland and the duke of Lennox, and the instructions you give to the priests who go thither. It is all entirely in accordance with my wishes, and you have anticipated the orders you will since have received in urging them to win souls by conviction, and so strengthen the Catholic party when the due time arrives rather than precipitate the business from lack of patience. You will continue in the good course you have commenced.

With regard to your inquiry as to what you can reply if the queen of England and her ministers should go so far as to prohibit you from exercising the Catholic religion in your own house, and

* William Tresham *see* page 364.

1582.

thus force you out of the country, which you believe was the sole object of what Walsingham said to Antonio de Castillo when the latter took leave, about the liberty in religion allowed to you whilst the Queen's ambassadors were not allowed the same privileges here, you may in such case tell them, as they have been told before, that my ministers in her Court have never changed, and never will change, the religion professed by their fathers, and have always been received by kings of England hitherto. As, therefore, no innovation has been made on their part, they claim to stay on the same footing in religious matters as before, a footing confirmed by long prescription and never called into question. Her ministers, on the other hand, have changed their faith, and want to exercise their new one in my Court, where, thank God, no alteration has ever been made, nor will I consent to any being made in all my dominions. They want me, therefore, to change the established order of receiving her ambassadors at my Court, and to introduce fresh and objectionable innovations. This should prove to them that they cannot detract from or alter the ancient religious freedom allowed you in exercising our holy (Roman) Catholic faith, nor can any such bad example be permitted here, as the introduction of the novelties of their sects. With these and similar arguments you will endeavour to keep matters on their present footing.

As your absence at present might injure Scottish matters, which you are managing so well, your departure now must not be thought of on any account, as you yourself admit. But we are looking out for a fit person to send on Drake's business, who after you have well posted him may be appointed to succeed you. From your letters to which we are now replying, it is easy to see that the Queen is getting jealous of Alençon and of the French gaining a footing in the Netherlands, and the step you were recently ordered to take in this respect may have found her well disposed. It will be advisable in every way to increase these suspicions, and open their eyes to the danger that threatens them (the English) from this quarter, and the advisability of their avoiding it. As the ministers thought that, after the proposed taking of Flushing, the Queen would be in a position to come to terms with me, it would be well for you to discover whether it is possible for the Queen herself to intervene for the purpose of reconciling me with my rebels, seeing the danger that threatens her from the vicinity of the French, owing to their natural enmity and the tricks she has played upon Alençon, which, if the marriage fall through, they will naturally wish to avenge. If they succeed in this it cannot be doubted that he (Alençon) will seize both her realm and her person. All these are great and imminent dangers, such as are not to be feared from me, even though the trouble in my Netherlands be settled. It is true we have no reason to trust or to expect much from such an intermediary, and she is much more likely to continue her former arts for the purpose of incensing my subjects against me, yet as the rebels themselves may see they are going to become the prey of the French, they and the English may choose the lesser of two evils, so in any case it will be well to sound this

1582.

ford. You will do so with all your usual delicacy and dexterity; and as one of the most powerful levers may be to give a sum of money to some of the Councillors and Ministers, a customary thing in that country, you may open the way by promising presents to such as you think fit if they will arrange for the Queen to intervene and aid in the settlement of a fair peace with my rebel States. I give you authority to promise and divide amongst them in exchange for this 40,000 crowns, and will have the amount supplied to you in the form you desire, so that it may be distributed by you if the affair is successfully arranged. If, for the attainment of the object, it is advisable to give a hint to the Queen on my behalf, you may do so in virtue of the new credence sent you recently, although it would be much better that the business should be broached by one of the Ministers to be gained, and that they should urge her to it as for her own interest. You will manage it with your usual dexterity, and I refer it entirely to your discretion, which I am sure will not fail to be exercised for the best, according to the circumstances of the moment. Report fully to me. You have been requested to advise what had better be done for Lord Harry (Howard), but if it be necessary to pledge him at once before replies can be received, you may pay him the sum you think advisable out of the money now sent you.*—Lisbon, 20th May 1582.

21 May. **268.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 15th I wrote to your Majesty by special courier, but as his passport was only signed by a Councillor they thought it was forged and stopped him at Dover, taking his packets away from him to send hither. The moment I heard of it I sent to Secretary Walsingham, and my messenger arrived at the same time as the mail with my letters, which were immediately handed intact to my servant. I am sure they have not been tampered with, as I have examined them with the utmost minuteness. Seeing the multitude of Englishmen who are daily passing over to Flanders, and the impudence with which expeditions are being fitted out here for the Moluccas and Florida, I sent to ask for audience, in accordance with what I wrote to your Majesty. As the earl of Sussex, who is the person who has charge of these matters, was not at court. Secretary Walsingham opened the letter, and said that he would speak to the Queen about it. My servant returned the next day, and was told that the Queen was going hunting for two days, and on her return, on the 19th, she would give me audience without fail, and that it would be much better that I should speak to the Queen rather than to the Council, because after the Councillors had listened to me they would still have to come to her as she was the mistress. I have since come to the conclusion, from what has happened, that this decision to give me audience was settled in the Council. In the afternoon of the 18th a rumour became current here that I had asked for audience and that the Queen had

* A credit for 3,000 crowns accompanies this letter.

1582.

refused to give it to me; and on the morning of the next day when a man, who sometimes comes to my house, went to see Walsingham on private business of his own, the Secretary came out of his room, and in the courtyard of the palace cried out loudly that he was going to send a message to me by one of his own servants, but since this man was there he might take the message, which in short was that I must put up with it, as the Queen could not give me an audience, for the sake of her own honour, until your Majesty had given her some satisfaction about Ireland, as I was your Majesty's minister, but as for the rest she must thank Don Bernardino for the very good offices I had constantly exercised.

When I saw not only the rudeness of the terms of the message, but of the mode of its delivery, coming after the report of the previous day, I thought I would give them an opportunity for softening it by sending the same messenger back again to say that such important results might arise from the message that I could hardly believe it was intended unless I saw it in writing. The reply was that he (Walsingham) would not have ventured to send it to me excepting by orders of the Queen. I at once informed the Treasurer of the reply, saying that, as a war might well be the result, I had resolved to write to the Queen upon the point. He replied to my servant in the following words: "*Cela est une bien* "*laide réponse.* I cannot believe that Walsingham can have given "such a reply, but that the messenger must have made a mistake, "because when I left the Queen's Court she had decided to give "audience to the ambassador, and he will do well to write to the "Queen on the subject, and you may tell him so from me." In accordance with this, and in order that the matter might not be passed over, or their rudeness proceed to greater lengths, I wrote to the Queen a letter, of which I enclose a copy, which was delivered by my Secretary, who after he had been delayed for some time by Sussex was taken to the Queen for the purpose. Before she read it she said that she would be pleased to receive me as a private gentleman, and she would be sorry that I should imagine she bore any ill-will towards me, but she could not listen to me as a minister of your Majesty's until you had given her satisfaction on matters which had been mentioned, and respecting which she had sent a message by Antonio de Castillo. Thereupon she read the letter, and when she came to the part about the harquebussiers she became uneasy, and said God forbid that she should ever break with your Majesty, to whom she bore nothing but goodwill. She dwelt at length upon this, and said that she hoped, therefore, that I should not leave here, and I might communicate my business with her in writing until she received from your Majesty the satisfaction she desired.

I have seized this pretext of her having sent a message by Antonio de Castillo for avoiding to demand my passport and leaving here, pending the receipt of your Majesty's instructions. I am quite at a loss to devise any means by which I can agree with these people, as they are not only changeable but perfectly scandalous in their mode of proceeding, and no artifice of mine will

1582.

enable me to temporise with them. I therefore humbly beg your Majesty to send me orders as to what I am to do. I do not consider it decorous in your Majesty's interests to make any fresh approaches in view of this new reply, which is the same as was given to me two years and a half ago. She continues to claim satisfaction from your Majesty about Ireland, in the face of the message I gave her from your Majesty on the subject, and of the multitude of offences she has committed against you, and yet on my asking for audience to complain of the raids of the English in Galicia, she thinks she has given full satisfaction if Walsingham sends a paper saying that they were the work of Frenchmen and not of Englishmen. I understand that Leicester and Walsingham have prevailed upon the Queen to alter her mind and to refuse me audience.

There are letters here from Antwerp of the 13th, but no mention is made of Orange's having been seen, although they say that he was alive. His wife was buried. I can assure your Majesty that neither the Queen nor her ministers have received any letter from Orange for the last five weeks, and many people still continue to assert that he is dead. I send these letters by special courier to Dover, to be taken by my man who is there, to Paris, from whence I have begged Tassis to send them in the same way.—London, 21st May 1582.

22 May. **269.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I hear from Antwerp of the arrival there of a sloop from Madeira bringing in her a certain Manuel Serradas one of the Governors of the island. He reports that Friar Juan del Espiritu Santo was a prisoner, he being the man I advised had gone with letters from Don Antonio. This Manuel Serradas went to lodge with Francisco Antonio, who is Don Antonio's factor, saying that he was going thence to France. One of my men there writes to say that he believes he comes on no good errand, but in the interests of Don Antonio, seeing his intimacy with Francisco Antonio de Souza.—London, 22nd May 1582.

29 May. **270.** J. B. Tassis to the King.

Paris Archives, K. 1559.

As I have had no bad news of the letter I wrote on the 18th about Scotland, I hope it will have passed safely, and I am not sending a duplicate in order not to run any risk a second time with so important a communication. The following has happened since that letter was written. Hercules (*i.e.* the duke of Guise) has arrived and conferred at length with the priests, after which they summoned me at night to the (Scots) ambassador's house. Hercules informed me of his great desire to personally participate in so important an affair, with the sole object I have mentioned, and the plan of execution was subsequently discussed. His opinion was that His Holiness should have the enterprise carried out entirely in his name and should announce that the destination of the expedition was to be Barbary. On this pretext 6,000 Italians and

1582.

4,000 Germans could be raised, and when they were embarked the expedition should sail through the Straits (of Gibraltar) and proceed on its voyage, without touching at any port in your Majesty's dominions or bearing any indication that you were concerned in it, your Majesty's share being limited to secretly aiding His Holiness with money. The object of this is to avoid the jealousy which the sending of Spaniards would cause here, or the fitting out of the expedition in your Majesty's dominions and ostensibly under your guidance. The priests subsequently informed me that the principal reason why he (Guise) advocated this course was the oath he took when he received the order of the Holy Ghost, not to employ himself in favour of any foreign prince without the consent of his sovereign, and he thinks that if he engaged in this enterprise with forces belonging to your Majesty he might be breaking this oath. The priests, however, say that they have satisfied him upon the point, and have shown him that he may do so with a perfectly clear conscience, so that he is now resolved to take part in the affair in whatever form His Holiness and your Majesty may consider advisable.

Hercules for his own part proposes the adoption of the plan he detailed on a former occasion, on one condition however, namely, that there are no armed ships ready to oppose his passage, as his own vessels will simply be light craft suddenly taken on the coast, and unable to compete with ships of the fleet, if any such should oppose him. Some plan to obviate this difficulty will consequently have to be found when the time arrives. He also says that if the duke of Anjou marries the English-woman he cannot take part in the expedition, but I expect they themselves will save him any trouble on that score.

As I have remarked, he shows a great wish to employ himself in the matter, and I fancy that it will flatter him exceedingly if he is praised for so saintly an intention, and told how pleased your Majesty is thereat, particularly if perfect confidence is shown at any number of Frenchmen going, so long as he personally is amongst them. This should be expressed in such words as may be considered fitting to impress upon him your Majesty's trust and goodwill towards him. Even if the particular project in hand be not effected, this step cannot fail to be advantageous, as it will still keep him the more devoted to our interests.

The priests have left, the Scotsman for Rome four or five days ago, and the Englishman for Spain yesterday. The latter is so ardent and confident in favour of the proposal so far as regards England, that encouragement must be given to a man so full of divine zeal for the restoration of religion, and of our own in Flanders. God in his mercy guide it all and inspire your Majesty in what may be for his service. Amen.

They (the priests) are moderate in their demands, and are not in favour of Hercules' plan to effect everything by the hands of His Holiness alone, which they do not think feasible. They say it will be advisable that his name alone should be publicly employed, but that he should provide the money and the enterprise be

1582.

secretly managed by your Majesty. They think that, under the present circumstances, all the men and ships necessary might be collected in Portugal, without arousing suspicion, and the navigation could be conveniently undertaken from there. They represent also the advantage of another course no less feasible, namely, that the ships that might be needed could be obtained in such places as Lubeck, Bremen, Hamburg, Denmark, Sweden, and even Dantzic, where very good vessels are to be found and equipped easily. The ships could be sought in various places, with as much secrecy as possible, and given a rendezvous within a given time in the river Ems; and although the counts of Embden are usually neutral perhaps a little negotiation might induce them to admit the vessels into that port, and even allow some of them to be equipped there. As regards the troops, the Germans might be obtained as near the neighbourhood as possible, and 4,000 Italians or even double that number might be raised and sent thither to be embarked in due time. As there is so much occasion for war in Flanders, both by land and sea, it is certain that all preparations that might be made would be attributed to the state of things there, however great they might be. The fleet might probably be despatched from there without its object being perceived, besides which the navigation would be short and easy.—Paris, 29th May 1582.

11 June. **271.** The KING to J. B. TASSIS.

Paris Archives, K. 1447.

The two Jesuit fathers who spoke to you about the Scotch affair must have been full of zeal, but the carrying of the matter so far as they did, and the communication of it to so many persons may militate greatly against keeping it secret. In order that the affair may be kept as quiet as possible, if the priest who was to come hither has not started yet it will be well to detain him. You can tell him as if on your own account, that to prevent the project being known it will be better that no action should be taken until you get a reply from me. You may reply to the duke of Lennox to the same effect, dealing with the matter in a way that will not lead them to think we are throwing difficulties in the way for the purpose of refusing the aid they request, but only in order that it may be managed on such solid foundations as to ensure its success, for which we should all strive, as it is so greatly in the interest of God and the public welfare.—Lisbon, 11th June 1582.

29 June. **272.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 19th by special courier, and I have since heard that this Queen is warmly promoting, with the consent of the French, a marriage between Alençon and the daughter of the king of Sweden. Her age is 14 years, she is good looking, of dark complexion, and has been brought up a Catholic. Alençon asks for no other dowry but that the Princess should be sent to the Netherlands at their cost, and that any money which would have been given to her should be employed in gaining over German princes to his side, whilst Denmark and Muscovy should be on the

1582.

look out in order that he may be supported by a fleet in Holland and Friesland, if your Majesty should attempt to conquer those provinces by sea. I understand that the Queen is negotiating this business with the utmost secrecy, as she wishes to have it well advanced before Alençon sends ambassadors. In order to facilitate matters, they are both offering to help the king of Sweden in his election as king of Poland, the present King having no hope of succession; and Alençon promises, by means of his mother, to win over the Palatines of Poland, with whom the king of Scotland is in alliance. The plan is to make a new treaty between the kings of Sweden, Poland, and Denmark, which this Queen and Alençon undertake to bring about. On this foundation, the principal aim of which is to maintain Alençon in the Netherlands, they build great hopes, and the Queen thinks also that by this marriage she will have as firm a hold over Alençon as if she herself married him. It is true that there are many difficulties in the way of reconciling and uniting these three monarchs, but Alençon will be a good match for the king of Sweden's daughter, and doubtless Alençon will not refuse, so that both this and its effect on the affairs of the Netherlands will necessarily produce evil results to your Majesty's interests. To obviate and retard the matter as much as possible, having no other means and delay being prejudicial, I have been obliged to make use of Baron Gaspar Schomberg. He is now in France, but I have written to him about it, telling him to represent that, although it may appear at first sight advantageous for Alençon to marry the king of Sweden's daughter, yet when the affair is considered, it will be seen to be fruitful of great danger for the kingdom of Poland, and that the close friendship between the two crowns (*i.e.* France and Poland) would thereby necessarily become relaxed.

I remind him of points we have discussed together, and say that, as he was going to Poland, it would be well for him at once to influence the Palatine Lasqui and other of his friends to obstruct the project, pending his arrival there, when he could tell them verbally how unstable a foundation were this Queen and Alençon upon which to rear a permanent edifice.

By Schomberg's sincerity and straightforwardness with me, and his devotion to your Majesty, I am convinced that he will do his best, and will give your Majesty time if you consider desirable to take other steps. As, however, no suspicion can exist with regard to Schomberg's faithfulness, and his first steps may be efficacious, I have given him a cipher to correspond with me, if your Majesty should think fit to employ him, either in the matter of the trade with the Northern countries or this affair of Sweden.—London, 29th June 1582.

29 June. **273.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In addition to the letter written by Alençon to the Queen asking for money, mentioned in my former letters, he has again written to the same effect, and as he sees that his efforts are fruitless, he is complaining of Marchaumont who, he says, does not know how to negotiate, and as soon as he has relieved Oudenarde he will come

1582.

over himself to settle his affairs and arrange the regular subsidy that this Queen is to give him. He says the Queen is not to be told of this, as he wishes it to be kept secret, and to take the opportunity which she has offered him by writing to say that she wished to see him and inviting him to return. The Queen has not decided anything of importance with regard to him, but is awaiting the result of the second embassy she is sending back to Alençon by Beliè vre. Englishmen are daily slipping over to Flanders, and are being lodged at St. Bernard near Antwerp, awaiting arms and money. Those who were brought from Friesland for the relief of Oudenarde would go no further when they were landed opposite Flushing until they were paid what was owing to them. The reason why Alençon arrested the Chevalier Breton was because he had advised the Baron Viteaux, an enemy of Fervaques, that the latter was going to raise troops in France, and he could revenge himself by killing him on the road. Alençon wrote about it to his brother, complaining bitterly and asking that the Baron should be taken and punished. I understand that the king of France let the Baron know, and he thereupon took measures to prevent any trick being played upon him by Alençon.

Some of the ministers in Scotland have been preaching against d'Aubigny, and the King being offended thereat twenty of them fled to Berwick, the Queen being informed of this by the man who I said had arrived secretly at Leicester's house. She feared that it might be some stratagem and ordered that they should be taken to the neighbouring villages inland. I am told also that they are discussing a marriage between the king of Scotland and the sister of the prince of Bearn,* which was being negotiated by de la Roche, who is a creature of the duke of Guise, and this makes it the more suspicious.

News comes from Ireland that 600 Irishmen, who were in the Queen's pay, have been dismissed by the Viceroy without payment of the wages owing to them. They have therefore gone over to the Catholic insurgents, and have sent a defiance to the Viceroy. At the instance of Leicester fresh charges have been brought against the earl of Kildare. His business has therefore been again under discussion, and it is believed that his imprisonment will be prolonged more than was expected.

News comes that the ships of the king of Denmark had sunk the English ship "Mignon" on her way to Muscovy. The Queen instantly ordered the arming of two fresh ships to accompany those that were going to Muscovy. These are the ships that I wrote were going to plunder on their way to the Indies, the captain of them being a son (?) of Walsingham.

* Castelnau de la Mauvissière, the French ambassador, writing to his King on the 25th June, mentions this project of marrying James VI. to Catharine de Bourbon, and that Lord Willoughby D'Eresby son of the duchess of Suffolk is being sent to Henry of Navarre by the Queen. Castelnau says that the intention is simply to "amuse" the king of Navarre on the point, as the Queen dreads nothing so much as that the prince of Scotland should be married into any family which might afford him aid as he is full of ambition.

1582.

The eldest son of the earl of Hertford, who is one of the pretenders to the crown, has made a love match with a lady of much lower quality than himself.* He escaped for the purpose from a castle where his father was keeping him to divert him from his courtship, and was hidden for ten or twelve days, during which period there was a great outcry that he had fled the kingdom. The Queen has ordered him, and the gentleman in whose house he was married, to be arrested.—London, 29th June 1582.

4 July. B. M. MSS. Add. 28,702.

274. Memorandum from CARDINAL DE GRANVELLE to the KING on English Affairs.
[EXTRACT.]

The letters from Don Bernardino are many and important, but there is nothing to write about them except that what he says concerning the queen of England's aims is very likely to be true. He says her only object is to enjoy her crown quietly during her life, immersed in her pleasures, quite oblivious of what may happen after her time. This causes her to adopt her policy of embarrassing His Majesty with her lies, whilst she feeds and countenances the rebellion by favouring Alençon, but she is only helping him half-heartedly, as she does not wish to add to the power of the French, which she knows well might be troublesome to her in her own lifetime.

The most important point is the queen of Scotland's letter to Don Bernardino, dwelling at length and with much good sense on the enterprise. She must have some very intelligent person near her who writes her letters, and it is impossible to lay down with greater clearness the lines upon which the affair should be conducted, the support that will be necessary, and the kind of forces required.

The great fear is that, as the business has passed through so many hands, it may get wind before it can be carried out, which would cause the utter ruin of the Scots and English Catholics without any hope of resuscitation.

The forces requested of his Majesty are moderate, and Germans could easily be supplied, but I should prefer their being Italians as I have said before. The reason she gives for desiring Germans is that they adapt themselves better than Spaniards to Scotsmen, and that their way of life is more similar, but Germans will not all be so fit for the task, and there might be an arrangement to send half of one nation and half of another, say 2,000 of each. Four thousand men are more than they ask for, but not sufficient to frighten them, and it is quite possible that they ask for no more in order that the foreigners may not get the upper hand. This is not what his Majesty wants, nor do I approve of it, but that we should loyally help the king of Scotland and his mother to maintain their rights, and, by promoting armed disturbance, keep the queen of England and the French busy at small cost to ourselves in comparison with what she would have to spend, and so enable us to settle our own affairs better. If it had no other

* Lord Beauchamp had married Miss Honora Rogers. The gentleman in question appears to have been Mr. Thomas Howard. *See* Cal. Dom. 1st July 1582

1582.

result than this it should suffice, but very much more so when we consider that it may also lead to the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in those parts. It is evident that, when we strike there, the Irish Catholics will pluck up courage and go forward against the queen of England, and it is very advantageous that the matter should be taken in hand by the duke of Guise, as it will ensure us from French obstruction. Since we cannot hope to hold the island for ourselves, M. de Guise will not try to hand it over to the king of France, to the detriment of his near kinswoman the queen of Scotland. As the king (of Spain) has for so many years favoured the queen of Scotland, it is only reasonable to suppose that she and her son will not quickly forget the help he gave her in the days of her adversity, and this will at all events prevent them from being entirely against us, even if they be not wholly with us. If things turn out well with them, then we may look for readiness on their part to renew the old alliances of Spain and the Netherlands respectively with England.

The pensions recommended by the queen of Scotland to be given might be so granted, on condition that they do not exceed the sum of 12,000 ducats a year, which I think would be money well spent. They should be given on the condition mentioned by the Queen, namely, that they may be taken away from those who fall off in their efforts to serve us. This sum will make a great stir in Scotland, as, although supplies are plentiful, money is scarce. The Germans and Italians might be sent, as Don Bernardino says, in the month of October, when a part of the army is dismissed, so that both from Flanders and from Spain they might easily be sent at that time. We shall have to learn the disposition of his Holiness, and to what extent he will help—his aid, if possible, being in money. Considering how important the matter is, and how nearly it concerns the Pope, I do not think it is too much to expect him to give 100,000 ducats to make up the sum the queen of Scotland requests. This will have a great effect, but I would not say anything to him yet about the plans respecting England, so as not to come down upon him too heavily at once, as we may hope that, as soon as Scotland is in arms, and the Queen can guide it in her way, as she says, England of its own accord may rise to shake off the tyranny that oppresses it. By this means we may obtain the greater part of the advantage we desire without further cost to his Majesty, whilst the queen of England, in order to extricate herself from her difficulties, may be glad to come to terms with his Majesty, in the first place, to be allowed to enjoy her throne for the rest of her life; and, secondly, to permit liberty of worship to the English Catholics, or at least to lighten the yoke that weighs so heavily upon them at the hands of the ministers.

I have spoken with Englefield and find that Persons has fully communicated to him the whole of his errand, as also had the queen of Scotland, from whom a letter came for him to-day, which will be delivered at once. It is double as heavy a packet as the previous ones. He, Englefield, says that Persons' companion, who came with him on his journey, knows nothing whatever about the

1582.

business, and he is very sorry it is passing through so many hands, fearing, as we do, that its discovery would mean the slaughter of the Catholics that remain. He says they are very numerous and of great influence, as well as a large number of the people being Catholics, but as they have no public offices, no strong places, and no arms, they dare not show head as they would do if they saw the queen of England hard pressed and some favourable turn of events in Scotland. It is very desirable that His Holiness should be urged to say what his wishes are and what he will give. This will probably be learnt from the Jesuit (?) * who is to solicit his aid, and it is better that the pressure should come from that quarter than from us, in order that His Holiness may not try to saddle us with the whole affair, which he might do if the pressure came from us. It is better that he should appeal to us for help.

Englefield also says that he is very distrustful of the bishop of Glasgow, the ambassador of the queen of Scotland in France, with whom he was formerly friendly. He sees now, however, that his only aim is to retain his position in France at the cost of the Queen, without taking any care of her business. Englefield has therefore ceased to correspond with him, and he would be sorry that he (the Bishop) should be made privy to this business, which he thinks he would immediately divulge to the French.

Either the business should not be undertaken at all, or it should be carried through energetically, and all preparations and precautions adopted for the enterprise to be executed at the stated time, in which case God may help us for our good intention, and enable a part of our fleet now leaving Portugal to be available for this enterprise.—Madrid, 4th July 1582.

11 July. **275.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As I wrote some time ago, Humphrey Gilbert was fitting out ships to gain a footing in Florida, and in order to make this not only prejudicial to your Majesty's interests, but injurious to the Catholics here, whilst benefiting the heretics, Walsingham indirectly approached two Catholic gentlemen, whose estate had been ruined, and intimated to them that, if they would help Humphrey Gilbert in the voyage their lives and liberties might be saved, and the Queen, in consideration of the service, might be asked to allow them to settle there (Florida) in the enjoyment of freedom of conscience and of their property in England, for which purpose they might avail themselves of the intercession of Philip Sidney. As they were desirous of living as Catholics, without endangering their lives, they thought the proposal was a good one, and they gave an account of it to other Catholics, who also approved of it, and offered to aid the enterprise with money. Petitions were presented to the Queen upon the subject, and she has granted them a patent under the Great Seal of England to colonize Florida on the banks of the river Norumbeage where they are to be allowed to

* Father William Creighton is probably referred to, but the word is indistinct.

1582.

live as their conscience dictates, and to enjoy such revenues as they may possess in England. This privilege is not confined to those who leave here for the purpose of colonization, but is extended to all Englishmen away from England, even to those who may have been declared rebels, and whom the Queen now restores to her grace and favour, embracing them once more as loyal subjects.* The only object of this is to weaken and destroy them by any means, since they have now discovered that persecution, imprisonment, and the shedding of martyrs' blood only increase the number of Catholics; and if the proposed measure be adopted the seminaries abroad cannot be maintained, nor would it be possible for the priests who come hither to continue their propaganda, if there were no persons here to shelter and support them. By this means what little sound blood be left in this diseased body would be drained. I gave notice to the Catholics, through the priests who go amongst them, what was the real object of the Queen and Council in extending this favour to them, and also that the country in question belonged to your Majesty and was defended by fortresses, so that directly they landed they would be slaughtered as Jean Ribaut was.† In addition to this, I say, that their consciences will be touched, as they will be acting against the interests of His Holiness, who should be informed of the matter through Dr. Allen, so that they, the Catholics, might learn whether they could properly undertake the voyage.

This action of mine has caused some of them to withdraw whilst others, out of indifference, persist in their intention, believing that it is not really against your Majesty, because in the map the country is called "New France," which, they say, proves that it was discovered by Frenchmen, and that since Cortés fitted out ships on the coast to go and conquer countries for the Catholic church, they could do the same. I have also written about it to the Abbot Briceño in Rome, as well as to Dr. Allen, pointing out how important it is that they should make every effort to prevent the enterprise in the interest of the conversion of England.

An alderman of London, and one Winter, are fitting out in this river two ships, one of 240 tons and the other small, to go on a plundering expedition to the coast of Brazil, whither they are to carry some merchandise. The company of merchants trading with Spain went to tell the Council that, besides the ships that had gone to the Moluccas, these two vessels were being armed, and that they, the merchants, could not continue safely to carry on their business if this was to be allowed. They were told that these ships were going with merchandise to Brazil, where they might freely trade. The merchants also took to the Council a copy of the proclamation, which had been posted by Don Antonio in Antwerp, saying that ships could not go to Portugal without taking passports from his factors, and paying so much for dues, otherwise the ships and

* The whole of the documents relating to this project will be found printed in full in the Addenda of the Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574–1674.

† *See* Vol. I. of the present Calendar.

1582.

cargoes would be seised as derelict. They asked the Council whether they might safely send their ships without paying these dues, and they were told that letters should be given to them for Don Antonio, telling him to order that no English ships should be molested at sea by him. They were told to send a vessel with this dispatch to Rochelle. They replied that they did not believe that Don Antonio was there, but with the fleet, whereupon the Council retorted that there would be no difficulty in finding him, and perhaps he might shortly be here. I have heard this also from other sources, and that a man from Don Antonio has recently arrived here, under the pretext of asking the Queen for ships, but really to say that he was coming here secretly. I hear from a man who was at Rochelle twelve days ago, that Don Antonio had there 40 tolerable ships, not very well found, amongst which there were a few large ones and fifteen or twenty small, with four or five thousand men, short of money and other things.

The largest ship which Don Antonio took from here had been burnt, with 32 tons of powder, in which the fire first occurred. It appears that a Portuguese boy thought to frighten some soldiers, who were fetching some powder, by igniting a little, but the whole exploded and 150 Englishmen and Portuguese in the ship were drowned. It is reported from Antwerp that some Spanish merchants there have begun to pay the dues imposed by Don Antonio.

A gentleman from Alençon has arrived here.* I have not learnt his errand, but in view of the surrender of Oudenarde, on Thursday the 5th, at four in the afternoon, it may be suspected that he is here to ask for money, because they write from Antwerp that Count Mansfeldt, who had raised 1,500 horse, and was at Cambrai, was pressing for payment of their wages. The Queen is much grieved that Alençon was unable to relieve Oudenarde, and has not yet consented to send him anything. Her councillors continue to tell her that, until she learns the disposition of his brother the King, it will be best for her to hold her hand and send him no money.

Baron Gaspar Schomberg writes me from Paris that as soon as he arrived there he learnt of the negotiations being promoted by this Queen to marry the daughter of the king of Sweden to Alençon, with which he intended to acquaint the Palatine Lasqui and other friends in Poland by a special messenger, as it was a matter of the highest importance to that country. As at the time he wrote this he had not received my letters, I doubt not that when he gets them he will proceed in the matter even more vigorously than before.

Two days since there arrived here from Muscovy two merchant ships, which had been despatched before the eleven armed ships. They come back flying from pursuit with all their outward cargo on board, as when they were anchored at Baraphus (Hammerfest ?), their factors in Muscovy sent them word not to proceed any

* The letter he brought, dated 8th July, is printed in the Hatfield Papers, Part 3.

1582.

further, but return to England at once, as the king of Denmark was sending thither eleven ships and three armed galleys, and had also four ships of 500 tons at St. Nicholas River. On receipt of this advice the English ships discovered the eleven ships and three galleys, which they say have eight bronze pieces on each side, and which began to chase them. The English cut their cables and fled without being able even to weigh their anchors. They fear that the eleven ships they have sent will he lost if they enter the river of St. Nicholas, or encounter the Danish fleet.—London, 11th July 1582.

25 July. **276.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As the ministers in Scotland continue, as I have written, to speak disrespectfully of the duke of Lennox, the King has ordered the principal* of them to preach no more, and has silenced the others by ordering them not to mention in their sermons the duke of Lennox or any other great personage. A number of ministers, accompanied by a crowd of people, having come to address the King, he ordered them, on pain of death, to leave Edinburgh within an hour, and also indicated by name seventy rich and well-known people who were also to leave the town, and not to approach within ten miles of the Court. On the 7th of June the duke of Lennox, in the name of the King, ordered a gentleman called Lindsay† not to appear at Court, and said that he and his accomplices would very shortly be recompensed as they deserved for the plots they were carrying on. The queen of England thus finding that her action through the ministers had not succeeded in discrediting Lennox with the King and the people, has now adopted another method. This is to get him excommunicated, which means that, if a member is cast out from their diabolical congregation, he is incapacitated from occupying any public post. To facilitate this they have seized the opportunity of excommunicating the man whom Lennox had chosen for bishop of Glasgow,‡ saying that their religion does not allow a man to call himself a bishop, this being, they say, pure papistry, and that the bishops should only be called superintendents, in accordance with the creed of Geneva. The Queen is also plotting with the earl of Angus, to whom she has granted a pension of 4,000 crowns a year, to exercise his influence

* John Dury, minister at Edinburgh, for an account of whose inhibition and expulsion see Robertson, and Calderwood's "Assemblies." Two extremely interesting letters from Castelnau to the king of France, dated respectively 6th and 26th July, give full particulars of Scotch affairs from the French point of view. The King is urged to prevent the expulsion or assassination of Lennox by means of the queen of England's intrigues, or the prince of Scotland will fall entirely into the power of Elizabeth.

† Probably David Lindsay, afterwards bishop of Ross.

‡ This was Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, "a man vain, fickle, and presumptuous," who had made what Spotswood calls a vile bargain with Lennox to accept the archbishopric of Glasgow on the death of archbishop Boyd, the revenues of the See to be made over to Lennox. For particulars of the proceedings against him and his excommunication by the General Assembly consult Dr. McCrie's life of Andrew Melville.

1582.

with his friends for the dismissal from the Government and expulsion of Lennox from the kingdom, as soon as he is excommunicated, if they cannot succeed in killing him. Angus assures her that he will do it, but only on one condition, namely, that she will pledge herself under the Great Seal of England to give 4,000 crowns to all the earls who take up arms, and 2,000 each to the barons. This she has granted verbally, but has not yet sealed anything, and Angus is therefore making great efforts to induce his friends to rise against Lennox, plain evidence of this being seen in Scotland, as I am advised by one of the priests who was there and has gone to Rouen, in order to forward my letters from there and send hither those he receives, as they cannot now pass by the border. Father William Holt has returned from France, and is now alone in Scotland. He writes me a letter, dated the 12th, containing the above news, and the duke of Lennox also writes to me in reply to my two letters to him. I have answered, encouraging him in his good purpose, and greatly approving of his determination to remain there, whilst I give him hopes that things may very shortly be arranged as he desires. I ask the queen of Scotland again to press him on the point (*i.e.* to stay in Scotland). I also send her Lennox's letter and inform her of this Queen's intention, that she may report it to Scotland. I am informed that the proceedings of these people (the English) have made the ministers and heretics in Scotland so bitter and insolent that it is to be feared that they may take up arms and carry into effect one of their many plans, such as that of murdering Seton and Lennox. For this reason he (Lennox) never leaves his room excepting he be surrounded by friends, so that if any shot is fired at him it will wound somebody else first. William Holt is therefore afraid that if Lennox be obliged to delay an open declaration of his policy, both of them will be forced to leave Scotland, taking with them the person of the King, from which I dissuade them.

The Queen of Scotland has written firmly to this Queen, and repeated verbally through the French ambassador that if she will not at once give her permission to send a person to conclude the association of her son with her in her rights, she will consider that she has received her answer, and will arrange for the duke of Guise to do it. The Queen was displeased at this, and replied only through Walsingham to the ambassador, to the effect that she will not decide one way or the other. The king of Scotland has written a letter in his own hand to his mother,* which came into the hands of this Queen, as it was a reply to one that his mother had sent him at the instance of the Queen, expressing surprise that he had refused to receive her ambassador. He excuses himself in very good terms by explaining about the Parliament, showing himself a very obedient son, and it has all the more piqued this Queen to see the accord that exists between the two.

* A copy of this interesting letter, dated Stirling, 10th June, was sent by Castelnau to the King of France, and is printed (from the D'Esneval Archives) by M. Chéruel in his "Marie Stuart et Catharine de Médici."

1582.

Whilst writing this, I learn that they have given the earl of Angus 3,000*l.* in cash to carry out their Scotch plans.—London, 25th July 1582.

25 July. **277.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 11th that Alençon had sent a gentleman to ask the Queen for money. He again presses the request by letter, saying that he is in such extremities that if she does not give him some money he should be obliged to abandon the war and leave the States, and pending the receipt of her reply he intended to leave Antwerp. Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham fearing, in view of these letters, that Alençon might run hither from Flushing, and drive them into a corner by his presence as he did before, pressed the Queen to send him 30,000*l.* 20,000*l.* were at once furnished, and the rest has been ordered to be got ready. Cecil, however, was opposed to this, and, after he had discussed the matter with the Queen, she ordered the 20,000*l.* to be kept back. I understand that the Treasurer said that she should consider very deeply before allowing herself to be deprived of the money she had, since she had in her Treasury, or as they call it here "the Chequer," not more than 80,000*l.* At the end of September a half of the Parliamentary grant would be received amounting to 70,000*l.*, and in addition to this the 400,000*l.* in gold, which she knew of, was deposited under three keys, of which she had one, whilst he, Cecil, and Sir Walter Mildmay held the others. Cecil told her that in his opinion the money in the Chequer and the subsidy should be converted into bullion and ingots of gold and silver, which would prevent them from spending it, and would produce a profit when it was needful to coin it. Notwithstanding this the others are worrying her to send the 30,000*l.*, and the Queen is still undecided.

The king of France had hitherto delayed sending a reply to the clauses proposed on behalf of the Queen for the marriage, but he has now agreed to concede everything that the Queen requests as soon as she decides to marry. This, after so much delay, has caused her some suspicion. She consequently verbally told the French ambassador that, although the King was willing to agree to defray the cost of the war if she married, the business was so weighty that she wished the King to bind himself in writing with his own hand, that this crown should not be called upon to contribute to any expenditure, overt or covert, which might be incurred either in the Netherlands or elsewhere in case of a rupture with your Majesty, as she wished to be perfectly clear upon this point to enable her the better finally to resolve. This shows that it is nothing but make-believe.

My second correspondent reports that the ambassador Cobham has written to the Queen saying that no minister ever set foot in England who had done greater harm than I, or who gave more minute information of matters here to your Majesty and the Pope

1582.

He says that the reason why the king of France agreed to so extraordinary a condition as to pledge himself to break with your Majesty, whilst relieving her of all expense caused thereby, was in consequence of the arrival secretly of a Nuncio from the Pope to press him to agree with your Majesty and the rest of the Catholic princes, as this was the only means by which he might tranquillise his kingdom and punish the Huguenots and heretics, whilst preventing his brother from helping the Netherlands rebels. To this the king of France had replied that, if it were possible for his brother to retire with honour, and he was assured that he would not be moved by the Huguenots to stir up civil war in France and assume almost royal power, to the great danger of his (the King's) Crown and the interests of the true religion, he would do all that might tend to the aggrandisement of the Catholic Church and the maintenance of the princes who belonged to it, and, at the same time, would seek means to bring his brother to it, although he was sure that force would be of no use for the purpose. For this reason, he said, he had granted everything that the Queen had requested, in order that his brother's eyes might be opened, and he might understand plainly that she was the person who avoided the marriage. This is confirmed by a letter which Alençon writes to Sussex in the same tone as before, lamenting the irresolution and tardiness of his brother, who, he says, is jealous of his greatness. He is full of complaints in this letter, particularly of the Queen, who, he says, is the origin and deviser of his ruin. He concludes by saying that, if he decides to alter his course and restore the injury which was befalling him by reason of the vain hopes of the marriage, the Queen would have no reason to complain of anyone but herself, as she had abandoned him so shamefully without considering the guerdon which the risks and dangers he had personally run deserved at her hands. This is in a letter of two sheets of paper, speaking very plainly, and saying that he is in such a position now that, if the Queen do not resolve in his favour, he will have to do so himself by embracing some of the offers made to him.

I understand that, when the Queen heard this letter read, she tried to make a show of tenderness, although she is as far from the idea of marriage as ever, whereas it would appear that Alençon, although he knows that the Queen is trying to marry him to the daughter of the king of Sweden, is not entirely undeceived even yet about his marriage with the Queen. In consequence of the Queen and some of her Councillors having represented to him how very greatly the match, and he personally would profit, if he would consent to restore Simier to favour and send him hither, Alençon has written to Simier saying that if he will come to him he will embrace him and restore him to his former position. Simier has written to the Queen and Sussex, asking them to advise him as to whether he should accept the proposal, which they have advised him to do. I doubt not that this negotiation will have been aided by the king of France, who, as I wrote

1582.

long ago, had won over Simier,* and had covertly sent him hither at the time that Alençon was here. It cannot fail to be advantageous for the king of France, in any case, to have him here for the purpose of his sending news of what is going on so long as his brother is dealing with the Queen.

The prince of Bearn has written to Alençon saying that the duke of Savoy† continues to besiege Geneva, in defence of which he says that 30,000 Huguenots would take up arms, and he asks him to inform the king of France of this. They have held a great Council here on the matter, the Queen being present, when the Treasurer said that the plan was a piece of Spanish sagacity, because the fact of the Duke's pressing Geneva would oblige the Huguenots of France to take arms, and this would bridle the king of France, and prevent him, however much he might wish, from breaking with your Majesty in the Netherlands, or assisting his brother effectively, whilst his own house was in flames.

Custodio Leiton has arrived here with letters from Don Antonio to the same effect as before, begging for money, men, and ships, and representing the advantages which will accrue to this Queen if she will help him as he requests. She has replied as on former occasions, and Custodio Leiton says he will go to Antwerp, and from there proceed on a mission to the king of Denmark from Don Antonio.

A ship has arrived here from Terceira, which left there on the 15th ultimo. They confirm that Landereau had returned to Terceira much disorganised, and with the loss of some ships. The people of the island are on bad terms with the foreign soldiers.

I have continued, pending your Majesty's reply, to entertain my second confidant‡ with hopes and fair words. The Queen has again pressed him to make ready to go to the German Diet, and it has been necessary for me to pledge him, as your Majesty commands me to do in case of need. I have therefore given him 500 crowns, promising him a pension of 1,000 crowns a year, and have induced him in this way to continue in your Majesty's service, and not to go to the Diet. If your Majesty should have no minister here you will be free to discontinue the payment without the loss of any great sum. He has esteemed the favour very highly, and assures me that, not only he himself, but all his house, hope in God to be able to render service to your Majesty. His parts and behaviour are such, that I doubt not great results will be attained by his co-operation. My first confidant§ has been almost dumb with me for some months past, and has told me nothing of importance, in consequence of Leicester's having set the Queen against him, and he therefore avoids business.

* Castelnau writes to the king of France the day after the date of this letter, saying that, as the King had ordered him to entertain Simier in his house, he expected to be reimbursed the expense he was incurring. He complains that Simier and Alençon's men in London have cost him 25,000 crowns, and he has not been able to get a penny of the money he has lent them. His means, he says, are now exhausted.

† Charles Emmanuel I., son of the famous Emmanuel Philibert.

‡ Lord Henry Howard.

§ Sir James Crofts.

1582.

The ships which I mentioned in my former letters that the Catholics were fitting out here, have now been reduced to two; which will be taken by Humphrey Gilbert for the purpose of reconnoitring the best place to land next year. These two vessels are already in Southampton water, and are only waiting a fair wind to sail.—London, 25th July 1582.

29 July. French.

278. The QUEEN OF SCOTLAND to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

On the 12th instant I received your letters of 26th ultimo and 1st instant with those from my ambassador in France and Englefield. I have also received the replies to my letters sent by you to Scotland on the 19th April, for which I thank you warmly. You will oblige me by keeping open the means of communication with Scotland which you have established, because although as you have pointed out it is dangerous to employ it too frequently owing to the sort of people who have to be employed, it will be necessary to use it sometimes, when those whom I employ there may have been despatched and need may occur for writing. Whilst employing your own persons you may also make use of mine, as we can hardly have too many means of communication now that the irons are becoming hot and the blows stronger. I do not know how to express my thanks to you for all your good offices and affection towards me and my affairs, especially for the promotion of the enterprise. To the Catholic King and all other Christian princes, if necessary, I will always acknowledge that the principal merit and praise in these negotiations belong to you, as you have been hitherto the principal promoter of them. I must beg you freely to continue the good work you have commenced, without taking any notice of what took place recently in France, of which I can assure you I had no knowledge whatever until I received my ambassador's letters with your last packet, and less still of any details of the negotiations of Creighton and Persons, the first advice I received being from you after their return from France. I can assure you that the taking of Juan Bautista de Tassis into council was not done at my instance. I gave no instructions to my ambassador to do this; but I understand that my cousin M. de Guise having determined to accept the control of the enterprise (as he assures me himself), and being in doubt about writing to the Catholic King respecting it, thought better to make the offer verbally through Tassis, there being no other person there whom he could address. By the enclosed letter to my ambassador, which I pray you to forward, I order him to proceed no further with Tassis, as that which had already been done was not in accordance with my wishes. As regards my cousin, M. de Guise, he remained but ill pleased with his first conference with him (Tassis), and I do not believe that he will address himself to him again, unless he be obliged to do so, as Tassis plainly said that he was opposed to the Catholic King's trusting so many of his forces to the command of a foreigner, notwithstanding that it was pointed out to him that the colonels of the army could be appointed by (the Spaniards) and my cousin thought that his objection was a slight upon him.

1582.

There are, as you have pointed out, many inconveniences in carrying out this enterprise from France, and I wish it to be conducted entirely by you, sure as I am of your faith and prudence, which have caused me to go so far in the matter with you, and my confidence has been justified by the successful way in which you have conducted it so far.

I must therefore beg you earnestly to continue, so that you may secure for yourself the honour of God and man, if the enterprise be successfully carried through as you give me hopes that it will be. The principal thing is the prolongation of your stay in England, but if that be impossible, then in France. The duke of Lennox has promised me to remain in Scotland until the decision of the Catholic King is known. If the decision be contrary to your recommendations he (Lennox) has resolved to withdraw to France, as he says he cannot remain in Scotland with safety. If matters are long drawn out it will be necessary to encourage and entertain him, as you think fit, always with the best hopes you can give him, and also with the money and pensions, about which I have written. You may judge from the recent change, which was so simply brought about in Scotland, how advantageous it would be for a good army to have arrived at a propitious time like this, everything being so well prepared. My son even might be persuaded to welcome it, now that he has discovered the wickedness of those blackguards of ministers, and has no desire to be drawn into trouble by them, both on account of our own subjects and matters here (*i.e.* in England).

I send you enclosed copy of the letter he recently wrote to me and to the queen of England on the point about which I sent to him at Easter last, respecting my intention of sending someone to visit him. God keep him in his good intention and dutifulness towards me, although I hear that some of these councillors are sore displeased thereat, and when they heard of it, tried to persuade their mistress that my son had only written her the letter as a sort of compliment and in terms of the greatest coldness. In view of the hopes I entertain of our enterprise I have resolved not to enter into any sort of agreement with this Queen, and I have taken the opportunity afforded to me by the long delays and postponements they have raised to my projected mission, to avoid doing so. I will not on any account pledge myself to her on the conditions she demands of me in this place, in order to hold myself free to provide for my son as events may require, without being bound by any promises or obligations towards her.

I have fully considered your statement of the great tasks your master already has on hand, in addition to the new trouble these people are hatching for him so industriously with the king of Navarre; but I am of opinion that our enterprise will be instrumental in frustrating a good part of these plans, or at least those of them that originate with people here, as indeed they nearly all do. So that, when I bear in mind the old age of His Holiness, who may be succeeded by another Pope of quite different views; the age of my good brother your King, whose affairs will never be in better condition than during his lifetime; my own continual indisposition

1582.

and the prospect of leaving behind me a son infected with heresy; the lack of men in Scotland if the duke of Lennox abandons the Government; the possibility of the duke of Guise changing his mind; and the constant attempts made to weaken the Catholic party here, as has been done in Scotland, so that as time passes they may be less and less able to rise; I am extremely afraid that if we let this opportunity pass of re-establishing religion in the island, in the face of all the above-mentioned circumstances, we cannot hope to recover such a chance. The king of France being so great a lover of repose, and his brother in close intelligence with the heretics, are also points in our favour which we should lose if the crown should fall to the king of Navarre, which, however, God forbid! I therefore beg you more earnestly than ever not to leave hold of the good work, but to promote the execution of it with all possible diligence. In the meanwhile, in order to have things here in good train, I beg that the King (of Spain) my good brother will promptly provide for the payment of the sum of 15,000 or 20,000 crowns to provision the strong places in Scotland in case of need, and also that he will make presents to the Scots gentlemen, so that they may be kept faithful to him and to me. I shall anxiously await his reply on all these points, and I beg you in the meanwhile to speak plainly with me, so that I may know how I am to proceed before I go any further.—29th July 1582.

8 Aug. **279.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In addition to the reply, which I advised on the 25th ultimo, the Queen had given to the French ambassador respecting the concessions which had been made by the King, she said, calling him back for the purpose, that as the King's concessions were only in the form of vague words, she wished, as she said before, that he should send by a person of quality a document to the effect, signed and sealed with his own name, in order that her Ministers might consider it. She was not satisfied that the king of France should undertake only to defend her against all princes who might assail her dominions in consequence of the marriage, as that would seem to infer that he was not obliged to defend her if war were made against her on any other grounds, and she wished him again to pledge himself, by solemn oath, to uphold her against all her assailants whatsoever, and on these conditions she protested that she would marry Alençon. She has not yet sent any money to the latter, although he is constantly pressing her to do so, and the Ministers are doing the same, in consequence of the capture of Lierre.* Unless she succours Alençon and the rebels, such things as this will befall them daily.

I am told that the Queen said very secretly in her chamber that the king of Scotland had made protestations before the Ministers of his country, that he did not wish to change the religion in which he had been brought up, and would never become a Catholic. He

* The town was betrayed by Colonel Semple on the 2nd August. *See* letter from Herll to Burleigh, 3rd August, Hatfield Papers, Part II., Hist. MSS. Com.

1582.

said that the duke of Lennox only desired to maintain the rank which he, the King, had conferred upon him, as his nearest kinsman, and that, although the demands made upon him by the Protestants appeared to him at first hard to endure, he (Lennox) was now not displeased with their proceedings, and conformed to the laws as established. "Although both of them," she said (the King and Lennox), "have protested this, I know well that a Scotsman has "secretly confessed that the king of Spain and the Pope have "intelligence in Scotland, and that the queen of Scotland has "written to the Pope, asking him not to be angry at the dissembling "of her son and the duke of Lennox, as that was the course which "was most likely to attain the end aimed at. But notwithstanding "this, I shall oppose much more cunningly than they think the "carrying out of their designs." She is now planning this through the earl of Angus.

The Queen lent 3,000*l.* sterling to Don Antonio when he was here, and I understand that she now peremptorily demands payment of the sum, taking possession of the diamond, which was pledged here for a sum of 5,000*l.* lent by merchants, who offer to relinquish their claim to the Queen, if she will lend them without interest 30,000*l.* for six years, out of the bars brought by Drake, which they will return in five yearly payments of 6,000*l.* each. So far as I can learn, this talk of the loan is a mere fiction, and is a cloak under which the Queen may keep the diamond for the 8,000*l.*, on the ground that the merchants advanced the 5,000*l.* by her express order, without which they would not have done so. This plan was invented by Cecil in order to prevent Don Antonio from getting his diamond back again.

The ships which I advised they were fitting out for Brazil are now being got ready with furious haste, the Company of Merchants trading with Muscovy assisting with 3,000*l.* They are saying that it will be a very profitable voyage for them to go to the Moluccas instead of to Brazil. It will be greatly to your Majesty's advantage if you order every foreign ship which approaches the coast to be sent to the bottom. A ship has arrived in this country which had sailed for Muscovy. They report that the ships which the king of Denmark had armed in the bay of St. Nicholas have taken five Hollanders that went to trade in that port, and for that reason this ship has returned. The merchants here fear that if the eleven ships they sent do not run this risk they will have to return without cargo this year. I understand also that the maritime towns, Dantzic, Hamburg, and the rest, are helping Denmark in this, as they formerly possessed the Muscovy trade, and others had to go to their towns for the merchandise.—London, 8th August 1582.

14 Aug. **280.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

With regard to your Majesty's orders that I should proceed with the queen of Scotland and the duke of Lennox, in conformity with the instructions sent by your Majesty to Juan Bautista de Tassis, of which a copy is sent to me, I have done so; as the queen of Scotland remarks, in one of the two letters of hers, which I now enclose with those written by her son. I have encouraged them to

1582.

continue their action by holding out hopes of succour, whilst at the same time, pointing out that affairs in France and England at present keep your Majesty occupied. I followed this course in a way which should lead them to infer that, when the present circumstances changed, your Majesty would certainly help them, and I thus encouraged her (Mary) to continue in her indignation against the English and also made her shy of the French. As Tassis proceeded in a different way at first with Hercules,* I see that he has enlightened them (the French) somewhat.

Although it is quite plain that she (the queen of Scots) has done her best to prevail upon Lennox to remain in Scotland, her efforts are no longer of any avail against the intrigues of this Queen, and the great sum of money which she is spending; endeavouring by every means to have d'Aubigny killed and obtain possession of the King's person and the Government. Lennox is being informed of this on all hands, and that rewards are offered here to anyone who will bewitch, poison, or kill him, or cast him out of the kingdom, so that he has good reason to fear every dagger in Scotland, particularly as people there are not only accustomed, for slight causes, to shed the blood of private persons, but do not hesitate to kill their kings. It is therefore natural that he should desire to extricate himself from such obvious danger, which is made more terrible by his fear at feeling himself in constant struggle and daily in the presence of death. His position, indeed, is so wretched, that it is reducing him to a deplorable condition, as I am informed from other sources, besides the Queen's letters. How anxious she is to keep him there, and how well disposed she is, will be seen by her words when she says that if it be necessary for the succour to be delayed the "fact must be hidden from him" and I must write and entertain him, as, indeed, I have done.

As I wrote to your Majesty from the first, the Queen desired her son to be converted by preaching, but she is now convinced that this method cannot be employed, since Lennox is the only man who could introduce those who could act in the business, and he does not wish to lose his place and position, much less his life. As he has now had to admit that he was a Catholic, and has no support or assurance against any attempt that may be made against him by the queen of England, through the Protestants, he would much rather leave the country taking the King with him, than be where he is; or in any case save his own life by getting away. In this he would be helped by the English, who would find a silver-bridge for him, and would endeavour to obtain for him the enjoyment in France of what the King has granted him in Scotland, so long as he will leave the Government to them and allow the King to remain a heretic. I understand that, in view of this, the Queen (of Scotland) persists in her idea of the provision of money for the fortresses and pensions, which, she considers, are the only means by which Lennox can be kept in the country; the fortification of the places for the purpose of assuring him against any sudden tumult, or invasion from England, in which case he would have a refuge, whither he might

* This was the cipher name given by Tassis to the Duke of Guise.

1582.

carry the King and await succour; and the pensions, in order to afford a pledge that your Majesty is in earnest in aiding them, and to encourage them to continue in their demands. It will be difficult otherwise to persuade him and the rest to continue to endure their pressing danger in opposition to this Queen, so near and powerful, who is scattering money broad-cast, in order to ruin and undo him, and restore matters to the same condition in which they were in the time of Morton.

The earl of Angus reports from the Border that he believed he had secured to his side twelve personages, amongst whom would be the earl of Mar and Lord Huntly. They took him on his way to the Border very close to the place where the queen of Scotland is for the purpose of alarming her. She is doing her best to make sure of Arran, who is the person that this Queen and her Ministers thought most of. Both in this, and in all things, I can assure your Majesty that the poor lady (the queen of Scots) is leaving no stone unturned to secure the conversion of her son.

I am writing to Count de Olivares,* to point out to His Holiness that he ought to find money for the fortification of the places, as it is most important that Lennox and his friends should not be abandoned.

My sight is very bad, but I will willingly employ what is left of it, and my life, in serving your Majesty, since you deign to command me to stay in this place; my only regret being that besides being blind, I shall not be of so much use to your Majesty as another would be, since my ill-luck will have it that these people continue as uncontrollable as ever.† They are sending a greater number of Englishmen to Flanders again, and the Queen openly gives passports to the captains. On the night of the 12th she sent to Alençon four boat-loads of broad-angels, 20,000*l.*, which money was taken in a ship, on board of which there went the four best captains, and the four best pilots, in England. They are helping forward more furiously than ever the arming of ships for Brazil and the Moluccas, whilst they cry out at the top of their voices that they are free to undertake such expeditions; besides this they are aiding the enterprise of Navarre which the queen (of Scotland) mentions in her letter.—London, 14th August 1582.

27 Aug. **281.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K 1447. 164.

Gives an account of the victory of the Marquis of Santa Cruz at St. Michaels.‡

Be very careful to note the effect of this, both public and private, in England, and discover, so far as you can, all plans and intentions

* The Spanish Ambassador in Rome.

† A few days before this was written Mendoza had been pelted and hooted in Fenchurch Street by a group of boys who were playing at soldiers. His carriage was obliged to take refuge in Lime Street, where the Lord Mayor, Sir James Harvey, dwelt, and his assailants then fled. Dr. Hector Nuñez to Burleigh, 9th August, Hatfield Papers, part 2, Hist. MSS. Com.

‡ This was the complete route of the French Naval Expedition under Strozzi in aid of Don Antonio. It was fought of the 24th July, and both Strozzi and Count Vimioso were slain.

1582.

arising from it, and the negotiations that exist between the French and the Queen. If she or her Ministers say anything to you about St. Michaels, you will know how to justify me and answer them fittingly, pointing out how dearly those who offend me so unjustly have to pay for their presumption, and how God punishes them. All this and such other means as you possess must be directed to preventing the Queen from allying herself to the French against me. You will use to this end either hope or fear, as you find most advisable. Even though it do not entirely divert her, you must manage to scent out all their plots and advise me in good time to provide against them. I sincerely commit all this to your care and diligence. Report frequently and fully.—Lisbon, 27th August 1582.

30 Aug. **282.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The prince of Parma informs me in a letter dated 18th July that he had taken into his pay four hundred Englishmen who had gone over from the rebel army, in order to reduce the strength of the enemy and to increase the diffidence which now exists between them and the French.* I write to the Prince, saying that the question of engaging Englishmen who desert from the enemy is one for grave consideration, inasmuch as it partly concedes a point which the Queen has tried to establish since the beginning of the war, namely, that she may claim to be neutral, on the ground that the alliances between her and the house of Burgundy are virtually with the towns and States government, and not with the person of the Prince, although the contrary is quite clear from the tenour of the treaties. As I wrote at the time, when I first came hither, I had long disputes about this, and when M. de la Motte at Gravelines declared for your Majesty, and found it necessary to engage Englishmen, the Councillors here pointed out to me that his action proved that the people of this country might assist either side indifferently. I must now admit that the engagement of the Englishmen by the Prince puts them in the right. In the case of M. de la Motte I replied that the acts of a captain and private individual could not bind his sovereign. As this argument will not now serve, I have thought best to state the matter here, and to beg your Majesty to instruct me how I am to reply to the Queen and her Ministers if they mention it to me. Whilst advising the prince of Parma about it, I also mention that, of all the Englishmen that flock over to the rebels, not one is a Catholic, and that their leaders are terrible heretics dependent mostly upon Leicester and Walsingham. They cannot, therefore, be trusted as soldiers, or regarded otherwise than as spies in the camp, who, like Leicester and Walsingham themselves, will do nothing but weave treason to the cause of God and your

* The Prince of Parma wrote to the King (Strada) that he had accepted the offer of service of these four hundred Englishmen to use them as "decoy birds to call the others," and so to weaken the enemy and perhaps arrange for the betrayal of some place garrisoned by English or Scotch troops. In this he was not deceived, as it led to the shameful treachery by which Colonel Semple betrayed the town of Lierre into the hands of the Prince.

1582.

Majesty. As, moreover, they are not veterans but inexperienced recruits, and bring nothing but their own persons to the service, there is no sufficient counterbalancing advantage in engaging them. If they are made much of and are punctually paid, as such people do not deserve to be, the soldiers of other nationalities will be offended; whereas in the contrary case, the Englishmen will be sure to mutiny, even if they be not prompted to do so from here. This will be a bad example for the rest, and as the Prince of Parma has now, with the Italian reinforcements, a multitude of soldiers and is short of money, the withdrawal of the English from the rebel side cannot be productive of so much good, as harm, as the bad blood the Prince drains from the rebels to weaken them will be infused into his own body and cause corruption therein. The people here will promptly send orders for all the Englishmen who flock over to the rebels, at once to join your Majesty's forces. By this means they will purge their own country, which they say they want to do, whilst the Englishmen in the Netherlands will greatly increase in number, as the States alone could not afford to pay the quantity that will now go.

There is nothing fresh about French affairs, except that Marchaumont and Bacqueville have pressed the Queen to give them permission to go and join their master. She refuses to do so, and asks them what the world would say if they went away. All the Councillors have recently been absent from Court, and as soon as confirmation was received here from France of the defeat of Don Antonio's fleet by that of your Majesty, the Queen called them together and ordered two gentlemen to be arrested, because they said that Don Antonio's fleet had been destroyed and the Pretender killed, the charge against them being that they were spreading seditious news. They say that Terceira cannot even now be taken and that the rebel States are arming eighteen ships for Don Antonio to join those which I said the German colonel was fitting out at Embden, although he is very sluggish about it.

A proclamation published by the king of Scotland has reached here, and I send a copy of it to your Majesty. As his mother remarks, it is a certain proof that preaching will be of no avail to convert the King, but that he and the country must be dealt with by main force. It also shows how closely driven must Lennox be, since merely to maintain himself there he has to consent publicly to give such concessions as these.

I have received letters from Father William Holt in Scotland, who tells me that Lennox . . . . .,* and also that John Seaton, son of Lord Seaton, had procured a passport from this Queen enabling him to go to Spain; and from what I hear, it is to be feared that these Ministers may turn him inside out on his way through, and that Lord Seaton may quarrel with Lennox, in consequence of his hatred for Arran, which may be the cause why he is sending his son to Spain, in the belief that the best way to crush Arran will be to hasten the enterprise.

* In the King's hand: "He does not finish what he says about Lennox."

1582.

The priest who went to Rouen from Scotland wrote to me on the 9th saying that he had letters from the duke of Lennox dated the 4th expressing great surprise that no information had reached him about the envoys who had gone to your Majesty and to Rome. He says he is much pressed by the action of the Protestants, taken at the prompting of the queen of England.—London, 30th August 1582.

1 Sept. **283.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Yesterday morning the Queen received news from Berwick, that on the 22nd one of the plots she had been weaving with the earl of Angus had succeeded. It appears that six of the principal earls with whom he had arranged invited the King to a hunting party in a certain place, with the intention of capturing him, the duke of Lennox, and the earl of Arran. D'Aubigny, however, was warned in time,* and fled with six horses towards Lisleburg (*i.e.* Edinburgh), where the townspeople refused to receive him. He thereupon wrote to the constable of the castle who admitted him, and he was then surrounded by his opponents, aided by the townspeople, who are his enemies. The King is a prisoner, as well as the earl of Arran, whose brother was killed. They told him (the King) at once that he deserved all that happened to him, for allowing himself to be ruled by an excommunicated person like Lennox.

This Queen, her Ministers, and all the Court, are overjoyed at the news, and the Queen says openly that the "*méchant*" duke of Lennox will now be treated as he deserves, and will be properly condemned to lose his head by the laws of Scotland, as she is assured that he cannot escape from the castle.

In addition to the pensions, presents, and favours given to the earl of Angus, he was further inflamed in the project by these people with the promise that when D'Aubigny was expelled or killed he, Angus, should be the governor, as his uncle Morton was. As the person who arranged with Angus was the earl of Huntingdon, who claims to be the heir to this crown after the queen of Scotland, it may be feared that they will kill or poison the King. They are indeed already muttering this, and that his mother should be put out of the way at the same time, whereby Leicester and his party of heretics think they can assure the claim of Huntingdon, who is as great a heretic as any of them. I send this by special courier to Tassis begging him to forward it in the same way.—London, 1st September 1582.

5 Sept. **284.** JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1560.

News arrived here yesterday from the French ambassador in England that the men the Queen (of England) has in her favour in Scotland have seized the opportunity of the King's having gone on

* Sir James Melvil (Memoirs) gives an account of his warning of Lennox, who was then at Dalkeith, and of his pusillanimous tardiness in dealing with the crisis. Melvil was apprised of the plot in Edinburgh ten days before its execution, and rode to Dalkeith without a moment's delay, but Lennox contented himself with sending the news to Arran, and himself retired to Dumbarton, until the King had been captured and Arran crushed, when action was useless.

1582.

a hunting expedition, 24 leagues from Lisleburg, to capture him on his way home, and carry him to a castle* near, the leader of the enterprise being the earl of Argyll. Lennox was at a house of his near Lisleburg, and as soon as he heard what had happened he endeavoured to collect his friends to remedy the matter, but as many of them failed to appear he resolved to throw himself into the castle of Lisleburg, which is very strong, where he still is.

No intelligence of this has yet come direct from Scotland hither, and the Scots' ambassador here is much grieved at the news, although he is unable to form a judgment upon the matter, and is still in hope that the only object may have been the expulsion of Lennox. He thinks, certainly, however, that the whole affair has been contrived by the English-woman, who has been plotting it for some time past without regard to expense.

The duke of Guise will also have been sorry for it, as the King is his relative. As for Hercules (*i.e.* the duke of Guise) he is certainly distressed and eager to undertake the enterprise. He is also not without apprehension that this event may cause your Majesty to change your benevolent attitude towards it, and urges rather that this news increases the need for aid, and that the good resolutions should be persevered in, at least, until we learn the real state of things there. I can see that Hercules is extremely desirous of employing himself in this business, and I am of opinion that he will feel greatly flattered if good-will is shown to aid it as effectually as the case will allow.—Paris, 5th September 1582.

24 Sept. **285.** The KING to JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS.

Paris Archives. K. 1447.

Having heard from Don Bernardino de Mendoza that the Queen of England was raising a great persecution against the duke of Lennox by means of the earl of Angus, whom she supplies with money for the purpose, and considering the injury which may be caused to Scotch affairs if the Duke loses heart and leaves the country, and that it is the duty of all of us who desire the welfare and submission of Scotland to encourage the Duke, I had ordered a credit for 10,000 crowns to be sent to you, to be forwarded to him with an exhortation to stand firmly in his position until God enabled effectual help to be afforded. Now, however, that I learn by your letter of the 5th of the unfortunate imprisonment of the King, the extremity in which Lennox was, and the distress of Hercules, I have decided not to alter my resolution, and I send you the enclosed despatch as intended, instructing you to condole in my name with Hercules in this trouble, and to inform him of my determination to send this small present aid to Lennox. If he thinks it will be opportune ask him to forward it, and tell him that you have my orders to pay it to the person he may appoint.

In the principal business of the submission of Scotland, you will tell him that I would gladly have helped, and still would do so, whenever I saw, on the one hand, really good grounds for anticipating a successful issue, and on the other, willingness on the

* Ruthven, in the county of Forfar. This took place on 22nd August.

1582.

part of His Holiness to contribute such money as the case demands (and as he has on various occasions promised me*). You will not fail to hint dexterously at the coolness existing in that quarter, so that he may see that the affair is not falling through by any fault of mine, and that I am still as willing as ever. As, however, the prime consideration of the probable good or bad result of the enterprise will naturally be much influenced by these fresh events in Scotland, and the imprisonment of the King, you will ask Hercules what he thinks upon both points, and what he considers the best course to pursue, telling him how highly I shall prize his opinion, and assuring him of the goodwill I bear towards him. Assure him also that he may count upon my protection whenever he may require it. Try to draw the discourse to his own affairs, and take the opportunity of pointing out to him that as the king (of France) is ill, and has no children, he (Guise) will incur great danger when the realm falls into the hands of his enemies, which Alençon and Bearn are. Tell him that, so far as regards Alençon, he need seek no clearer proof of enmity than the Salcedo invention, and the false evidence they raised against him (Guise) for the purpose of causing a breach between him and the King. From this point you may lead up to the treatment he (Guise) may fear if the person who thus calumniates him once gets power in his hands.

With regard to Bearn, you may say that, in addition to his (Guise's) own danger, the destruction of the whole realm and the public infamy of the most Christian crown is to be feared if it should fall into the hands of a man who is not a Catholic. Besides the danger of this, it will be a standing disgrace to those who are true Catholics like himself. You will then assure him of my affection for him, because he is a Catholic and well disposed towards my interests; and in case he desires to ensure himself against the consequences of the King's death, or the attacks of his enemies, he may count upon all the aid necessary from me for his security and welfare. Having this in view, he may henceforward make his calculations more confidently, both in regard to France and England. It will be well that he should consider especially what he can do in the latter country to favour the cause of his relatives, the king and queen of Scotland, and to pay the queen of England in the coin she deserves for her action against both mother and son. Tell him I shall be glad to learn all that occurs, particularly in this matter, and will help him opportunely and effectively; but you will take great care to banish from his mind all suspicion that I can have any personal object in Scotch or English affairs, other than a desire to serve the cause of our Lord, and the conversion of those nations, which could then come to their rightful owners. This is no less so in the affairs of France, where I only desire, in case the King should die, that my enemies may not be able to play me any tricks; and for this reason I advise him (Guise) to guard against and beware of his own enemies, which, indeed, are common to us both. You will carry out all this very precisely and

* The words in brackets are added to the draft in the King's hand.

1582.

dexterously, letting me know what passes and your opinion of it. If you learn that Lennox is in a position which renders it unadvisable or useless to send him the 10,000 crowns, you will keep the money in your possession, telling Hercules however of the willingness with which I sent the money and the destined object. You will keep it in such case until you get orders from me.—Lisbon, 24th September 1582.

Postscript in the King's hand :—"In addition to the aforegoing, "you may also tell Hercules to bear in mind that, so far as religion "is concerned, there will be as little security with the first person "mentioned" (*i.e.* Alençon) "as with the second" (Bearn).

24 Sept. **286.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447. 174.

Your letters of 25th July, 1st, 8th, and 30th August, and 1st September are to hand. Thanks for full advices contained, and for your having sent to the prince of Parma news of the plots and plans against Flanders. Continue to do so and to sow distrust in the breasts of those people against the French, whilst not allowing them (the English) to despair of gaining my friendship if they act properly.

The ships being fitted out for Brazil and the Moluccas may perhaps meet with their desert, and also those for Florida. You will report all you can discover about them, paying particular attention to this matter of armaments, as I am told that the Queen-mother (of France) persists in her hopes of some Dutch hulks, and the ships she expects from the queen (of England) to enable her to fit out another fleet and try her fortune again.* It will not be so easy to do as it is to arrange on paper. As no one can discover so well as you if any ships are being prepared in Holland for Don Antonio at the instance of the Queen-mother, you will keep me continually informed on the point, and also as to what is being done in England. Let me know whether anyone has arrived there from Don Antonio since the defeat, and, if so, what reception he got.

It is very needful for you to keep your correspondents well in hand as they are apparently so useful to you, and it was therefore well to pledge the second confidant with the 500 crowns and promise him a pension of 1,000, which it is understood will only be paid him whilst he gives satisfaction and not otherwise. He will thus be careful to please. It was well to report to the prince of Parma the evil that may be done by the English in his pay, but he is so careful and vigilant that he will take care they do not deceive him. The whole result of the Scotch affairs, of which we had much to say to you in answer to your letters on the subject, seems to have been the unfortunate imprisonment of the King and the extremity of Lennox. On account of religion and of the King's trouble I am grieved at this; and still more so on account of the distress of his mother, with whom you will condole sincerely on

* That is to say against Philip's assumption of the crown of Portugal.

1582.

my behalf. Assure her how interested I was in this business, and that at all times she will find me ready to help her interests with such instruments as the case may demand. At present, until we know how the first confusion and the persecution of Lennox has ended, no trustworthy judgment can be formed, and I will suspend all comments upon the matter until then. I may say, however, that the person who came hither is on the point of leaving.—Lisbon, 24th September 1582.

12 Oct. French.

287. The QUEEN OF SCOTLAND to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I have recently been visited here by M. de Fontenay, the brother of my French secretary, and as I had freely every opportunity of instructing him fully of my intentions in all things concerning my state here, and that of my poor child, I have decided to send him to the Catholic King your master in order that he may give him an account of certain matters which would be too long to write, but which are necessary for the forwarding and conclusion of my latest overtures, respecting which I am most anxious to have a decision one way or the other. If they are not to be successful I have decided to seek, by any means and under any condition, permission to retire to some place of repose, where I may pass the rest of my days with greater freedom of conscience, instead of still wasting myself fruitlessly here. I pray therefore that you will aid the said Fontenay with letters of recommendation, both to my good brother the Catholic King, and to Cardinal de Granvelle, Señor Idiaquez, and others; which letters please send to M. Englefield direct, for him to deliver to Fontenay when he arrives. I should have wished him to have been able on his way through London to confer with you on the whole matter, but these times are full of distrust in consequent of the recent occurrences in Scotland, and I dare not address him to you, in order to avoid trouble to either of you. You may, on my authority, pledge yourself for his entire fidelity, to whomever you may introduce him. No matter what be the nature of the task confided to him, he will do it faithfully in the interest of religion in general.

I hope as soon as you may receive news from Spain you will let me know. Do not trouble youself about that Archibald Douglas who was recently arrested by Walsingham. He has been a great mischief-maker in times past, and this will divert him from all secret understandings and agreements with Walsingham.*—12th October 1582.

* Castelnau, writing to Henry III., 17th January 1583 (Harl. 1582, fol. 324), says Douglas has asked him to lend him 1,000 crowns, "as do several others here whom I "have diverted from the Spanish party . . . . He is a man of quality and great "service, who has refused a pension of 2,000 crowns from the queen of England, and "is so competent that I can refuse him nothing in my power." The subsequent behaviour of Douglas, who was one of Darnley's murderers, proved that the Queen's distrust of him was well-founded. *See* his correspondence in the Hatfield State Papers (Hist. MSS. Com. Part III.).

1582.

1 Nov. **288.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K 1447 . 177.

Your last letter of 8th September brought a full account of the imprisonment of the king of Scotland, and a letter from his mother to you, as well as the instructions taken by Lord Cary* and the triumph and pride of the queen of England at the affair. It is a great pity the business has had such a downfall, just as it seemed going so prosperously, but not much decidedly can be said about it until we see how it all ends, and I leave for another letter the detailed answer on this and other subjects. This letter is mainly to assure you of my regret that your indisposition has gone so far and that you are suffering so much from your eyes. I will therefore very shortly send you the permission you seek to take your leave. In the meanwhile, however, even if I did not enjoin you to do so, as I do, I am sure you will exercise your usual diligence in all that concerns my service, and keep me well informed of all that passes there. As it is very important that I should know about the ships being fitted out in Holland and Zeeland for Don Antonio, you will have very minute inquiries made on the point, both as to the burden of the ships, their character, their ordnance, their stores and victuals; and also what troops are to be shipped, who is paying for them, and all other particulars you can learn, for my information.—Lisbon, 1st November 1582.

1 Nov. **289.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After I had written the enclosed two letters, news has arrived from Scotland confirming what Foster, the Warden of the Border, wrote to the Queen, saying that sixteen of the principal Lords and Barons had met and demanded to know whether the King was a prisoner or not. When this came to the knowledge of the conspirators who were detaining him, they sent persons to confer with them and with the duke of Lennox. The latter has sent to request this Queen to grant him a passport for himself and eight horsemen to pass through England to France; which I am told she would be very glad to grant if she were sure he would use it.

I can only imagine that he is requesting it in order to keep her in hand, because, although the Queen has ordered one of her armed ships to go from Ireland towards the castle of Dumbarton, to capture him if he goes by sea, there is no reason for him to be alarmed if he is decided to go to France. So far as can be judged the position of affairs in Scotland will not force him to go, since so many lords are demanding that the King should be set at liberty. This Queen is informed that the king of France has sent a gentleman to the king of Scotland, with orders to address him as King. I am hourly expecting letters from Dr. Allen and the priest who went from Scotland, who will doubtless inform me the reason of this gentleman's going, which your Majesty will already have learnt from Juan Bautista de Tassis. A man whom I sent to Zeeland

* Sir George Cary, son of Elizabeth's cousin, Lord Hunsdon.

1582.

has at this moment returned. He tells me that the sailors are already being dismissed from the ships, which were being armed there, and only one vessel will sail, of 150 tons, under the Piedmontese Captain Lucchese, a great pirate and heretic, who serves Orange. He says he is going to seize some booty to reimburse him for the cost of fitting out the ships. Three of these vessels were at Ramequin and the others in the port of Flushing, without spars or sails.—London, 1st November 1582.

1 Nov. **290.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

M. de Fontenay, the Grand Chancellor of the queen of Scotland, is leaving for the purpose of giving your Majesty a verbal account of certain matters with which I have acquainted him. The queen of England gave him permission to see his mistress, and I humbly beg your Majesty to receive him and give him credence, as his mistress informs me that he is a person in whom the fullest confidence may be placed.*—London, 1st November 1582.

1 Nov. **291.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have received your Majesty's orders to communicate to the prince of Parma the plots that are being hatched here against the Netherlands. I continue to do so with all possible minuteness, but I am unable to maintain these people in the humour your Majesty desires, as they are obdurate in their determination that I shall not have audience of the Queen; and I cannot request an audience after having received the reply which I conveyed to your Majesty on the 15th and 21st May, to the effect that until you had given her satisfaction about Ireland she could not receive me, out of consideration for her own honour, since I was your Majesty's Minister. I have tried every possible means, overt and covert, to get into relations with the Queen's Ministers, but they fly from me as if I were a rebel subject of hers, and things have reached such a point now that no one will speak to me or even to my servants, as Don Juan de Idiaquez will have informed your Majesty. The only way, therefore, in which I can serve your Majesty here is to communicate the information I receive from my second confidant,† as I have not heard a word from the first‡ for the last eight months. I should have lost the second if I had not cast myself at his feet and begged him not to leave Court, and gave him 500 crowns, with a promise of 1,000 crowns a year pension, which he accepted, although he said that when I went away he could not well correspond with any one else, and must relinquish the pension when he could do nothing for it. I can assure your Majesty that he is extremely zealous and gives me twice a week the most confidential and minute account of all that happens. He may therefore be dealt with in the manner I recommended, and your

* *See* letter from queen Mary to Mendoza, 12th October, page 404.
† Lord Henry Howard.
‡ Sir James Crofts.

1582.

Majesty commanded, and I have intimated the same to him, but I gather that he accepted the offer chiefly in order that your Majesty should bear him in mind in view of what may occur in England rather than for immediate personal gain. The first confidant must again make himself useful for some years before your Majesty can be expected to make him another grant, since he is so very silent now. I understand that his reticence is caused by Leicester, who has quite terrified him.

I have written what your Majesty orders to the queen of Scotland, and have received from her the letter I enclose.* I write to her to say that I am sending to Madrid the letters she requests. The priest who went from Scotland to France is now in Paris. He is a prudent and sensible man, and sends to say that Hercules† and the queen of Scotland's ambassador blame Lennox for being so unprepared after the constant warnings they had given him of the need for vigilance.

The duke of Lennox embarked for France by order of the King, but, whether in consequence of bad weather or by his own wish, he returned to Dumbarton, where he was joined by the principal people of the country. When the conspirators learnt this they again compelled the King to order him to leave the country. The King did so, but as he wrote in the letter that he still looked upon him as his good friend, the conspirators themselves and Robert Bowes the ambassador tell this Queen that they are not by any means sure whether he, Lennox, will go, and if she wishes the King still to be retained she must send money to pay 100 horse and 300 foot. She also hears from them that Lennox is bringing pressure to bear upon his friends in France, but that nothing will be decided there until she makes up her mind about her marriage. Robert (Bowes) tells her that the conspirators would not agree to the King's going to England, nor to what she requested about his person, which is thought to mean poisoning him.

The conspirators had arrested George Douglas, who contrived the escape of the Queen from prison,‡ and at the request of this Queen they had tortured him, to extract from him the mission upon which he had been sent by the King to the king of France and the duke of Guise, and the answer he brought back. Robert (Bowes) was also pressing for the prosecution and beheading of the earl of Arran, but it was uncertain whether it would be done. They also report that on the 13th the King wished to ride into the country, and asked them to let him mount one of the horses which had been sent to him by the duke of Guise. They refused him, whereupon he flew into a great rage, and said he would issue a proclamation saying that they were keeping him prisoner, and would call his people to release him. When Lord Ruthven heard this he had a pony brought for him, and the King said he would reward him for it some day. I understand that when Walsingham

* *See* letter of 12th October, page 404.
† The duke of Guise.
‡ From Lochlevin, 2nd May 1568.

1582.

related this to another Councillor, he said that matters there would soon come to an issue, either the conspirators would poison the King or he would escape and they would lose their heads.

Since the arrival of this intelligence the Queen has received advice from Foster,* one of the Wardens of the Border, saying that the conspirators would have come to terms with D'Aubigny, but for the ministers who had prevented it. The French ambassador has received through France a letter from the king of Scotland for his mother, thanking her for the act of association, which he accepts, and looks upon himself as her lieutenant, bound to use his new powers the better to be able to release her, which he says he will attempt even at the risk of his own life. He says he will give her no account of his present position in order to save her pain. It would seem from this and the ambassador's words that the king of France either has addressed or will address him as King.

It appears that the conspirators in Scotland are largely outnumbered by their opponents, and people who are best able to judge of the matter say that the reason no demonstration is made is to avoid giving this Queen an excuse for interfering by force in favour of the conspirators, which would turn the scale and make the conspirators the stronger party. They are also afraid of driving the conspirators to desperation, which might force them to kill the King and upset everything. Parliament there had been prorogued until the 1st January, as the conspirators had refused to summon it. Catholics here tell me that although they are assured by your Majesty's gracious message through me that your Majesty favoured their desire for an English Cardinal to be appointed, the Scotch revolution was bringing home to them strongly the inconvenience of there being no leader or head for them to look to here, and they therefore wished again to approach your Majesty through me, to beg that you would not lose sight of their petition, but would forward the selection of some such person as they desire, as it would be a great alleviation to the persecution with which they are afflicted. I see that not they alone, but even the Protestant adherents of the queen of Scotland are much confused, as they cannot correspond with her, and her son is a prisoner. They are badly in want of a head to whom they could look, and with whom they might take counsel as to the best means of saving the life of the mother and son. They also beg me most earnestly to convey the same to the Pope. I have written to Count de Olivares about it.—London, 1st November 1582.

1 Nov. **292.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 17th ultimo the reply that this Queen had given to the French ambassador. Since then nothing fresh in the matter has happened, except that when Hatton asked her how she meant to get out of it, if the king of France sent the signed document she requested, she answered that she would do so with words, which were the best

* Sir John Foster, warden of the Marches.

1582.

current coin amongst Frenchmen, and that when a campaign was long and hotly contested, the soldiers could always find some means of slipping away. When Hatton related this to a friend of his, he said that he had never had any fear of the marriage but once, when the Queen had given Alençon the ring; but even then, after he had spoken to the Queen, he said, he was reassured. Cobham in his last letters assures her that the king of France was resolved to help his brother energetically to maintain himself in the Netherlands. He had sent two wagon-loads of money to Cambrai for the purpose. The Guises were much dissatisfied by the Queen-mother's negotiations with Alençon, although she pretended to wish to conciliate them. But notwithstanding this, she said that she would never trust them nor cease to strive to avenge herself upon your Majesty, for which reason she was urging the King hotly to break with your Majesty altogether.

Lord Willoughby* who went to Denmark says that one of the points of his instructions was to ask the king of Denmark on no account to ally himself with your Majesty, or do anything which might bring about the retirement of Alençon from the Netherlands. He was also to be urged not to allow any ships or artillery to be brought out through the Sound for your Majesty's service. He has agreed to their requests, and engages to take the part of this Queen against all the princes in the world.

Don Antonio has been aided in the way I described in my last. When Leicester and Walsingham again pressed the Queen, on behalf of Don Antonio's factor and the man from Terceira, to help him with money, she replied that when the forces which were to go to his aid had been got together, she would assist by giving him money and ships.

I understand that the ships that are to go to Terceira with men and stores have not yet sailed, and in consequence of the last news received, Leicester is having some wheat shipped in them. I learn that four other ships are leaving Havre de Grace and Honfleur with stores and provisions for Terceira.

The fleet being fitted out in Flushing and the Sluys is being paid for by the rebel States, which have bought some of the ships of the owners on the pretence that the cost is being defrayed out of the dues imposed by Don Antonio. I understand that the affair is proceeding very slowly lately, and there was a lack of sailors. Pedro de Oro, who was the Consul of the French at Lisbon, had returned to Antwerp, where he was ill. He said that when these ships left they would go to France to embark infantry.

* This was the famous Peregrine Bertie Lord Willoughby D'Eresby, son of the duchess of Suffolk, widow of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolk, and Baroness Willoughby D'Eresby in her own right, by her second husband Francis Bertie. The mother of the Duchess had been Doña Maria Sarmiento de Salinas, the favourite lady of Katharine of Aragon. In a letter from Castelnau to Henry III., dated 25th June 1582, he mentions that Lord Willoughby was to start in the following week on an embassy to Henry of Navarre. His visit to Denmark, whence he was to go in May, must have been short, or Castelnau must have been mistaken.

1582.

An English gentleman* who owned the largest of the ships that went to the Moluccas has fitted out another, which he has despatched to Newfoundland, where it has committed the damage which is set forth in the enclosed paper in Portuguese.† I heard of it through the arrival of another ship of his here, and addressed the Council on the subject. Walsingham replied that the gentleman in question had suffered some injury in Spain, so that no surprise need be felt that he should seek satisfaction and revenge. His grievance was, that the large ship that has now gone to the Moluccas was at Cadiz two years ago and did not wish to enter the port. The mayor of the town gave orders that she should either enter port or go away, as she had more the appearance of a pirate than of a merchant vessel. The captain refused and the galleys were informed of it, whereupon he set sail and returned to England, and one of his men who was on shore at the time was therefore detained in Spain. He has in revenge captured the property set forth in the document enclosed, and the English affirm that in addition to this he had captured the fish from eighteen other vessels belonging to your Majesty's subjects engaged in the fisheries, which he himself does not deny. He claims to have licenses from the duke of Alençon, the prince of Orange, and Don Antonio, and signifies also that he has authority from some of the members of the Council. I am trying to elucidate this, but it is quite hopeless to expect the restitution of the property they have brought hither, seeing the answer given by Walsingham on behalf of the Council, although I have advised the consuls of the Portuguese in Antwerp to send powers and claim the goods.—London, 1st November 1582.

10 Nov. **293.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The French ambassador has received a reply from his master to the communication sent by the Queen. He writes that her fresh demand was quite different from the arrangement made with the commissioners. She then only required that she and her country should be relieved of the cost of the war in the Netherlands; whereas she now demanded not this alone, but that the king of France should take it entirely on his own shoulders, which made it not one demand but two. He said he could not on any account

* This was Henry Ughtred, owner of the galleon "Ughtred" of 400 tons burden (subsequently christened the "Leicester"), which sailed as flag ship under Captain Edward Fenton to the South Seas, accompanied by the ship "Edward Bonaventure." The principal adventurers in the voyage were Leicester for 2,200*l.*, Ughtred for 800*l.*, and Drake for 663*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Both of the above vessels were subsequently engaged against the Armada. As will be seen in the letter of 4th May in this Calendar, Fenton seems to have surrendered the command of the South Sea expedition to Winter, but I can find no confirmation of this; the "Bonaventure" was commanded by Luke Ward.

† This document, in which Francisco Hernandez of Viana petitions the Council for restitution of the plunder captured by Ughtred's ship, will be found in the Domestic State Papers at the Record Office, Vol. CIXV. It is accompanied by Ughtred's answer, detailing the treatment to which his ship had been subjected at Cadiz. Ughtred had complained to the Council in May 1582 of the losses he had suffered at the hands of the Spaniards in Spain and the Indies. *See* Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, of the date.

1582.

accede to it, as he would have in such case to openly avow himself, and help his brother in the Netherlands undisguisedly; instead of, as now, doing so with all possible artifice. She wanted him to break with your Majesty before the marriage took place, and before the perpetual alliance which was to be made between France and England was signed. The King, moreover, wished that the aid he was to give to his brother in the Netherlands should be purely voluntary on his part, and not to be imposed upon him as a matter of obligation, which it would be if he agreed to relieve the Queen of all responsibility and took the war on his own shoulders. For these reasons the King could not agree to the Queen's new demands, although, in accordance with what had formerly been settled, to the effect that she should be relieved of the cost of the war when she married Alençon, he sent her signed and sealed the document as formerly requested by her. It came in the form of a parchment, countersigned by Pinart, and with the great seal of France appended. I have this from a person who has read it and also the letter sent by the King to the ambassador, at the end of which were words to the effect that if the Queen was not satisfied with this she must be temporised with for the present. The rest was in cipher which my informant could not understand.

I can only imagine that when they say "temporise for the present" they must mean until they can get some money from her, unless the king of France means to propose some terms for an agreement with your Majesty, as was done before. My reasons for this belief are that, at a meeting held recently three leagues from the Court, between the French ambassador, Marchaumont, and Bacqueville, they unanimously agreed that it was absolutely necessary, in order to obtain some money from the Queen, that they should blame her very strongly for the discredit she was bringing upon Alençon by not marrying him in the face of this new document. Marchaumont told one of the Ministers, directly he arrived, that Alençon had collected 25,000 men in the Netherlands, and they must now consider how they were to be paid and the war carried on.

The French ambassador went to the Court with his despatch on the 4th in the afternoon, and immediately he arrived he and Marchaumont gave notice to the earl of Leicester, saying they wished to see him. He replied that he would come and visit them at once in Marchaumont's apartments. The three of them were together there for an hour and a half, and the Frenchmen told Leicester that the object of the despatch was to get the Queen to resolve promptly, as was fitting, either to marry or to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with France against your Majesty. Leicester agreed with this, and advised them to press the Queen warmly upon it. He promised also to speak to her the next day, but he failed to do so, and went 30 miles away from the Court, to the annoyance of the ambassadors, who say that the Queen's move is to get them to break with your Majesty, whilst she remains neutral, instead of declaring war jointly with the French.

The ambassador is still at Court, and as soon as he returns, and I learn the reply he brings, I will report to your Majesty. I

1582.

understand that the ambassador wrote to the King, saying that it was of the greatest importance that no person should be sent to Scotland excepting through this country, as otherwise it would make the Queen very jealous. This has caused them to detain the man who was going,* and was already on the road, and they have instructed M. de la Mothe Fénélon, who was formerly ambassador here and in Scotland, to make ready for the journey through England as soon as he recovers from a fever from which he is suffering.

Cobham writes that immediately after the king of France returned to Paris he had Salcedo again examined in his presence.† He retracted the deposition he had made at Bruges; but in letters since received Cobham says that he had subsequently been informed on good authority that this news had been concocted by the King in order to pacify the Guises, who he fears might make a demonstration, as they have in the neighbourhood of Paris 2,000 horsemen attached to them. He had therefore taken the aforementioned step, and had recalled Marshal de Biron from the frontier in order to have an experienced soldier at his side if the Guises should raise a disturbance. A member of the King's Council writes to the French ambassador saying, that if he dared to trust the messenger he would write him a terrible account of the treasons hatched in Spain and confessed by Salcedo. The Lord Chamberlain Sussex is consumptive, and cannot attend to business, and I hear that the Treasurer told the Queen she must choose two more councillors in his place, but they must belong to his party, because now that Sussex is away it is impossible to oppose Leicester and his gang.—London, 10th November 1582.

10 Nov. **294. Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.**

In one of my former letters I related that the Scots lords had met and demanded to know whether the King was a prisoner or not. They came to the Court and convened a meeting of nobles, as they call it, those who are in favour of the duke (of Lennox) proposing that the King should be set free. The heads of the conspirators, Lords Ruthven and Mar, replied that the King was,

* François de Roncherolles, sieur de Maineville, who was subsequently associated with La Mothe Fénélon in his embassy, but went direct to Scotland by sea whilst La Mothe passed through England. Maineville was an ardent follower of the Guises, whilst La Mothe, like Castelnau, was a man of moderate views, who subsequently followed Henry of Navarre.

† Captain Salcedo, a Spaniard, had distinguished himself at the relief of Cambrai, and thus obtained access to the persons of Orange and Alençon. A plot was discovered for the assassination of both princes, in which Salcedo, Baza, and the count of Egmont, were concerned. Salcedo, under torture at Bruges, had confessed that the murder had been instigated by the prince of Parma, the Guises, and the Pope (Gregory XIII.). Henry III., fearing that these confessions might force him to break with Spain, sent Bellièvre to Flanders to interrogate Salcedo and bring him to France. Henry was persuaded to listen behind a screen to the avowals that the rack might wring from Salcedo. The tortured wretch repeated his Bruges confessions, and the King was so horrified that he said that he would rather have lost a part of his kingdom than have heard what he did. The confession was ordered to be destroyed, and Salcedo was quartered in the Place de la Grève in the presence of Henry, who sent the head to his brother in Antwerp.—(*See* "Cimber and Danjou's Archives Curieuses.")

1582.

as he always had been, at liberty. Lord Herries thereupon said that, if such were the case, it would be advisable that they should leave the Chamber and the King be allowed to say what he liked. They (the conspirators) then made a movement as if to leave the chamber, but the King called them back and smilingly said: "There is no need for you to depart, whilst I admit that all you "have done has been with my great goodwill and for my honour "and security, and therefore," he continued, still laughing, "these "lords may approve of it as well done." After this the King proposed that they should all consider the question of his marriage. The matter, however, was not discussed, but referred with other affairs to the Parliament.

The duke of Lennox has gone from the castle of Dumbarton to the neighbouring castle of Rothsay on the west coast of Scotland, of which the governor is a member of the house of Stuart, who is making much of Lennox and the earls of Huntly and Argyll, who are with him, together with other lords and gentlemen. It may be gathered from this that he has taken refuge there by the King's desire, as indeed the conspirators themselves affirm. This Queen has sent to the latter to tell them to retain the King as they have done hitherto, and in reply to their request for help to increase the King's guard, she asks them to consider whether it will be better to keep the former guard, whom she would pay, or for her to send cavalry and infantry from Berwick. She leaves the decision to them, and has sent orders to Berwick for the troops to go if they request them. She has also granted a passport to the duke of Lennox, and promises him good treatment on his journey through. They have been lately discussing here the affairs of Ireland, and, in view of the evil methods adopted by Lord Grey and his officers to punish the past disorders, and for the purpose of mollifying the Irish, who are much offended at the multitude of abuses which have taken place, the Queen has appointed four Commissioners to inquire into the matter, and in the meanwhile to administer the government of the island.* Those who are to go from here are James Crofts, Controller of the Household, and the earl of Ormond, who have to choose the other two from the Irishmen who are there. These Commissioners are instructed to use every effort to bring Desmond to submission, and in order that it may not appear that they are moved by fear to approach him with terms of settlement, the Queen has ordered 3,000 fresh soldiers to be sent over. It is understood that when the work of the commission is ended James Crofts will remain as Viceroy.

Two ships which I mentioned as being fitted out to go to the

* Lord Grey had been recalled in the previous August in consequence of the constant representations made to the Queen by his enemies of his severity. Cox (Ireland) says, "This good deputy, by contrivance of the rebels, was represented at the Court of "England as a bloody man that regarded not the lives of the subjects any more than "the lives of dogs, but had tyrannised with that barbarity that there was little left for "the Queen to reign over but carcasses and ashes." Edmund Spencer, who was Lord Grey's secretary during his Viceroyalty, ably defends his master in his "View of the State of Ireland," but Grey remained in disgrace with the Queen for some time after his return.

1582.

coast of Brazil with merchandise have now been joined by others, and they were all ready to sail some time ago in Plymouth. They are the "Primrose" of London, 300 tons, the "Mignon" of 180, the barque "Hastings" of 100, a flyboat of 160, two vessels belonging to Francis Drake of 100 tons each, a pinnace of 80, and two little long boats of 12 oars a side, which are taken to pieces and stowed on board the ships. The intention is to plunder what they can get, and, if possible, to touch at the same island of San Thomé, sailing thence to the Moluccas. The commander of the expedition is William Hawkins, brother of John Hawkins the former pirate. There is another ship in the river ready to sail, called the "Susannah," of London, master John Pearie, which is going to Constantinople. The Queen is sending a grand present of cochineal* and other things to the Turk with letters, the purport of which I have been unable to learn, except that it is prejudicial to your Majesty's interests. If, therefore, the ship should touch in any of your Majesty's ports, it would be well to seize her papers and prevent her from making the voyage.

From Terceira there has arrived here a ship belonging to one Chester,† which had been fitted out under letters of marque from Don Antonio by the merchants trading with Spain. They say here that her booty is valuable, but they have not yet decided to land it as they think of taking it to Flushing. The ships which were being fitted out in the latter place, the crews of which had left them, will not sail till the spring. They have much stores and munitions on board and four or five sailors to guard them.—London, 10th November 1582.

15 Nov. **295.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I received news to-day of the arrival on the 11th at Southampton, in an English ship which left Terceira with Don Antonio, of the persons whose names are set forth in the enclosed memorandum. The rector of the Company of Jesus sent me advice of their arrival by Francisco de Henao, who reports that, as soon as the English ship-master found himself separated from Don Antonio's fleet, he forced all the Portuguese who were on board to sign an undertaking to pay him 13,000 ducats within so many days after their arrival in England, and in case of non-fulfilment of the same, to pay 8,000 ducats additional. When the rector and the other Jesuits arrived at Southampton, they were examined by the officers of justice. I have sent a report of their arrival to the Council, and asked for permission for them to come hither, and that passports may be given to them enabling them to go to Portugal, whither I will try to have them sent immediately.

This Francisco de Henao is a man of medium stature, dark, with a sparse black beard. He tells me that he has been thrice to Terceira with letters from your Majesty, and that the marquis of Santa Cruz had recently left him at St. Michael's with instructions

* "Grana," which may refer to the dye itself, or to cloth dyed red with it.
† Probably Captain Richard Chester, of the "Prudence" of Leigh.

1582.

to proceed to Terceira to take certain action; and he had accordingly brought over to your Majesty's interests the constable of the castle of St. Sebastian, whose name is something Fraile, and who has charge of the whole of the artillery. He had many secret meetings with him at Santa Catalina, and had given him 156 cruzados, in return for which he had pledged himself in writing not to load his cannon with ball on the approach of your Majesty's fleet. Henao says that he had to throw this paper and many others into the sea, in order to avoid their being discovered by the English. He also arranged with the constable that when your Majesty's fleet approached he would have ready 20 quintals of biscuit, and as much powder and other munitions as possible, to enable the fortress to hold out, and would mask the gate of the fortress with an earthwork. He also undertook in the event of the captain of the castle removing him, or insisting upon seeing whether the cannons were charged with ball or not, that he would take care that the pieces were not aimed at the fleet but over it. Henao had also won over the constable of the artillery in the fort of San Antonio, who is a shoemaker. He gave a written undertaking, signed by another man for him, as he could not write, not on any pretext to fire a cannon loaded with ball. He promised on the arrival of the fleet to try to kill the captain of the fort if opportunity offered. Henao says he gave this shoemaker seven *moyos** of wheat. He also gained to your Majesty's service a former Franciscan friar called Friar Melchor, who now dresses as a layman, and has charge of a rampart over the creek, where many troops may be landed, as it is in some places 11 fathoms deep, and is 5 fathoms deep close to the fort. This Friar Melchor gave him a document binding himself to surrender the rampart to any boat belonging to your Majesty that might arrive. He has there 13 cast-iron pieces, and his condition for the surrender is, that Henao should bring him a written pardon from your Majesty for his past offences, by the 1st April next, with knighthoods for the two artillerymen. Henao says that he went from St. Michael's to Santa Maria, where he knew there were some boats in the service of Don Antonio, with the intention of going over to Terceira in one of them. They were arrested by a large ship, and he and another Portuguese were taken before Don Antonio, who made minute inquiries of him respecting the state of affairs at St. Michael's, and the number of men remaining there. As they were more numerous than he had expected, he ordered that Henao and his companion should not be allowed to communicate with anyone that night, but should be confined in a room in his own house to prevent the intelligence getting wind. As the room was near that of Don Antonio, Henao heard him tell Diego Botello at night, that he could not return to England without taking with him money to pay his debts there, and there was not much safety for him in France. He said, therefore, that as soon as he arrived in France he must inform the Queen-mother of his need for money, sending her the pearls he

* An ancient Castilian measure equal to the almud.

1582.

had to smooth the way ; but if they (the French) received him coldly he would, as a last resource, go to Cape de Gue (?) and try to get help there offering to the queen of England the island of Terceira in payment. The next morning Don Antonio released the men, but ordered them, on pain of death, not to tell their news to anyone.

Henao begs me to send him to Lisbon to give an account of these things to your Majesty, as it is desirable that he should return to Terceira at the time agreed upon. Pending the opportunity of finding a boat to take him, I have thought well to give an account of what he tells me, and am sending this letter to overtake in the port the courier I despatched yesterday, who will be delayed by the weather. I have no further knowledge or assurance about this Henao than he himself gives me, and I do not give any further account of affairs in Terceira from his relation, as six Jesuit fathers who left Terceira in another English ship were put ashore at St. Ubes, and will have given your Majesty a trustworthy statement.—London, 15th November 1582.

15 Nov. **296.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

As I was about to hand the accompanying letter to the courier I learnt that the French ambassador had arrived from Court, and I have therefore delayed the despatch until I could learn what answer the Queen had given him. The ambassador made her a very long speech, and showed her the sealed document by which his master conceded the Queen's demands. She read it two or three times, and then began to express extreme astonishment that the King should refuse to take upon himself the whole cost of the war, as it was natural that he should desire the aggrandisement of his brother, although it would appear that he did not do so, considering the answer he had given her. The ambassador replied that, if the marriage did not take place, the King, his master, would be blamed by all the world for going even as far as he had done, and would be called an ambitious prince, but they would blame him much more if he gave way any further, and conceded her demands for the sole purpose of gaining for his brother a crown, which in a short time he would be obliged to relinquish.

The Queen again promised that, if the King would grant her conditions, she would immediately marry ; and asked the ambassador to expedite the matter with his master, and to write to Alençon to the same effect. When the ambassador pressed her to speak frankly, and give her final decision, in order that a firm and binding treaty might be concluded between the two crowns, against your Majesty, she became very angry, and said that if the marriage did not take place she was not so silly as ever to trust Frenchmen again, protesting with terrible oaths, and curses on herself if she did not marry directly the King accorded what she requested. She called the Treasurer, who was present, to witness her resolve, and the promise she made, and used such dreadful oaths that the ambassador says he shuddered to hear them. When Cecil was leaving the room he said to Lady Stafford, the mistress of the robes, that if the king of France agreed to the demands and the

1582.

Queen then refused the marriage, God would punish her by sending her to hell for the oaths she had taken.

As regards the treaty, the ambassador replied by referring to what Leicester had said on the point; whereupon the Queen said that, as the Earl did not wish for the marriage, he brought up the other question, which, however, could not be settled without the marriage. I understand that the ambassador says that this reply will entirely open the eyes of the King and his brother. Marchaumont says he will leave shortly. The Treasurer went the the other day, on the Queen's behalf, to request the ambassador to press his master for a prompt reply, and told him that he (Cecil) had advised the Queen not to marry, except on the condition named, in order to avoid a repetition to her of what happened to her sister when she married your Majesty; on which occasion the commissioners promised Parliament that England should be relieved of the cost of the war then being waged by the Emperor and your Majesty against the French, but the undertaking had not been fulfilled, owing to its not having been made in writing.

I send herewith a letter I have received from the queen of Scotland. I understand that by orders or prompting of this Queen (Elizabeth), the king of Scotland is to have a Council of 32 persons, eight peers, eight lairds, eight gentlemen, and eight ministers. The object of this is to give the conspirators the preponderance, as Lennox has on his side the greater part of the nobles.

I hear that the ships that were going to Terceira have returned to this coast through contrary wind, and that Don Antonio has sent to ask for two Englishmen here who are great adepts at coining false money, so that they may go and make some at Terceira. The Queen has again replied to his agent here who presses her for aid to the island, that as soon as she learns what the French are going to contribute she will consider what forces she may send.—London, 15th November 1582.

18 Nov. **297.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The Queen has given an order for the Portuguese who arrived from Terceira at Southampton to be allowed to come freely to London.* Some of them have arrived here, and tell me there are nearly a hundred of them, many being the principal people of the place, whom Don Antonio forced to embark and accompany him on his Madeira enterprise. The English ship in which they were, deserted him and came to this country, and I understand that, in addition to the sufferings they have undergone, they are in great want, as Don Antonio would not allow them to take anything with them but food, of which the Englishmen immediately despoiled them, as well as of their personal belongings, and treated them very badly. In your Majesty's interests, I am helping them as best I can, alleviating their hunger and nakedness, and furnishing

* In the King's hand: "I do not know whether the Jesuits are amongst them. Don "Cristobal (de Mora) told me some time ago that they had come hither, but I have "heard no more about it, and do not know whether it is true." It will be seen by the previous letter that some of the Jesuit priests had landed at St. Ubes in Portugal, and some had come in the other ship to Southampton.

1582.

medical aid to those who are sick. I will provide them with a safe ship and victuals for their voyage as soon as possible. The moment Walsingham heard of their arrival he sent secretly some of the Portuguese adherents of Don Antonio here to them to sound them.—London, 18th November 1582.

18 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1560. **298.** EXTRACT of a LETTER from the QUEEN OF SCOTLAND to her AMBASSADOR, dated 18th November 1582.

The duke of Lennox has written assuring me that, notwithstanding his detention, my son perseveres with the greatest constancy in his duty towards me. He favours as usual, but secretly, Lennox and all those who are on the right side, whilst he hates extremely Ruthven and the others who detain him. He is determined to escape from them by any possible means, as he had already attempted and was still planning to do. The duke of Lennox confirms what I had heard from various quarters, namely, that the conspirators were few in number and of much inferior strength to our side; so that, but for the fear he had hitherto entertained of imperilling the life of my son, he would already have collected an army and have frustrated the designs of the conspirators by force of arms. He was, however, dissembling, in order to give time for my son to escape to some place of safety; and with the object of throwing the others off their guard he was pretending to wish to retire to France. He is at present in the castle of Dumbarton or its neighbourhood, awaiting until he gets possession of my son or foreign troops arrive. A convention has been held at Lisleburg, in which the miserable traitors have made my son approve of their enterprise as having been undertaken for the security of his person and the welfare of the realm. Not content with this even, there having been very few nobles present at the convention, they have decided to summon Parliament by the end of next month, in order to get their treason ratified with greater solemnity. This is a plan of this Queen (Elizabeth), as I see by her own letters to my son, which she has not been ashamed to have shown to me. The further the conspirators go the weaker they become, as they can make no way with my son, and although he dexterously agrees with them, he does so only with the determination of escaping from their hands. In fear of this happening they have obtained from this Queen a guard of 200 English harquebussiers, who, they say, are already waiting at Berwick to cross the border as soon as they can persuade my son to accept them, which he has hitherto declined to do. He is consequently striving by every means to inform the Spanish ambassador resident there (in Paris), so that he may convey the above intelligence to the Catholic King, his master, and implore him in my name for his aid and favour, and for prompt support to the enterprise now in hand.

29 Nov. **299.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 18th I gave an account of the arrival here of some of the Portuguese who had come to Southampton, whom I had helped in a way to show them that, not only did your Majesty's power

1582.

reach the four quarters of the earth, but that your grandeur and liberality to an even greater extent pervaded every corner of it. I have thus sheltered them from the wrongs and injustice which were attempted against them in England, by reason of the ship-master having forced them, after they had been four days at sea, to ransom the 100 Portuguese on board for 14,000 crowns, under a regular deed of sale signed by all of them. I have maintained them and provided passage and victuals for the voyage on board of two Venetian vessels, but I have not spent more than was necessary to cover the nakedness of some of them and prevent them from dying of cold and hunger, or be driven to the other side by the need of begging of Englishmen from door to door. They arrived here without a *real*, as Don Antonio forbade them to take with them any money or valuables, under pain of death. The cost of this has been 120 crowns, without paying the expenses of the sick in Southampton, who are obliged to remain here, amongst whom is one Jesuit father, four having died. I told them, as they were all in the same case, I would give them a general letter for your Majesty, with a memorandum attached stating the particulars of each one. They were mostly not contented with this, but asked me for individual letters, which I have given to some of them. Those who are deserving of favour, by their merits and services, will already be known by the reports of your Majesty's officers and the statement of the Rector of the Jesuits, whilst proofs will exist of any judicial action or confiscations from which they may have suffered. In the case of Jorge Cabral, who was condemned for life to the galleys for the service he rendered your Majesty, in liberating the 22 Spaniards to go to St. Michael's to notify the departure of Don Antonio and his fleet from Terceira, he merits some signal favour. It is also most important that the people of the island should know of it, in order to encourage them to be faithful, and in consideration of his having risked his life. I did my best to detain the two Venetian ships, which were ready to sail, as they were well armed and large, and fit for the carriage of these people, and I avoided the objection to sending them by an English ship, which might have given them up to Don Antonio again, these Englishmen being very ill-disposed in the matter. This is proved by the fact that the moment it was known that these Portuguese were appealing to me, the enclosed document was fixed on the pillars of the Royal Exchange here, so that if I had not acted as I did, not only would they have been endangered, but the world would have judged that your Majesty's representative here was unable to send such people in safety to your dominions.

Amongst these Portuguese goes Cristobal Lemos de Faria, who was Captain of the fortress of St. Sebastian. He tells me that he had already sent Martin Yañez, a Biscayner, to tell your Majesty that the moment he was assured of the arrival of your Majesty's fleet, he would surrender the fortress, and he recently sent the same message to the Marquis of Santa Cruz by Colonel Hector. As he received notice that Don Antonio intended to withdraw him from the fortress at the request of Manuel de Silva, he saw that he

1582.

would be unable to surrender it, and therefore decided to leave the island, in order to arrange for its capture, which he says he can do with 20 soldiers.—London, 29th November 1582.

13 Dec. **300.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

When the conspirators (in Scotland) heard from the Queen to the effect which I wrote to your Majesty on the 10th ultimo, respecting the custody of the person of the King, they told the latter that it was necessary for him to be guarded by a force of horse and foot against his many enemies. He replied that he was much surprised to hear this, as a few months before he did not know he had an enemy in the country. They said his enemies were those who flattered him, under the pretext of urging him to govern absolutely, whilst they were really his mortal foes. He asked them to point out who they were, so that the law might punish them, and said, if they did not do so, they would be failing in their duty as loyal subjects, and hiding the treason of the others. Lord Ruthven replied that their plots were not yet fully brought to light, but would shortly be so; he must, however, have a guard both for the safety of his own person, and for that of his Council, as otherwise they could hardly restrain the seditious spirits of certain persons, who, for ends of their own, would not endure so just and beneficial a government as the present. The King said that if he decided to follow this advice it would displease his subjects, as it would indicate distrust of them, in addition to which the revenues of Scotland would not support a half of the guard they mentioned. They then told him that the queen of England, who was so close a friend and kinswoman, would help him with a loan, whereupon he asked why he should burden his crown with debt in time of peace for the support of armed forces, without which his ancestors, and even he himself, had managed to live so long in quietude and repose. They concluded by pressing him to sign a certain order for this guard, but he stoutly refused to do so; protesting before them all that he would never accept a guard from the queen of England, in order that the world might not think that he was a prisoner. Last advices report that the earls of Glencairn and Mar were ill-friends, and it was feared that an outbreak would result, because, although the King had reconciled them, they still remained snarling. The conspirators had sent Lord Boyd to the duke of Lennox with an order for him to embark and leave the country instantly. He replied he would not do so until he learnt the reason for his expulsion, and had purged himself of the charges brought against him. At the same time he received a secret letter from the King, saying that if he loved him he was to prove it by not leaving Scotland.

The gentleman who, I wrote, had arrived in France from Scotland, travelled there in company with the man who had taken over the horses which the duke of Guise had presented to the King. The latter writes in his own hand to Guise, thanking him for the present and saying he doubted not that he would learn the state in which he was, and for the rest, he referred him to the bearer, who would make known his feelings and intentions. He (the messenger) says there is

1582.

no doubt that, if the King be succoured he will recall Lennox to his former position and punish the conspirators, but if this cannot be done soon, it would not be bad for Lennox to leave the country, confiding the custody of Dumbarton Castle to one of his own kin. The King might then summon parliament, and by the aid of his people escape from the hands of the conspirators. This Queen learns from the governors of Ireland that the Catholic insurgents had been reinforced, and had now a select force of infantry and 300 horse, the best ever seen in the island, who had roughly treated the conspirators in a garrison and had declared that aid from his Holiness would shortly arrive. This news has caused the Queen to push forward the levy of the 3,000 infantry I mentioned, and she has also ordered the earl of Ormond to start for Ireland at once. Lord Grey has been relieved of the government, and the Treasurer told him, in the Queen's presence, that in the time of Henry VIII. he would have paid with his head for what he had done, for, not only had he squandered the Queen's treasure, but had destroyed the soldiery and entirely alienated the Irish from England.—London, 13th December 1582.

13 Dec. **301.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

By the Portuguese from Terceira, most of whom had embarked, I wrote to your Majesty on the 29th ultimo. With regard to your Majesty's orders of 1st November that I should report respecting the arming of ships in Holland and Zeeland, I have already written that the affair has ended in smoke. I have recently heard that the stores and victuals have now been taken out of the ships, and that two of the latter at Texel, after they were discharged, had gone with the other sloops to Spain for salt, there being no rumour of an armed fleet. I have a special man both in Zeeland and at the Sluys to keep me well posted on the points of which your Majesty desires to be informed.

The Queen has written to her ambassador Cobham, instructing him to make himself acquainted with the disposition of the king of France with regard to the second condition she had proposed for the marriage, and also what security she was to have for the money she had advanced to Alençon. The King replied to the first point, that the Queen was only seeking pretexts to avoid the marriage, and he could go no further in the matter, or the world would laugh at him and his brother. As to the second question, he said that, as Alençon had embarked in the Netherlands enterprise entirely on her account and at her instance, and had spent therein ten times as much money as she had given him, she had no reason to expect any further security for the money than his brother's sincerity and goodwill, of which he had so often given proofs.

M. de la Mothe Fénélon arrived here on the 29th ultimo, and the moment Walsingham heard of it in one of his own houses, he started for the Court in a great fright. The earl of Ormond was with the Treasurer when the latter received the letter announcing the arrival, and Ormond says he was much upset at the news. When Ormond remarked that La Mothe's journey to Scotland could bode no good for the Queen, Cecil replied that when new friends

1582.

failed they must embrace the old ones again, and the dance would end without fear of strife. I understand that M. de la Mothe's mission consists mainly of two points, which have been conveyed to me by a confidant of his. First, to conclude, one way or the other, the long-drawn-out marriage negotiation by telling the Queen clearly that the king of France will pledge himself no further than he has already done in the document he sent. If the Queen is not satisfied with this she may seek a husband where she will, and will perhaps repent of it yet; but if notwithstanding this she chooses to effect the marriage with his brother, he will conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with her against any prince. The responsibility for breaking off the marriage must rest upon her, and, if it do not take place, he and his brother will be free to choose their own course. The second point refers to Scotland, and is in the same spirit. He is to tell the Queen that, if she do not cease to foster trouble and dissension in Scotland, holding the King prisoner in the hands of his own subjects, who had already taken the crown from his mother for their own ends alone, he, the king of France, as an old ally and kinsman of the crown of Scotland, would endeavour to prevent the success of her designs for the sake of his own reputation and that of all Christian princes, who were deeply interested in stopping so dangerous and evil a thing as the imprisonment of a king by his vassals. He is to assure her that if she persists in so unjust a course as this, he will aid the king of Scotland with all his might to punish his subjects; and he marvels much what can be her object in thus trying to ruin a king, and her own kinsman, who has never done her any harm. He advises her also not to furnish an occasion for the world to believe that all the evils that have befallen his mother have arisen and been guided by rancour and malice. If the Queen says that she has acted for the good of the Scottish King, La Mothe is to reply that an act whereby a friend is placed in peril of his life, liberty, and crown cannot be looked upon as a proof of affectionate solicitude for his welfare. If she refuses to give him permission to proceed on his embassy to Scotland, he will try other means elsewhere to get there, and would prevent the continuance of the sedition which is causing the ruin of the King and country. He would clear up the aims of the conspirators, who under the shadow of this Queen were bent upon destroying both mother and son, with the object of afterwards elevating a sovereign of their own making.*

* It is asserted by Duplessis-Mornay (Mémoires) that De Maineville, who was La Mothe's associate in the embassy, took separate instructions from the Guises to prepare for a Spanish descent upon Scotland. De Maineville's public instructions, which are preserved in the archives of the D'Esneval family, do not differ materially from those of La Mothe, published as an appendix to Robertson's "History of Scotland"; and Henry III. specially instructed Castelnau to inform Elizabeth "que c'est une "chose du tout contraire à la verité de dire que le sieur de Meyneville eust une seconde "et particulière secrette instruction" (Bibliothèque Nationale, Bethune, No. 8811). The papers in the present Calendar, however, seem to favour the idea that Maineville may have been sent by the Guises for the purpose of forwarding the plans of the Spanish party in Scotland, which we now know were in progress unknown to the king of France.

1582.

He is also to ask permission to visit the queen of Scotland on his way, but he is not to press this point very warmly, in consequence of the letters the queen of Scotland has written to the king of France through her ambassador. When he arrives in Scotland he is to endeavour to elucidate past events, and thereafter take the most desirable course in view of the same, bearing in mind that, if any fault is attributable to the King, it should be laid to his tender age, and if his subjects should have offended, he is to intercede for them. Finally, he is to use every effort to get the King restored to full liberty, without which the king of France will make no conditions whatever.

If any of the Scotch lords urge that Lennox should leave the country, La Mothe is to inquire into the reasons for this, and if he finds him blameless, he is to try for him to remain, if not as a Scot, then as a Frenchman and his subject and ambassador. He (La Mothe) is on no account to leave Scotland until the King (of Scots) is in a position to choose any adviser he may wish. If, as may be suspected, the conspirators, at the instance of this Queen, refuse La Mothe a safe-conduct to enter the country, and persist in this course, he is to warn them against what they are doing, as the king of France will not allow them to oppress their King, but will punish such disrespect more promptly than they expect. The confidant asked La Mothe how the King intended to do this, and he said he would immediately send the duke of Guise or Mayenne to Scotland with 5,000 foot soldiers; the duke of Lorraine having offered, if necessary, to conduct the expedition in person, in order that people may not think that the failure to undertake so necessary a task arose from any want of valour. I am given to understand from other sources as well that the above is the exact mission confided to De la Mothe; but although he may be instructed to use such words, I see no manifest signs that the French will back them up with deeds, but that the real object is to comply in appearance with the Pope and the queen of Scotland in face of the world, whilst under cover of this they frighten this Queen into giving money to Alençon to maintain himself in the Netherlands. I am led to this opinion by the fact that the king of France shortly before had instructed his ambassador here to speak to the Queen about Scotch affairs to the same effect as La Mothe is instructed to do, but the ambassador begged to be allowed to defer it until a better opportunity, in order that the Queen might not be angry with him, and therefore fail to send to Alençon the rest of the money she had promised. The ambassador was under the impression, when he wrote this, that the King would agree, and would delay La Mothe's departure, but the latter had already left. The queen of Scotland heard of it, and wrote to the ambassador, complaining that solely in Alencon's interest he should obstruct a step so advantageous to the crown of France.

The Queen and her Ministers show no present indications of a desire to seek your Majesty, all their talk in that direction hitherto being only for the purpose of influencing the French, but they would certainly do so earnestly if their friends in France saw any

1582.

intention on the part of the King to open his arms to Scotch affairs. I thought, on the occasion of La Mothe's arrival, to draw them out somewhat, and make them seek me, in the fear that I might withdraw from the country; and the moment I received your Majesty's despatch I published that, in consequence of my indisposition, your Majesty had promised to give me leave. But they did not move a hair, and from this and the action of the French ambassador, I can only conclude that the French are merely using the Scotch business as a lever to compel the Queen to help Alençon, and the Queen-mother's tricks, whilst this Queen is holding off as long as possible, so as to keep her money, and at the same time to settle affairs in Scotland to her own liking. She will then be able to continue to disturb your Majesty by helping the rebels, upon which course she bases her own tranquillity. I understand that M. de la Mothe brings four blank grants of pensions from the king of France, two of 2,000 crowns, one of 1,000, and one of 500. With the two largest they will tempt Lord Hunsdon and James Crofts the controller, who are needy persons, and the 1,000 crowns pension they have offered to my second confidant,* who has refused it, saying that there is no need for resorting to such means to pledge him to French interests. He says this, in order not to break off his communications with the French, which enable him to give me minute accounts of everything they do, without anyone dreaming of such a thing, as he never asks for any information from me, except after your Majesty's health.

As soon as La Mothe arrived the Queen sent to ask him to come to Court, saying that he must stay a week with her, this being another trick to give her time in Scotland, whither she instantly sent a courier.

Marchaumont presses the Queen warmly to allow him to leave. He is offended with his master for not paying him his expenses here, or sending money for his maintenance. I am told that he is in closer correspondence with the King than with Alençon, and that quite recently Montpensier, the Prince Dauphin, who is now duke of Montmorenci, complained that at a banquet here Alençon had said that the king of France was siding with the house of Guise against the princes of France. The King told him to be careful in future what he said, and not stir up evil humours. Servants of the duke of Medina Sidonia in San Lucar and Cadiz wrote hither a month ago that the Duke had had 10,000 men ready to go over by your Majesty's orders to take possession of Larache.† The Queen hearing of this sent Jan Sympcote‡ a week ago with letters to the Sheriff to prevent it, offering him such aid and munitions as he may require. This Sympcote is a merchant, a man of 55, of good constitution, and wears a grey beard. He takes in the ship a

* Lord Henry Howard.

† In the King's hand: Let Zayas send a copy of this to the Duke. If it be true let him tell his people not to write. See if this man can be caught.

‡ Jan Sympcote was an important Barbary merchant in London, of whom frequent mention is found in the English State Papers.

1582.

quantity of powder and some arms. The man who I said had gone to Constantinople is, I am told, to reside there, and the Queen gave him a service of silver plate for use and 1,000*l.* a year. He shipped his servants and household as if they were passengers, and left alone himself afterwards as a merchant's servant.—London, 13th December 1582.

16 Dec. **302.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I hear that La Mothe Fénélon has had an audience of the Queen. In addition to the two points upon which he was instructed to address her (which I described in my last) he asked the Queen to fulfil her promise, and state the number of ships and men with which she would assist the Queen-mother in the fleet she intended to raise. He also raised the point of the depredations of English pirates on Frenchmen. The Queen burst out, saying that under his professions of friendship the king of France was the greatest enemy she had, which was evident, as the Prince Dauphin and Marshal de Biron had been so long on the frontier, but had not entered Flanders; besides which she knew very well the negotiations that were going on between the king of France, your Majesty, and the Pope, about Scotch affairs, although she gave him (La Mothe) no particulars. The next day her Council met, and remained in conference from morning till night, deciding that La Mothe should be kept here on the excuse of discussing the marriage affair. On the 14th, accordingly, Walsingham went to tell La Mothe (who was with the ordinary ambassador) that the Queen desired nothing so much as to marry, and he might remain here until the matter was concluded. Both ambassadors replied that the negotiations must be carried on by the Queen and Alençon only, and that La Mothe had nothing whatever to do with them, as his mission was to go to Scotland. They had much *pro* and *con* on this, and the result of it has been that La Mothe has delayed his departure, and has not again pressed for leave to go.

When the Queen entered her privy chamber after La Mothe had gone, she said he used to be a lamb, but had now come back converted into a fox, though he might find he could not do his errand so easily as he thought.

I am informed that, as soon as the Queen learnt that the king of France intended to send her the document for which she had asked, she wrote him a letter in her own hand, saying that if he, the king of France, would declare war against your Majesty, and assist his brother in the Netherlands, she would declare Alençon heir to the crown of England, by virtue of the authority given to her by Parliament (which is true) to adopt as her successor any person she might choose. The French have jumped at the idea, and La Mothe has instructions to discuss this point, and the assistance to be rendered by the Queen to the Queen-mother in the raising of a fleet, with greater warmth than Scotch affairs. I have sent word of this to the queen of Scotland and her ambassador in France, as it is of the most vital importance to her, the Parliament being unable to prejudice her rights as legitimate heiress; and I am

1582.

desirous also of letting her see how little she can trust the French.

I understand that Leicester is on the look out to marry his son to a grand-daughter of the countess of Shrewsbury, who is in the same house as the queen of Scots with her grandmother. The most learned lawyers consider that, failing the queen of Scots and her son, this young lady is the nearest heir to the throne.* Leicester is trying to arrange this, with the idea that the conspirators will put the king of Scotland out of the way, and the Queen, his mother, will afterwards be disposed of here. In accord with this, when Leicester arrived at Court on the coming of La Mothe, Lord Hunsdon told him that, however much the Papists and Frenchmen might say that the king of Scotland would alarm this Queen, and try to intimidate her about him, he would soon be deprived of the power of doing her harm. The Queen has received letters from the Scots conspirators, saying that they had intercepted certain despatches coming from France to the King and the duke of Lennox, to the effect that, not only would the king of France, moved by pity for his state, send him assistance in men by the duke of Guise and his brother, but the Pope and your Majesty also would do so. Cobham writes that there are many signs that the house of Guise were preparing for some enterprise, although the exact nature of it was not known. The man sent by this Queen to Scotland was a private person who had instructions to communicate verbally with Lord Ruthven, who is her greatest confidant and a terrible atheist. It is clear that, until the Queen gets a reply, La Mothe will come to no decision.—London, 16th December 1582.

29 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1560.

303. JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

The Scots' ambassador has given me the two memoranda enclosed† of the latest news from Scotland. As he has received nothing from the duke of Lennox, and the news is so scanty, we are still in ignorance of the desires and capabilities of the prince and Lennox; and the ambassador confesses that neither he nor Hercules knows what had better be done. This is quite true, because until we know the actual facts of the case we can only proceed blindfold. This must also be the case with the queen (of Scotland) herself in what she now writes, because she can get no more enlightenment where she is than we can here. It would be a bad business if the project of giving the Prince an English guard were effected, as it would make his chance of escape much more difficult, and the ambassador thinks would increase the risk of his being carried off to England in the event of the duke of Lennox taking forcible measures to liberate him.

* Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of Darnley's brother, Charles Stuart, by a daughter of the Countess of Shrewsbury (Bess of Hardwick).

† One of these is the letter of 18th December from the queen of Scots, and the other a report from the governor of Nantes to the duke of Guise, containing news of no importance as regards English affairs.

1582.

The ambassador also tells me that there is a man here from the queen of Scotland in whom she trusts, although he is a Frenchman. Being informed of what is going on, he has her orders to proceed to Spain to solicit your Majesty's aid, and is directed to Englefield. He (the ambassador), reverting to what I have said on former occasions, as to the risk incurred in this business by reason of its being communicated to so many people, and bearing in mind that the Jesuit had been sent thither and was expected back, is of opinion that this man should not proceed on his journey; and asked me what I thought about it. I replied, that if the man was going for the purpose of asking your Majesty to take the matter up, there was no need for him to take the trouble, as he (the ambassador) had heard from me that your Majesty was not lacking in goodwill or desire to help the queen of Scots, and the restoration of religion in those parts. If, on the other hand, the man was being sent to treat of the manner in which the affair was to be effected, he (the ambassador) had confessed to me that matters were so doubtful that those who were particularly concerned were unable to arrive at any decision on that point, and he might therefore judge how useless and inopportune the going of the man would be with that object. I said your Majesty was not a monarch to decide such a question on mere smoke, and the resolution would depend only upon the reports which emanated from Hercules.* It therefore behoved them to obtain very full information of the state of affairs, and when they had done so, and had made up their minds as to what course it would be best to adopt, it would be sufficient to advise your Majesty thereof by letter, and not to risk sending a special man without any necessity, and thus incurring the danger of discovery. I therefore gave it as my decided opinion that this man should on no account be allowed to proceed, as I thought it was very bad that this business should pass through so many hands, and discovery could hardly be avoided under such circumstances. The ambassador agreed with me in this. He also told me that a Florentine, whose name he could not discover, or where he wrote from, had written to the Queen-mother, saying that two Jesuits† had gone, one to Spain and the other to Italy, to endeavour to alienate Scotland from its alliance with the house of France.

I can clearly discern that, notwithstanding the uncertainty in which the ambassador is with regard to events in Scotland, they (*i.e.*, Beaton and Guise) are on the alert, so that directly they hear anything definite they may send what may be necessary to help Lennox. They are depending for this upon the 10,000 crowns, which they are confident I shall hand to them at any time they may ask for them. The ambassador has let me know plainly that Hercules is counting upon this with certainty, and I have not cared to indicate anything to the contrary; in the first place, because they may ask for the money for a purpose in conformity

* In the King's hand: This was very good. The man's coming would be very inopportune now.

† Holt and Creighton.

1582.

with that for which your Majesty sent it, in which case I cannot refuse it; and, in the second place, because if I were to raise difficulties about it already they would at once suspect that your Majesty had changed your good intention, and we should run the risk of cooling Hercules' friendship, which, from your Majesty's last letters, I understand you not only desire to retain but to cultivate further. Quite apart from the public matter, I am certainly of opinion that, on the ground of the question of his friendship, it will be well to fulfil what was promised when he desires it, and even to give him more (money) if he asks for it. As I am very anxious to know what decision is arrived at in this matter, I must earnestly beg your Majesty to send me orders, not forgetting that I was instructed to give 2,000 of this 10,000 crowns to the Seminary at Rheims. This 2,000 crowns has not been paid yet, because the priest has not arrived, and the matter may be kept pending until your Majesty's reply comes. I have taken care to impress on the (Scots) ambassador that the views which most influence your Majesty in Scotch affairs are those which emanate from Hercules, in order that, when the latter hears of this, he may think more of your Majesty's friendship, and increasingly depend upon it. I will persevere in this course, as I think it is the one most likely to secure his goodwill, and I should be glad of the opportunity of seeing him sometimes in order to gradually fashion the iron into the form we desire, but as he is very careful to avoid me, I am obliged to content myself with signifying your Majesty's goodwill towards him through intermediaries, and to assure him thus of the royal support he may count upon from you. In order to ingratiate myself with him the more, I continue to hint that I avoid meeting him personally for the reason above stated. I will repeat this now on the occasion of the receipt of your Majesty's last letter, which has arrived very opportunely, as I hear that the Queen-mother is anything but amiable with him and his people, and is even desirous that they should retire to their seats, as she understands it is they who are inciting the King not to face a rupture (*i.e.*, with Spain).—Paris, 29th December (new style) 1582.*

30 Dec. **304.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

On the 16th I wrote what had passed between the Queen and La Mothe, and the steps the Council had taken to detain him here. In consequence of a despatch he had from France he saw the Queen on the 21st, and told her that if she did not instantly give him a safe-conduct to Scotland he would return to France the next day, and the King would send another personage to Scotland, if, indeed, he had not done so already. The Queen was much disturbed at his firmness, and in the course of many rejoinders, said that he was acting in obedience to the intrigues of certain of

* The Gregorian calendar had been adopted in October of this year. The letters from England, of course, continued to be dated according to the old style, 10 days earlier. This must be taken into account in calculating the dates of letters in the present Calendar.

1582.

her subjects, whose activity she would soon stop, as she would that of the queen of Scotland, who was the channel through whom these humours were stirred. She said she marvelled much that the king of France should prefer the Scotch connection to the security of the queen of England, the destined wife of the heir to the crown of France. M. de la Mothe pointed out to her that the alliance with Scotland had existed for centuries, and that it was most undesirable that the world should see so bad an example as subjects arresting the person of their sovereign. Some conversation passed on this point, and the end of it was that the Queen gave him the passport to go to Scotland, on condition that La Mothe should be accompanied by Davison, who was formerly her agent in the Netherlands with the rebels.* She begged him also most earnestly to manage affairs in the same spirit as animated her in all she did, whereby the king of France would benefit, and she would always be his good friend.

She gave him also a document for the king of France, relating to the marriage negotiations, saying that when he granted her conditions and enabled her to satisfy her subjects, she would give Alençon such an answer as should not displease him. The substance of her demand is, that she shall be relieved of the cost of the war in Flanders, and that the King shall definitely set apart a certain monthly sum to enable Alençon to carry it on. La Mothe replied that she had proceeded in this affair and in the matter of Flanders in a way which proved that her only desire was to procrastinate. This was of no importance to the king of France, unless, under cover of it, she settled things in her own way in Scotland, which the King would prevent with all his forces. The Scots, he assured her, were men like the English, and for every soldier she sent thither he (the king of France) would send four, and all other assistance in a like proportion. The Queen replied that she did not wish for a war with France on any account, and requested La Mothe to continue his former good offices to maintain friendship between the two crowns. La Mothe assured her that even if the King refused to openly break with your Majesty, the Queen-mother would resolutely make war upon you. But notwithstanding this, the Queen would not declare herself as to the number of ships and men she would contribute to the fleet which is being raised in France.

On the day before La Mothe saw the Queen she learnt what his errand was to be, and she ordered the Council to consider whether it would be well to give him a passport or not. Although the rest were all in favour of not letting him pass, Leicester voted to the contrary. This was done purposely, in order that it might reach the ears of the French, and that they might, out of gratitude to him, again have recourse to him in their affairs, they having abandoned him since the marriage was promoted through Sussex. The latter is consumptive and not expected to live, so that he has ceased to

* Davison's letters whilst on this important embassy to Scotland will be found in Cotton, Caligula, cvii. and cviii., and Harl. 291.

1582.

act. The fact that the Queen has given a passport to M. de la Mothe, after she had from the first declared she would not do so, appears to have been caused by a letter written to her by Cobham, saying that the King had sent another man by sea,* and it was therefore of little moment whether she detained La Mothe or not. Her partizans in Scotland also told her that it would be as well to let him pass, as, if he did not agree to what they wanted, they would take up arms, which would give her an opportunity of coming to their aid, and she could settle matters to her liking before a single man could come from France. Notwithstanding all this, experienced men assert that the Queen will still find some pretext for stopping La Mothe on the road. He came to London on the 23rd with his passport, saying that he would start after the holidays. The reason he had not done so, I am informed, is that he is awaiting a reply from the queen of Scotland, to whom he and the ambassador secretly wrote as soon as he got the passport. From the fickleness with which these people (the French) are proceeding, it is difficult to believe that they will do anything until they see it effected by someone else, and no doubt the Queen will still try to entertain La Mothe until she gets a reply to the courier she sent to Scotland as soon as La Mothe came. The instructions taken by the courier were that the King, and an Earl whose name I am unable to discover, were to be poisoned. This confirms what I wrote to your Majesty had been said by Lord Hunsdon.

On the occasion of M. de la Mothe's coming hither I know from a trustworthy source that the Council was in secret conference for a long while, debating whether it would be more advantageous for them to continue their friendship with the French, or again seek that of your Majesty. Walsingham argued strongly that they could never trust you, but notwithstanding this they unanimously agreed that it was needful for them to approach your Majesty. Such is their falseness, however, that I am not without fear that even this may be an artifice, adopted, like Leicester's move was, in order that it might reach my ears. I see no signs in them of a sincere desire to carry out the policy suggested, and within three days they decided that, in view of Orange's letter, it was necessary that she should send Alençon some money. The Queen agreed to send him 20,000*l.*, although the orders for the payment have not yet been signed. The letter from Orange I refer to was written to Walsingham, lamenting bitterly that he and Leicester, in order to upset the Queen's marriage, had thrown such a heavy and profitless burden upon him (Orange) as the duke of Alençon. He said he was at a loss to know how he could keep him there, out of consideration for the welfare of the country, or expel him out of consideration for his dignity and safety; and he begged Walsingham, therefore, very earnestly, to press the Queen to send him some money, as otherwise the States would be ruined and seized by their enemies, owing to their own poverty and Alençon's weakness. In a subsequent letter he asks him to beg the Queen to invite Alençon to England to pass the Christmas holidays

* This was De Maineville. *See* note, page 422.

1582.

with her. I hear that, when Walsingham spoke of the matter to his friends, he said that he did not care to undertake the commission, and he had no wish to lift the burden from Orange's shoulders to put it upon those of himself and his friends, by bringing Alençon here. Orange had been suffering from a high fever and was out of health.

I am informed also that Orange and the rebel States have again been pressing the king of France to help them in the war, and to declare himself openly against your Majesty. He replied that, hitherto they had only given themselves up to his brother, whereby no advantage could accrue to the crown of France; but if they came and delivered themselves freely into his hands, he might with better reason, and to the satisfaction of his country, come to their aid. I at once gave notice of this to the prince of Parma.

The Turk has written a letter to the Queen, full of endearments, in consequence, as he says, of his being told that she was so strong an enemy of your Majesty, as he also was. She answers him in the same spirit, and refers him to her ambassador.

They write to her from Ireland, begging her to hasten the sending of the troops, as letters from Desmond have been intercepted saying that assistance from his Holiness would arrive next summer.—London, 30th December 1582.

31 Dec. **305.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The answer to the despatch sent by the Queen to the conspirators in Scotland on the arrival of M. de la Mothe was to the effect that they had caused the King to write to the duke of Lennox, ordering him under pain of high treason to leave the country with the passport his aunt, the queen of England, had sent him. The Duke, on receiving the order, at once set out, and after having travelled 20 miles towards the English frontier he had halted, with what motive was not known. The conspirators had therefore collected a force, and were going towards the Duke to dislodge him.

The conspirators also assure the Queen that M. de la Mothe shall not speak to the King except in their presence, and they give her to understand that no design or plot he may attempt to their prejudice or hers will succeed, as they had taken all necessary measures. Although the King publicly approved of their proceedings, they perceived in him much falsity and cunning, which caused them to be vigilant.

Ruthven wrote to the Queen in his own hand, but I am unable to learn what he says, except that it is about poisoning the King and the other Earl, because, directly the Queen received the letter, she asked what was the reason for La Mothe's long delay in starting, since he had received his passport. I am told that his reason is to await a reply from France to the letter he sent at first, saying that he had been refused a passport; but I am of opinion that he has been expecting the queen of Scotland's letter, telling him how he is to proceed, which letter I know he received yesterday. The Queen has again summoned the Council to discuss the

1582.

removal of the queen of Scotland from the earl of Shrewsbury's house. The Treasurer was greatly opposed to her being removed from where she had remained for 15 years, especially as Shrewsbury had not failed to carry out any point of his instructions. He said her removal would scandalise the country.—London, 31st December 1582.

1583.

6 Jan. **306.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As I foresaw, M. de la Mothe left here the day after he received the letter from the queen of Scotland, and I hear of nothing fresh from there.

I understand that they are sending from here, for the Queen-mother's fleet in France, some iron artillery and other arms, 400 corselets having been brought out of the Tower, with pikes, harquebusses, and 40 large cast-iron pieces; all of which are shipped and awaiting the wind. Marchaumont said to Leicester that it would be a great favour to his master if some ships were armed here under his license to capture the two Venetian ships that were taking the Portuguese, as well as another that arrived subsequently, all of which are now in the port of Margate awaiting a fair wind to sail, they being large well-armed ships which would be very useful for the Queen-mother's fleet, and money might be made of the tin with which they are loaded. Leicester instantly sent Ughtred, who I said had been plundering in Newfoundland, to Southampton and the Isle of Wight to fit out ships for the purpose. I have informed the Venetians of this to put them on their guard, and told them to sail in company.

Marchaumont also heard that some ships here were loading salt for St. Omer, where it was wanted, and suggested to Leicester that they should be captured on their voyage. He ordered it to be done, and sent to take them only two miles below Gravesend, with orders that they were thence to be taken over to Flushing. I have warned the masters, and told them not to sail unless they are sure of their weather.

As the ships bound for the Levant are still awaiting a fair wind, the Queen sent a man four days ago overland to Constantinople. He is to go first to France and communicate his despatches, continuing his journey from there. She writes privately to the Turk, telling him that efforts should be made to prevent Larache from falling into your Majesty's hands, for many reasons, which she sets forth, saying that she had sent similar messages to Malouc and the king of Algeria, but has thought fit also to advise the Turk. The best way, she says, to prevent these things will be to send fleets against your Majesty this summer, and she and her brother, the king of France, will endeavour to stand between him and the Persian, in order that he (the Turk) may be free to do this.

They are trying here to raise a large capital to sustain this Levant negotiation, and not only have the richest merchants and Companies contributed largely, but the Councillors and the Queen herself. 80,000*l.* has already been got together, and it will be

1583.

seen at once how prejudicial this will be to the navigation and trade of the Venetians, who will thus find their drug and spice business taken out of their hands by the English, as ships are being sent especially to Alexandria, Tripoli, and Constantinople, loaded with tin, lead, and kerseys, which they can sell much more cheaply than the Venetians, and easily bring back return cargoes of goods, by virtue of the ample safe conduct granted to them by the Turk. Even though they may lose on the trade at first, the capital behind them is so large that they can afford to continue it. Although it is so injurious to your Majesty that the English should have so large a trade in the Levant, I have not ventured to write to Cristobal de Salazar* telling him to warn the Venetians, until I have your Majesty's instructions.

There recently arrived at Southampton two ships, which they say left Terceira in company with Don Antonio. From one of them there landed eight or ten Portuguese, who claimed to be captains, but who were so poor that they could not pay for their food for the two days they stayed in a hostelry there. They have now come hither, and amongst them is a Franciscan friar dressed as a layman, and a page of Don Antonio, both of whom went in Don Antonio's own vessel when he sailed from Terceira for Madeira. They say that Don Antonio had gone in another ship to France, and they profess to have received letters announcing his arrival there; the rumour is current here that he is in this country, and has seen Diego Botello at Court. I am trying to discover the truth of it. Some say he is at Southampton, some at Dover ready to go to Flanders, and some that he is hidden in one of Leicester's houses, which seems likely. A month ago there took refuge in Plymouth from a storm a French ship, bringing with it a Spanish vessel which it had captured off Cape Blanco loaded with fish, and of which they kept the Spanish crew prisoners and unable to speak to anyone. I addressed the Council on the matter, requesting them to order the men to be set at liberty, and their property restored to them. The Judge of the Admiralty here was ordered to have justice done in the case, and this was immediately followed by another order that nothing was to be done, and that no proceedings were to be taken against the French. I have returned to the matter, but they will not hear me, nor do justice to your Majesty's subjects; the whole of the Ministers favouring those who ruin and despoil them. They only gave me a passport for the Portuguese, with an evil mind, because they thought to get them gone quickly, and prevent them from spreading the news of Don Antonio's behaviour at Terceira, which would have set the people against helping him.—London, 6th January 1583.

14 Jan. **307.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I advised Don Juan de Idiaquez, in a postscript to my letter to your Majesty of 6th instant, that the duke of Lennox had arrived at Berwick, and he is expected to-night at Battle Bridge, two miles

* The Spanish Ambassador in Venice.

1583.

from London. He is accompanied by two Scots gentlemen and some captains from Berwick, who do not allow either him or his companions to speak to anyone. He was brought by a different road to that taken by La Mothe Fénélon. I understand, that in order to facilitate his departure from Scotland, the conspirators sent him 3,000 crowns as a present from the King, with a promise that he would send him 2,000 more as soon as he entered England. This was in answer to his message that he had not the means to travel overland in accordance with the Queen's passport. The French ambassador instantly left here for the Court on the news of d'Aubigny's arrival. I am told that he will ask for permission to see him. In order not to arouse suspicion, as he is surrounded by so many watchful eyes, I consider it best that I should make no attempt to communicate with him whilst he is here, unless he provides some very trustworthy means for me to do so, because, as soon as he arrives in France, I shall learn from the priests there what his intentions are, and the state in which he has left affairs in Scotland. The queen of Scotland will be much grieved at his leaving, unless he has done so by arrangement with the King and his friends, in order to reassure the conspirators and enable the King to summon Parliament, which they have strenuously opposed. D'Aubigny's friends might then rescue the King from the hands of the conspirators and set him at liberty. It may be supposed that Lennox had not enough force behind him to remain in the country himself. I will send your Majesty instant advice of his movements here.

I have been informed that the Queen has sent orders to Captain Hawkins, who is the Quartermaster-General of her fleet, to report secretly to her what will be necessary for the purpose of arming four of her own ships and six merchantmen to go and assist the fleet being raised by the Queen-mother in favour of Don Antonio. The going of the latter to Flanders is confirmed.—London, 14th January 1583.

20 Jan. **308.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

At daybreak to-day there arrived news here of a great disturbance that had taken place between the French and the townspeople of Antwerp respecting the attempts of the former to take possession of the land, and as I am writing this at midday, the letter I enclose in Flemish has been delivered to me from Flushing confirming the news.

I learn from other advices that Orange had sent to Antwerp one of his guard warning the magistrates to keep a good watch on all the towns, and the guards were accordingly doubled immediately, the French ships there being arrested, and their crews being cast into prison with much violence and ill-treatment. The whole of their papers were seized, and amongst them were found certain despatches which Alençon was sending hither to Marchaumont and Bacqueville. These were opened and read, and then, still unclosed, sent under cover to a French merchant here for delivery to Marchaumont and Bacqueville, who had already taken leave of the

1583.

Queen, and were booted and spurred for their journey to go on board a ship which the Queen had ordered to convey them to Antwerp.

The sailors on board the ship which brought the news say that on their voyage they spoke to another vessel from the Sluys, near Bruges, and were informed that the burgesses of that town had turned out the French garrison. I have no further confirmation or certainty of this than their word, but I am instantly sending men thither, and am causing letters to be written from here stirring up the burgesses in view of these events.

I will at once send a special courier by sea with this news to your Majesty, as I am sure the prince of Parma will not get the intelligence so quickly or surely as we do here owing to the weather. I am taking the opportunity afforded by the going of a private person post to Rouen to send this despatch also to Juan Bautista (de Tassis) begging him to forward it.

The Duke of Lennox has gone to the Court, and he has advised me by a secret channel that he will send to me his secretary, who is a very trustworthy person, and give an account of the state in which he left affairs in Scotland, as he cannot possibly come and see me himself.

As I was closing this letter I was informed that the Queen has sent orders to Captain William Russell, who commands the ship which was ready to carry Marchaumont and Bacqueville across, that he is to sail instantly and bring Alençon to England. My informant saw the Queen's letter handed to him, and was present when he read the orders.—London, 20th January 1583.

23 Jan. **309.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since mine of the 20th reporting what had happened at Antwerp, several confirmations have been received, each one further magnifying the event. They assert that the number of Frenchmen killed by the burgesses exceeds 2,000, as after they were driven from the ground, they were hunted into the houses where they were lodged and made to jump out of the windows. What has become of the duke of Alençon is not known, but they say that most of the nobility were killed. The Queen has sent the eldest son of the earl of Bedford to visit Alençon, and to beg him in any case to come over in the ship she has sent for the purpose.

A special courier has come from Burges with a confirmation of the news that the French garrison had been expelled that town, as also from Nieuport and Ostend, and, it was said, from Brussels. From what can be learnt, the design of the duke of Alençon was to get possession of the country, disarming the burgesses and making them pay his army, whether they liked it or not, to save themselves and their towns from sack such as had been committed in Dunkirk. A week before, at a banquet which he gave to the colonels, captains, and officers, Alençon had promised them that they should be paid within eight days.

He had caused 800 or 1,000 Frenchmen quietly to slip into Antwerp, in addition to his ordinary guard, these men being lodged

1583.

in various places. This coming to the ears of the colonels of Antwerp, they ordered on the night of the 16th that all the burgesses should hang out lanterns at the doors of their houses, on pain of death for neglect thereof. The order was so rigorously enforced that some of the townspeople were scandalised, and asked what was the meaning of such an innovation. They were told there were 800 more Frenchmen in the town than usual, and that it behoved them to be on the watch. When Alençon left the town to hold a review, he left all his guard at the gate called Burgerhout, with many more Frenchmen stationed on the bridge over the moat. They would have obtained possession of the country if the burgesses had not captured two pieces of artillery near, by means of which they drove from the gate those who were holding it, and then, closing the castle, the whole populace charged upon those who remained inside the town and slaughtered them.* I will keep your Majesty constantly informed.—London, 23rd January 1583.

24 Jan. 310. The KING to JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS.

Paris Archives, K. 1561.

With regard to Scotland, I am glad to see by your letter and the copies that came with it, that all hope is not abandoned that the duke of Lennox may still be able to remain in the country and rescue the King from his imprisonment. You acted very wisely in your dealings with the ambassador on this matter, and in detaining the man who was coming hither from the queen of Scotland. It is quite true that in a business so thoroughly discussed and understood as this is, the coming of special envoys can have no other effect than to cause publicity, which is no small inconvenience. It will therefore be best that anything they wish to communicate to me should come through you, and if affairs should assume such a position as to cause Hercules to ask for the 10,000 crowns, you may at once pay him the sum entire, and the 2,000 crowns which I had destined for the seminary at Rheims will be provided out of other funds. You did well not to cast any doubt upon this point, and to express so much regard for Hercules' views. I am so anxious for the success of this business that I have ordered another 10,000 crowns to be sent to you in a letter herewith, and you may pay the alms to the seminary out of this sum, and reserve the rest to aid the matter in hand, in accordance with instructions which will be sent dependent upon your news. As the Pope signifies that he is providing money for the same purpose to the Nuncio there, you had better find out how much he is sending, and the instructions which accompany it. Report to me.—Lisbon, 24th January 1583.

26 Jan. 311. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 14th I reported the arrival of the duke of Lennox. He and his people were closely guarded, as I said, until he saw the Queen, which he did four days after his arrival. She received him

* This is a very imperfect and one-sided account of what happened on the eventful 16th January 1583. *See* Strada's spirited description in De Bello Belgico, Book 3.

1583.

well, and ordered him to be covered, as he was the first duke (of Scotland) but he refused. She complained greatly of him in many respects, and I set forth here the principal accusations and his replies thereto:—1st. That he had gone to Scotland at the order of the duke of Guise. 2nd. That he had requested an ambassador she had sent to Scotland to show him his instructions before he would allow him to enter the country. 3rd. That he had issued a proclamation in Scotland ordering that no person should trade with England. 4th. That he had refused access to the king of Scotland to Captain Errington* whom she had sent from Berwick. 5th. That he had conferred with four Jesuits who had been sent by his Holiness to that country. 6th. That he had always been an enemy to the Ministers. 7th. That he had generally endeavoured to weaken the new alliance between England and Scotland, and to renew the old relations with France. Lennox replied to the points as follows:—He had, he said, been summoned to Scotland by his cousin the King, with the permission of the king of France. The duke of Guise was present when the order was given to him, and he (Lennox) had told him that he was going to embark at Havre de Grace, although he had already decided to go by Dieppe. It happened that the duke of Guise went to the latter town shortly afterwards, and found him there, whereupon he conceived the suspicion that he had purposely misstated his place of embarkation. To the second point, he said, as she well knew that those who went from England always gave notice of their coming on their arrival at Berwick, as the envoy she mentioned had done, he, Lennox, had then sent to ask him whether he came as an ambassador or as a messenger with letters, which question the officer had refused to answer. He had thereupon been asked to show his instructions, not for the purpose of learning their contents, but only in order that, if he were an ambassador, he should be received with due honour; of which she had no reason to complain. To the third complaint, he said he knew of no such proclamation having been issued. To the fourth point he replied that Captain Errington had not been allowed access to the country in consequence of the parliament being in session. He denied ever having conferred with the Jesuits; and, on the sixth point, he replied that he had failed in no particular whilst he was in Scotland to fulfil his religious duty, nor had he borne any hatred against the Ministers, although he had opposed their attempt to abolish the bishoprics and turn their revenues to secular uses, as he thought it might give rise to disturbance in the country. He had, moreover, never tried to break the alliance with England, but had invariably represented to the King the deep obligation he was under to the Queen, and how important it was to maintain his friendship with her, but not in a way which would interrupt the connection which for so many centuries had advantageously existed with France. He again assured her that he would use all his influence with his master, the king of Scotland, to maintain the alliance with England. The Queen thanked him, and assured him

* Sir Nicholas Harrington.

1583.

that she would be guided by his conduct in France as whether she would favour his return to Scotland or not.

The next day Lennox returned to London, coming to lodge near the house of the French ambassador with Lord (?) Cary, whom the Queen has ordered to accompany him. As he was treated with less suspicion than before, being banquetted by the French ambassador, and his people free to go about as they liked, I thought best not to refrain from sending a message of greeting, and thus to open the door for him if he desired to communicate anything to me, there being no risk in such a step. I therefore sent him a welcome by an English Catholic gentleman, an intimate friend of mine, who could speak to him without the slightest suspicion. He appeared to be greatly pleased, and sent word that his secretary should come and speak with me, as he personally could not do so, much as he should like to give me a full account of affairs in Scotland. The secretary brought me a letter of credence in his master's own handwriting, with two lines of the cipher we had used, as a countersign, referring me to the bearer. He told me that Lennox had been obliged to leave Scotland, in the first place to comply with the promise which had been given by the King to this Queen, at the instance of the conspirators, to the effect that the Duke should leave the country. In the second place, he did so for the King's safety, in consequence of the failure of a certain plot which he, Lennox, had arranged to rescue the King from the hands of the conspirators, on his coming to the castle of Blackness. This had been divulged by the King's houndsman a day before it was to be executed, and, although the number of the duke of Lennox's party was superior, it was unadvisable to take the King by force of arms, as the conspirators had the strength of the queen of England behind them.* It had therefore been unanimously agreed by his partizans that the duke of Lennox should leave the country; by which means the King would comply with his promise to this Queen, and the following method would then be adopted, by means of which the king of Scotland might be set at liberty without disturbance. It was arranged by Master John Graham,† who was the channel of communication between the King and Lennox, that, as soon as the King heard that the Duke was in France, he should sign a proclamation calling upon those whose names were mentioned in it, to come and set him at liberty by whatever means, and, if no other course was available, they were ordered to take up arms for the purpose. It was also to command Lennox to return and occupy his former position near the King's person. Lennox had left this document signed by himself and many others; and the King, at the time agreed upon, would issue it, and would afterwards order Lord Erskine, the constable of the castle of Edinburgh, in whose fidelity he had entire

* Robertson and other Scottish historians say that the reason for Lennox's apparently purposeless stay in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh is unknown. The present letter explains it.

† John Grahame, laird of Hallyards.

1583.

confidence, to invite them (*i.e.*, the Ruthven party) to dinner in the castle. After dinner the King would retire to a private chamber, and desire Erskine to guard his person, the troops in the castle being all devoted to the constable. The rest of them would then leave the castle, and the King would send an order to the townspeople of Edinburgh that no gentleman should be allowed to reside there without his express permission. The conspirators would therefore be obliged to leave the town, and the King would summon those who have signed the document, by which means he would be safe.

Master John Graham, when he was arranging this with the King, urged him very strongly to sign the proclamation before Lennox left Scotland, but he refused to do so, saying that he did not wish this to be made a pretext for him (Lennox) and the others to appeal to arms, and cause him (the King) to break his word to the queen of England to send Lennox to France. He said that he had not promised that he should stay for ever away from Scotland, and he assured him that he should be brought back within six months at latest, and that he would sign the proclamation at the time agreed upon.

I asked the Duke's secretary whether his master would profess Protestantism in France, and he answered that he had been specially instructed to tell me that he would, in order that I might signify the same to his Holiness, your Majesty, and the queen of Scotland; assuring them that he acted thus in dissimulation, in order to be able to return to Scotland, as otherwise the King would not recall him, and the queen of England would prevent his return, by means of the Ministers, on the ground that he was a Catholic, as in his heart he was. He said that he would make this known also to the king of France. He assured me that the only way by which the King could be brought to submit to the Catholic religion, would be by force of arms and foreign troops, drawing him on to this with the bait of their aid being necessary for him to succeed to the throne of England, to his own aggrandisement. He would have to be told that this would only be possible if he allowed the foreign troops the free exercise of their religion, and this would lead to the English Catholics (in Scotland) enjoying the same privilege; the Scots Catholics gradually joining with them, and the matter thus progressing by degrees. He assured me of the affection the King had for Lennox, which I have also heard from other quarters, and is confirmed by two letters which the King wrote to him in his own hand before he left. Lennox was unwilling to go until he had been judged and absolved by parliament from all charges brought against him, religious and others, but as the conspirators were anxious to get him gone, they requested the King to give him a certificate of his loyalty under his hand and the Great Seal, of which certificate and two letters I send copies. The secretary gave me a letter from Lennox to the queen of Scotland, asking me to forward it, giving her an account of everything, as the letter simply referred her to me for information. I replied in general terms, and said that, from what

1583.

had happened, the Duke could well perceive, that the conversion of the country (in addition to the saving of so many souls, which was the motive of your Majesty and his Holiness) would be of the greatest advantage to himself and his house, which, indeed could only be benefited by these means. I did not enter into particulars, because I was not acquainted with the negotiations that may be going on between Juan Bautista de Tassis and Hercules (*i.e.*, the duke of Guise), but in order to avoid making him at all suspicious of me, under the impression that I was treating him drily, I said that of the steps I had taken both towards your Majesty and the Pope, at the request of the queen of Scotland, and of the present state of the negotiations for aiding the enterprise, I would say nothing now, but would refer him to Hercules, who would give him full information when he arrived in France. I thus avoided saying anything which Hercules might not wish him to know or tell the king of France.

The secretary returned a second time to thank me, in the name of Lennox, for the goodwill with which I had aided the affair, of which he had been assured also by letters from Hercules, to whom he was glad to be referred, as nothing could be done without him, and whose orders, he, Lennox, would scrupulously follow, giving me immediate information of his interviews with him and the king of France. He sailed on the 24th, the Queen having ordered for him a ship with 50 harquebussiers.

The conspirators told the king of Scotland, as soon as the duke of Lennox entered England, that he had better send a gentleman to the Queen to ask her to receive him well, and said that a certain Combie* would be a fit man for the mission, he being a close confidant of them all, and able to make some verbal communications from them to the Queen. The King sent him, and on his way he met La Mothe, whom he told that there was no need for the king of France to make such a display of sending to visit his master, as the country had never been more contented and quiet than it was. If, he said, he was going simply to give his master the title of King, he could assure him he had been a king for years past, as much as the king of France himself was in his own country, whereas, if his errand was to make a fresh alliance, or renew the former ones, the King would conclude no such arrangements without the consent of the queen of England. He assured him, moreover, that he would only obtain audience of the King in public, and he would not stay in Scotland two days, so it would be much better for him to return to France. La Mothe replied that he was not going to abandon his master's mission on his opinion. When he, La Mothe, arrived at Berwick, he met another messenger from the king of Scotland, who begged him not to take the trouble to go any further, as so far as the King's person was concerned, there was no need for anything of the kind, the country being content and pacific, which he,

* Probably Mr. John Colvill, who was subsequently (1589) a Scottish ambassador in England, and who is mentioned by Sir James Melvil as having been sent to England on a mission at about the time this letter was written.

1583.

La Mothe, might tell the king of France on his return. La Mothe, answered that he would not neglect to fulfil the instructions which had been given to him by his master, and asked them to inform him definitely in writing whether it was the King's will that he should enter his realm or not, in order that he, La Mothe, might be relieved of responsibility. No news of the answer has yet reached here.—London, 26th January 1583.

26 Jan. **312.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since mine of 23rd the Queen has received letters from Orange and the town of Bruges, the purport of which is to magnify greatly the plot which Alençon had intended to carry out, which they say has been brought upon them in consequence of the Queen's wish to get out of the marriage, and divert the French tempest on to the Netherlands. They say that Alençon had not paid to the soldiers the sum of money she had sent him from France, and this had given rise to great disorders, with the sole design of finding a pretext for seizing Antwerp, which he would certainly have effected if Orange had not foreseen his plan. When he expressed to Alençon the distrust of the States at seeing so many troops being brought in, without his being able to pay those who were already there, he replied that, so long as he was a representative of the queen of England, and her lieutenant in that enterprise, he should never lack money, particularly as his brother the king of France also would help him to pay all those soldiers, who, moreover, did not come without the King's special license and countenance. He assured him that the Queen was his wife in the eyes of God and the world, and could not abandon him in the war without bringing greater danger upon herself and her realm. He thought the reason for bringing so many troops to the States was, that your Majesty's forces could not otherwise be dealt with.

He (Orange) also says that Alençon has been making use of the Queen's name to get money from people who are attached to her interests, but he (Orange) in his various conversations with Alençon had always observed that he expressed extreme rancour against her, and a desire to avenge himself for the slight she had put upon him by refusing to accept him as her husband. It was believed, he says, that Alençon's action in attempting to obtain possession of the towns must have been prompted by your Majesty, and this idea was aided by a letter which had been intercepted from the court of the prince of Parma ;* besides which, Marshal Biron had always refused to serve Alençon until this enterprise. It is true, he says, that they have not reached the root of it yet, but he (Orange) cannot help thinking that the plan was aimed directly at injuring the Queen, and as her affectionate servant he advised her of it, begging her humbly not to abandon them whilst they were in so troublous a condition, but to favour them, in case the king of France, in the interests of his brother, should attempt an invasion of their States.

* It is true that active negotiations were being carried on between the prince of Parma and Alençon for the surrender of the towns to the Spaniards.

1583.

The Bruges people explain to the Queen their expulsion of the French by saying that, as they heard on the 16th what they intended to do the next day in all the towns, they were obliged to turn them out of their territory without bloodshed, and they begged her not to blame them for this, or to withhold her help to them against your Majesty.

The only decision arrived at here, as I have said, is for the Queen to send the son of the earl of Bedford. I understand she is perfectly furious with the news, and says dreadful things about Alençon and everyone who persuaded her to the marriage, as she says he is a faithless tyrant like his mother, for they neither keep faith with God or man. But, notwithstanding all this, I see no signs of any desire to seek your Majesty, either on the part of the Queen or her Ministers. It is evident that, in order not to lose the Queen, Orange wishes to make her believe that Alençon was in communication with your Majesty and the prince of Parma, but, as I hear that most of the heretic Flemings here say it is a plan hatched between Orange and Alençon, for the latter to seize some towns in Brabant and Flanders, in order that the former may be the more secure in Holland and Zeeland, I have taken care to set fire to the train underhand, and am having this view published here, and written from Antwerp.

Marchaumont is here (and Bacqueville as well), although the Queen has taken leave of him and given him his present (a casket of 200 crowns), and he dares neither see her again nor set out on his journey. The people speak ill of Alençon with great freedom, although it is threatened that the Queen will issue an order forbidding it.—London, 26th January 1583.

29 Jan. **313.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

The last letters from Antwerp report that Alençon had formed the plan of going from Duffel to Terremonde, and sent to have boats engaged above St. Bernard near to Willebroeck, but the States hearing of it gave orders for armed vessels to go and prevent his passage, and withdraw all the other boats. When Alençon received intelligence of this he travelled towards Vilvorde, where he duly arrived, the English, Scots, and Reiters in the rebel service, who accompanied him and were present at the review,* having deserted him. He therefore only had with him the Swiss and French, who, as they write from Antwerp, were so pressed with hunger that they had actually begun to slaughter horses for food, and he was being followed up by your Majesty's soldiers. Orange has again sent three Commissioners to him, Dr. Longorius being one of them. I hear that this Queen has sent word to the son of the earl of Bedford that, if Alençon do not voluntarily offer to come over, he is not to press him to do so. She is very desirous for this earl's son to come back, in order to know how Orange and Alençon are proceeding, and the position of affairs there. Marchaumont has written to her from London, saying that pure

* The pretended review of the French forces in the neighbourhood of Antwerp on the 16th January, when the attempt was made to seize the town.

1583.

necessity had forced Alençon to take the step he did, and begging her not to condemn him until she received letters from him.—London, 29th January 1583.

29 Jan. **314.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to DON JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

I forgot to say that the Colonel in His Holiness' service, who was a prisoner in Ireland, was being so badly treated in gaol that I, out of compassion as well as for other considerations, helped him underhand to escape.* This was some time ago, and he has arrived safely to join the prince of Parma with another Italian. By help that I have secretly supplied, all the prisoners are now gone except one captain named Alexandro.†—London, 29th January 1583.

13 Feb. **315.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to DON JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Many thanks for first and second bills of exchange for 2,000 crowns and 1,200 crowns. I am very anxious for them to arrive before the end of this month, which is the term fixed by the drawers for their acceptance. The Portuguese were favoured with a fair wind, but unfortunately three of them who had gone for a walk on shore were left behind, and were arrested and taken to Dover. I have sent thither an order from the Council to liberate them, but I do not know whether it will have arrived in time for them to catch another Levant ship which sailed after their vessel. I cannot close the account until I have some trace of them.

The weakness you said the duke of Alba was suffering from, considering his age, had made me apprehensive, but nevertheless the news you send, now that God has been pleased to take him to himself, has caused me great grief, as you may suppose. His Majesty has lost a great Minister, and the public loss overshadows the private sorrow of those who, like myself, owed so much to him. From the tenour of his life I can well imagine that his end was enviable.‡—London, 13th February 1583.

Précis of letter accompanying the above.—That news had arrived there (*i.e.*, London) that the inquisition in Milan had arrested on his way from Venice Edward Unton,§ a man of 6,000 crowns income, a kinsman of the Queen; and Leicester and Hatton at once spread the announcement that if he were not released he (*i.e.*, Don Bernardino de Mendoza) would be arrested. They asked him (Mendoza) for a passport for a person they were sending to Milan to request Unton's release, which passport he had given for six months.

* Colonel Sebastiano di San Giuseppe, who had commanded the papal troops at the fort of Ore, Smerwick.

† Captain Alessandro Bertoni, an Italian, who was the "camp master" or Lieutenant-Colonel, and second in command at Smerwick. It was he who first came out to parley with Lord Grey.

‡ The duke of Alba had died at Thomar, in Portugal, at the end of December 1582, at the age of 74 years.

§ Sir Edward Unton had married the widow of John Dudley, earl of Warwick, Leicester's eldest brother. She was a daughter of the Protector Somerset, and consequently Sir Edward Unton was cousin by marriage of Edward VI., and thus indirectly connected with the Queen.

1583.
14 Feb.
Paris Archives, K. 1561.

316. JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

The malady of the duke of Lennox is increasing to such an extent than the physicians now fear for his life.* For this reason, the Scots ambassador tells me that he has only been able to communicate with him very briefly, and has given me this statement of affairs.† In accordance with this, any fresh attempt is postponed for the present, and, in my poor judgment, the affair may now be looked upon as ended, for apparently this isolated prince (*i.e.*, James VI.) will gradually bend to the inevitable, and even, if need be, forget Lennox in his absence.—Paris, 14th February 1583.

Without date.
Paris Archives, K. 1561.

317. Document headed "SCOTCH AFFAIRS."

After those of the faction that captured the King had carried him to the capital town of Edinburgh, they threatened that if the duke of Lennox raised forces to rescue the King from their hands, and if he did not at once retire to France, they were resolved to carry through what they had commenced, as it was too late now to repent, and they would adopt the most open road; by which they meant that they intended to send the King to England, or put him out of the way by some other method. This was the reason of Lennox's coming hither, as he saw that the King was so strictly guarded by those of the faction that all chance of his (Lennox) doing anything advantageous was frustrated, and the person of his Majesty exposed to evident danger. He therefore embarked at Dumbarton, after having put his affairs in order as best he could, and left the fortress well provisioned in the hands of one of his most faithful adherents. After he had set sail with the intention of landing in Britanny, he was driven back twice or three times by storms. This gave him the opportunity of making an attempt, whilst he was thought to be awaiting a favourable wind to sail, and the enterprise for the King's release undertaken by him and other lords was not discovered until six hours before it was to be executed. He was obliged, therefore, in order to disguise the matter, to say that, as the wind was still contrary, he had approached to where the King was for the purpose of obtaining a passport to go by way of England. He was constrained to depart on this pretext, as the King had given his promise to the English ambassador, before Lennox first embarked, that he should be sent away, this having been much pressed upon him by the faction, whose greatest wish was to see Lennox gone. He left, however, in the good graces of the King, who sent a man secretly to him on the day of his departure to say that he hoped soon to get rid of these people who were detaining him against his will, and with this object he had determined to summon all his nobles for the end of January, so that, by their assistance, he could the more easily withdraw himself. His Majesty also had given to Lennox a certificate, sealed with the Great Seal, testifying to his good conduct and faithful service during the time he had been in Scotland, and also some very affectionate

* Lennox died on the 26th May 1583.
† See the following document.

1583.

letters in his favour to the Christian King and the queen of England. He assured him that, by God's help, he would soon have him back, and would never change in his kind feelings towards him, nor rest until he had been avenged on the traitors.

21 Feb. **318.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

It was recently stated here that the rebel States had become reconciled with Alençon, and Walsingham spread the news diligently, as did the other councillors. It was, however, groundless, as will be seen by the reports I send herewith from Antwerp and all the rebel towns. The intelligence from all quarters, Catholics and Protestants alike, is to the effect that they only want peace. I take every possible means of letting them know that their best way to get it is to submit to your Majesty.

The Queen continues to approve of Alençon's actions, and although, as I said, Orange wrote assuring her that Alençon had always displayed an inward desire to revenge himself upon her for the marriage slight, he, Orange, has now changed his tone and informs her that, after examining the French prisoners and Alençon's papers, he can find no evidence that the latter was acting in collusion with your Majesty or the prince of Parma. His only desire in saying this is to pledge the Queen more deeply to aid Alençon, and reconcile the latter with the heretics, as he sees how bitterly the Netherlanders hate the French, and that it will be difficult for him to carry on his detestable rebellion unless he can reconcile them. In this he is helped by Walsingham, who told the Queen it would be advisable to send a special envoy to Antwerp for the purpose of examining Alençon's papers. The Queen and and Council approved of this, and entrusted the business to Walsingham, who sent a servant of his own. When he returned, he reported in accordance with the wishes of Orange and Walsingham. The French Huguenots who are at Antwerp, and Orange also write to the Queen, saying that, whether Alençon is reconciled or not, it will be impossible for the French to maintain themselves unless a sum of money be sent speedily, and that, if she did not want to see the States again fall into your Majesty's hands, it behoved her to lose no time in sending the 20,000*l.* she had promised months ago, as otherwise it would undoubtedly lead to the commencement of a war in her own dominions. They are awaiting the return of Darcy whom the Queen had sent to Alençon.

A week since the Treasurer sent, by his secretary, a document to the Lord Chancellor* to be sealed with the Great Seal, as it had to be sent to France immediately. The Lord Chancellor read the paper, and told the secretary who had brought it to tell his master that he (the Lord Chancellor) did not consider that it was a desirable course to take. When the officer who has charge of the seal was ordered to seal the document, he began to read it, when the Lord Treasurer' ssecretary snatched it from him so that he might not learn

* Sir Thomas Bromley.

1583.

the contents. The officer therefore refused to seal it, and they both went before the Lord Chancellor again, who relieved the officer of all responsibility for sealing the document without reading it, which he then did. I am told this by a person who was present but was unable to discover the purport of the document; whether it was an undertaking from the Queen to the king of France to find money for the Flemish war, if Alençon would remain there, or pardon to some of her subjects whom she had declared to be rebels, I do not know. I report to Juan Bautista de Tassis the sending of the document so that he may be on the alert to discover the contents, if possible.

M. de Meneville, who I reported had been sent from France to Scotland, has arrived there, with the determination of residing there as ordinary ambassador. For this reason, he took a priest with him, greatly to the surprise of the conspirators, and the King asked him why he had brought him? He replied, that the ambassadors who resided at the court of the queen of England had mass celebrated in their houses, although the Queen was of a different religion, and that ambassadors were free. He therefore asked to be allowed to exercise his religion in Scotland. The King replied that he was not obeyed in his country as the queen of England was in hers, and he therefore could not allow him the liberty he requested. They write also that, although M. de la Mothe had proposed the renewal of the alliance and friendship with France, they had again replied that the King greatly valued the old and advantageous relations between the countries, but it was not considered desirable formally to renew them until the King was older. It is expected he (M. de la Mothe) will shortly leave the country.

Postscript.—Whilst closing this, I hear from Scotland that Lord Herries, a great adherent and servitor of the queen of Scotland, and a person of prudence and influence in her interests, had been found dead in his house at daybreak, some say stabbed, but the manner of his death is not certain.

I have also just learnt that Cobham has written to the Queen that the king of France and his mother had sent a sum of money to Alençon, telling him to use every effort to stand fast in the States, and try to reconcile himself with the rebels on any terms If Juan Bautista de Tassis do not send this news to your Majesty, it may be concluded that the King and Queen-mother will have told it to Cobham in order to draw this Queen more towards Alençon again.—London, 21st February 1583.

28 Feb. **319.** The QUEEN OF SCOTLAND to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I have received your three last letters of 20th, 27th, and 29th January, and it was a great consolation to me to learn, by the report of your conference with the duke of Lennox, the condition in which he had left Scotch affairs, and how he had proceeded with the queen of England. In his letters you have forwarded to me, he could only give me a very brief account of this himself, but he assures me in general terms of my son's entire obedience and duty

1583.

towards me, and of the fidelity to our cause of most of the gentlemen of the country. He presses me, more strongly than ever, to the execution of our enterprise, and is convinced that, with the least foreign support, he will be able to crush the entire opposing faction in a fortnight. He says it could not stand at all but for the help of the queen of England; and our party would already have attacked them, as we are the stronger, but for the fear that they would endanger the life of my son or cause him to be carried out of the country. It is my intention to use every effort to get him out of their hands, in which case I pray you will represent to His Holiness and the King that war cannot fail to break out in the country, and that the aid requested, or a part of it pending the arrival of the rest, should be in readiness. As my son cannot be consulted beforehand, the duke of Lennox will not fail to return to Scotland with the foreign forces, which he assures me will be safely received at Dumbarton, according to the arrangement he has made with the captain there.

I have received no advices for the last five months from my ambassador* about the negotiations in France, Rome, and Spain, respecting the enterprise, and I am quite ignorant of the present condition thereof, although I have written firmly several times, and also have told him to keep up correspondence with you. I am much displeased at this, but in order to banish any suspicion you might be led to entertain in other quarters, I am obliged to tell you plainly that the whole fault proceeds from the ambition and bias of my said ambassador; and unfortunately it is not in my power to make him agree with anything unless he has the entire direction and control of it. In order to be able to preserve this liberty of acting according to his own fancy, he would prefer that I myself should refrain from mixing in the business, although, up to the present, I fail to see any advancement of the negotiations which he has undertaken, as he will not allow any other person to intervene. Even in Spain I have been quite unable to get him to enter into communication with Sir Francis Englefield, who is a gentleman of great experience in English affairs, and has had the direction of them hitherto. He will not endure the bishop of Ross either, who has done me very great service, or any other of my special agents. I pray you, then, lay upon him the blame of my not being obeyed in my orders that he was to keep in touch with you with regard to what happened in France concerning me. In order to forward my affairs I have had communication with my cousin, M. de Guise, by an English gentleman named Morgan, and although my ambassador has done all he could to obstruct him, I have determined in future to communicate with my cousin only through this Morgan, who has served me long and faithfully there (in France). He enjoys an excellent reputation with my principal friends, and I should be glad if you can communicate with my cousin Guise through him, and so from time to time get fresh intelligence of what is going on there. I have therefore

* Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow.

1583.

given Morgan orders to try to open up a correspondence with you, and I assure you he may confidently be trusted with the most important matters touching my interest.

With regard to your leaving for Spain, since things have reached a position when it is necessary that they should be managed from France, I have begged the king (of Spain), through Englefield, to appoint you to that country, and I pray you will second this request in the interests of the business, because not only have you a full knowledge of my intentions, and of the state of affairs here, which makes you more capable than anyone else to deal with these people, as will be necessary, but I will not, for my part, commit any of my affairs here to Señor de Tassis, as I have no confidence in or knowledge of him. I hope that the Catholic King will grant this just petition, and I pray you if only until you receive the reply, to defer your departure from here. I should be sorry that your health should suffer by a long stay, but I have great hopes of a prompt execution of our enterprise, to which your presence is so very necessary. I am quite of your opinion that, if the enterprise is carried though swiftly and promptly, no plans should be undertaken in England for fear of premature discovery, but if the Catholic King and His Holiness resolve to delay the matter, I do not think it would be unwise to approach the principal gentlemen here, with the object of gaining them over and getting them to make preparations themselves, without communicating the affair to others. I already have had some of them sounded, but until they know the foreign troops are embarked and on their way, there is no possibility of getting them to pledge themselves. They say that in the last northern insurrection the fine promises given to them and unfulfilled were the cause of their destruction, and of the cruel persecution they had to undergo. They consequently will make no engagement until they are quite assured of the intention of His Holiness, and the king (of Spain), your master, towards whom, at this time, I presume Fontenay will be travelling, after being so long delayed in Paris by my ambassador. You will favour me by recommending Fontenay and helping him with your influence at the Spanish Court, as I intend to make him my representative there.

Your testimony to Morgan is very agreeable to me, and I can assure you I am more deeply indebted to him than I can say, for without any obligation from him towards me, I have found him so zealous and affectionate for the restoration of my State and prosperity, and I pray you to trust him in all he may tell you as if it were myself. I will write you a word by Lord Harry,* to assure you that you may safely send by him any letters to me you may think proper, but do not trust him with anything of importance.

I cannot omit to congratulate you upon the recent accident in the Netherlands,† and hope that it will facilitate greatly the

* Lord Henry Howard, Mendoza's "second confidant."

† The contention between the Flemings and Alençon's French forces.

1583.

submission of the country to the Catholic King, and peradventure bring the duke of Alençon to seek his friendship.

28 Feb. The following letter is enclosed in the aforegoing :—

M. l'Ambassadeur.—At the urgent request of Lord Harry I write you a word by him, and say that it will be advantageous if you will show him the deciphering of this in order that he may see that I have fulfilled his desire. You told him that some time ago I had sent you this cipher key, without anything else, but we have not written in this cipher hitherto.

2 March. **320.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

I must confess that I am awaiting His Majesty's letters with more anxiety than I can say, as I am overburdened with maladies, and I cannot manage to throw off the effects of my late catarrh, from which I am obliged to convalesce as if it had been a great illness. The Queen cannot get on without marriage negotiations, and she is carrying them on now with the king of Scotland, in order to secure herself in the quarter she fears most.

The picture they sent from Flanders represents a cow, signifying the States, with his Majesty mounted thereon and spurring it till the blood flows. Orange is depicted milking the animal, whilst a lady, to represent the queen of England, is giving it a little hay with one hand, and holding out a porringer to Orange with the other, and Alençon is holding on by the tail.—London, 2nd March 1583.

17 March. **321.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 6th, as arranged, the Queen gave audience to M. de la Mothe Fénélon, receiving him alone in the privy chamber, the only persons in the room being the two ambassadors (*i.e.* La Mothe and Castelnau) and a few Councillors. When La Mothe approached to kiss her hand she showed great coldness, but ordering the ambassador to be covered at once, had a seat brought for her. She then addressed La Mothe very harshly and stiffly, and said that she was astonished that a man of his age with his white beard should have proceeded in Scotland differently from what he had promised her.* He had offered to the king of Scotland the forces of his master and every assistance, and had discussed the business of the association between the mother and son, which she (Elizabeth) would never allow. He replied with great submission that, when she received further information besides that contained in the letters that had been sent to her, she would see that he had not failed in anything he had promised, and had done nothing derogatory to his grey hairs or his master's instructions. He would presume to remind her that he had told her that his mission was to settle things

* *See* the Queen's letter to Bowes and Davison in Scotland, dated 30th January, instructing them to complain to the king of Scotland of La Mothe's proceedings, and to represent to him that, "finding La Mothe to be entered into so strange a course there, "contrary to his solemn promise made on going thither, he would do well to despatch "him thence so soon as he may."—Hatfield Papers, Hist. MSS. Com., Part 3.

1583.

in Scotland in quiet and concord, and if this were not feasible, then to offer his master's forces, which he had done. At the same time he had pointed out how beneficial it was to the King of Scotland to retain, not only the friendship of France, but also that of the queen of England, to whom he personally owed so much, and he could call Davison to witness whether he told the truth or not. With this the Queen told him to be covered and instantly tamed her anger, which was only make-believe. She then said she was glad for him to undeceive her as to the information she had received, to which she had not given entire credit, as she knew his disposition; and then went on to converse with him about Flanders, saying nothing but ill of your Majesty, of the prince of Parma, of me, and of Spaniards in general. La Mothe, subsequently relating this, said that, if the Queen had a tenth part as much courage as she had malice, something good would still be done against Spain. When she dwelt upon her affection for the king of Scotland, and her desire that there should be perfect concord and friendship between the two kingdoms, La Mothe replied that the best way to effect it would be to liberate the mother. The Queen at once began to abuse the queen of Scotland and the "association," which, she said, was only for the purpose of upsetting everything that had been done in Scotland. I gave your Majesty an account of the answer La Mothe had received in Scotland, and since then I have learnt from a trustworthy source the exact proposals made by the King and his Council and his replies, of which I send a statement to your Majesty. It will be seen that his action was all toned down to suit this Queen, and, as I wrote on the 13th December, his embassy has been from the first only for the sake of appearances, and to force the Queen, out of fear, to second the French designs. As will be seen, also, nothing really was done in either of the points touched, as the alliances were not renewed and no settlement of the "association" of the queen of Scots and her son was arrived at, as the conspirators wish it to take the form of a simple renunciation.

During the verbal communications La Mothe had with the King he suggested one of two marriages to him on behalf of the Queen-mother; first with the princess of Lorraine, which the King stopped immediately, by saying that he was not in a position to discuss it without the intervention of his Council and the consent of his people, whereupon La Mothe opened out no further on the point. La Mothe asked whether he would be glad for the king of France to send forces to his aid, whereupon he said, Yes, if it could be done without endangering his life, but he saw the conspirators had him fast. La Mothe avers that he treats the conspirators with far more dissimulation and artifice than could be expected from his years, as no one would guess but that they were the persons he loved most, instead of his hating them as he does. The earl of Huntly told him (La Mothe) that the best way would be to act in France without saying anything about it to the King.

I hear that La Mothe has written to the queen of Scotland about her ambassador, but the letter is really filled with praises of her

1583.

son, and saying how many adherents she had. He says that they had made themselves known to him, asking him to beg of her to order their pensions to be paid, which it was thought better should come from her, in order to pledge them the more to her. He says, moreover, that he gave some more pensions there from his King, which, if it be the case, can only be on paper, for La Mothe himself is so short of money that when he returned hither he was obliged to ask an English gentleman to lend him 300 crowns, payable in three months, on his return to France. La Mothe and the French ambassador also spoke to my second confidant, whom they told they had received fresh orders from the king of France to offer him a pension of 2,000 crowns a year, on one of the blank grants which La Mothe brought, it having been a mistake on their part, they said, to offer him 1,000 before. They earnestly begged him to accept the pension, but he refused in the same way as he previously had done, whereupon they prayed him to indicate some person upon whom it could be conferred through his intervention, but this he also refused. I have confirmation of this, besides what he tells me, as La Mothe related it to the gentleman from whom he borrowed the 300 crowns, who is a friend of mine and one of the channels through which I communicate with the queen of Scotland. He is a good Catholic, and informs me of all he learns from the French, with whom he is in constant communication.

Since the arrival of La Mothe, letters have been received from Scotland, reporting that a general meeting of the nobles has been held, whereat the earls of Mar and Argyll are much displeased, and complain of the earl of Gowrie, who is one of the principals of the conspirators, for not having informed them when he proposed it to the King and persuaded him, as some of them affirm that he did. The King, at the instance of the conspirators, is sending hither, on an embassy, Colonel Stuart, who formerly served the rebels in Flanders, and it was also said that, although the King would not give formal permission to Méneville to have mass celebrated in his house, he had told him that he would make no inquiries as to whether he had it or not, and with this Méneville was allowed to do as he pleased.

Robert Bowes, this Queen's ambassador, and Davison have informed the King, on behalf of Leicester and Walsingham, that if he will marry Dorothy,* daughter of the earl of Essex (who, they say, was poisoned by order of Leicester so that the latter might marry his wife, the present countess of Leicester), and will assure them that he will not change religion, on his being acknowledged by the English Catholics, they, Leicester and Walsingham, will have him declared by the judges to be the heir to the crown of England. Notwithstanding this offer, Leicester still perseveres in the marriage I mentioned, of his son with the grand-daughter of the countess of Shrewsbury, who, after the queen of England, they

* Lady Dorothy Devereux, who subsequently married Lord Rich. A curious communication from her and her brother the earl of Essex to James VI. in 1589 will be found in the Hatfield Papers, Part III., Hist. MSS. Com.

1583.

say, is the nearest heiress. With Walsingham's aid he is thus trying to get his son* made King in right of his wife. His relatives and friends have possession of the ports of entrance of the country, the only thing wanting, as yet, being the control of the sea forces, which the Queen has promised, after the death of the earl of Lincoln, who is more than 70 years of age, to Lord Howard with whom Leicester has made an arrangement beforehand, to exchange the office of Admiral for that of Master of the Horse, which Leicester holds. The queen of Scotland has earnestly pressed the French ambassador, by some means, to let the Queen know of this design of Leicester's in connection with the marriage of his son, as she is certain that it would arouse her womanly jealously, and make her very indignant. The ambassador, however, has refused.—London, 17th March 1583.

17 March. **322.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In addition to the discourse which I described to your Majesty, between the Queen and M. de la Mothe, at his leave taking, he asked her, on behalf of the Queen-mother, to indicate the number of ships she would contribute to the fleet which she (the Queen-mother) was raising in favour of Don Antonio. She said that, when Don Antonio was in a position to raise a fleet, she would give four great ships of her own, and eight merchantmen. They have also said the same to Don Antonio's agent. M. de la Mothe affirmed here that the Queen-mother was only waiting for Alençon's affairs to be settled, and he had no doubt that, until that was done, Don Antonio's business would slumber.

They report from Flushing that two armed ships had gone to Dieppe to carry Don Antonio to Antwerp, but I have no confirmation of it.

The ships I have mentioned, that Humphrey Gilbert was fitting out with the design of taking Catholics to the coast of Florida, are now getting ready to sail, as the two ships they sent last summer to explore seem a long while gone.—London, 17th March 1583.

17 March. **323.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Darcy, who I said had been sent to the duke of Alençon, returned hither on the 12th, and instantly sent to tell Walsingham that he was in London with the French ambassador. He said, not only had Alençon failed to come to terms with the rebels, but there was not the slightest hope of his doing so. Darcy told Alençon how sorry this Queen was, and pointed out the trouble that might result, to which the Duke replied that the States had given him good cause for doing much more than he had done, and that the

* Fontenay, writing to the queen of Scots, 15th August 1584 (Hatfield Papers, Part 3), speaks of Leicester's desire to seek the friendship of her and her son James VI., "especially since the death of the son whom he had promised to the countess of "Shrewsbury for 'la petite Arbelle.'" In the same letter Fontenay assures the Queen that her son "will not further advance his cousin Arbelle."

1583.

only evil was that he had not succeeded, and consequently there was no more to be said about it. Darcy also represented to him how grieved his mistress was that Norris and the Englishmen were so much opposed to him, and said that he had instructions to tell them so, in a way which Alençon would understand if he sent someone with him to hear what he said. Alençon accordingly sent with him six gentlemen of his chamber, and in their presence Darcy told Norris in the name of the Queen, his Sovereign lady, that she ordered him and the rest of the Englishmen to leave there instantly, this being preceded by a great preamble. Norris had already been made acquainted with the Queen's message, and answered that he was a second son,* and had not an inch of ground in England; that he was in the service of the States, to whom he and his men had sworn allegiance, and that until he had fulfilled that oath he would not be justified either in honour or duty in abandoning them. For the satisfaction of his honour he begged Darcy again to lay the matter before the Queen, and pray her to send a written general order that he was to leave the service of the States. In accordance with this, Alençon desired Darcy to beg the Queen, since she so greatly desired his welfare, and held to his side against all the world, that she would at once order all the Englishmen to leave the States, as he would be able to agree perfectly well with the rebels if he were alone with his Frenchmen. Darcy also brings with him from Alençon various conditions for the Queen to consider and influence the rebels to accept, and press those which may be most convenient. The last conditions proposed to him by the rebels were, that he should restore the fortresses of Terremonde, Villevorde, and Geestemunde, and that he should go to Brussels, not only with the Switzers who had been previously specified as his guard, but with such escort as he might choose; and when this was done, a settlement might be discussed. Alençon tore up these conditions in a furious rage, saying that he was duke of Brabant and Gueldres and count of Flanders, and as such their Sovereign, who could dictate terms to them instead of their doing so to him. He refused to give them any answer in writing, and pleaded illness, which caused Orange and the Antwerp people to think that he was gaining time, either to go to France or to await the succour which was said to be coming from there. They had therefore withheld the victuals, which had previously been sent to him by land and water from the rebel towns.

Darcy says that, whilst he was at Terremonde a gentleman came

* Sir John Norris was the seventh son of the first Lord Norris, but several of his brothers were dead at the date of this letter. It is curious that his father (then Sir Henry Norris) in February 1589 pledged certain lands to the Queen as security for a loan to Sir John. His mother writes to Sir Robert Cecil, September 1593, begging that her son may be granted the permission he craves to go to the Low Countries, apparently to enable him to pay off the debt, "for surely it is no small grief to my "Lord and myself that our lands should be engaged in the Queen's hands, as that "whatever it shall please God to do with us, we cannot dispose of them, and we are "both old, as you know. And these parcels of land were reserved to be bestowed "on our younger sons when my Lord and myself did bind our land to our eldest son." —Hatfield Papers, Part 4, Hist. MSS. Com.

1583.

from the prince of Parma,* to whom Alençon at once gave audience, and was with him for over four hours, which greatly offended St. Aldegonde and the other rebels there, as he did not give audience to them.

They report from Antwerp that, as Orange saw that the province of Flaners and the people of Antwerp had made up their minds on no account to come to an arrangement with Alençon, he had told them that if they submitted to your Majesty they would all be burned, hanged, or martyred, and it was, therefore, desirable that they should seek some good leader to govern and advise them; the object of it being that they should choose him (Orange) as duke of Brabant, which was being warmly advocated by his faction. He had prevented the populace from listening to the letters sent by some of the personages about the prince of Parma, by saying that no arrangement was ever made between two enemies directly, but that if some German or other neutral person were to intervene he might be listened to. This was coupled with his usual artifice, of spreading fictions amongst the people, and raising ill-feeling against the reconciled provinces. By order of the Council, the so-called bishops here, the ministers, and companies of merchants, have been asked to grant money for the relief of Geneva, and although the demand is ostensibly for voluntary gifts, they really are almost obligatory. Two aldermen and two other persons, who were deputed to manage it, summoned the persons separately, and made them a long harangue; after which, if the sum given was small, they frightened the givers by saying that the Queen and Council would be very angry at their conduct in refusing to help generously so charitable a work. They keep secret the amount they have collected, and although some people really think it is for Geneva, others believe, with better reason, that it is to send to the apostate bishop of Cologne, whom they had promised to assist. The Queen has sent a gentleman to Sweden, it is believed on the affairs of Muscovy. She wishes to be arbitratress of a peace there.—London, 17th March 1583.

17 March. **324.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

I cannot help expressing to you my daily increasing sorrow at receiving no despatch from his Majesty withdrawing me from here, and as my own letters are at present so long, with their many enclosures, I will not tire you with much here.

From the proposals about Scotland and La Mothe's bold action, you will judge whether I was right in my forecast of his mission and aims. The moment I heard from my friend that La Mothe was asking for money, I had his secretary approached and sounded as to whether, in return for a present, he would be willing to show his master's instructions, because I concluded that if the master was in want, the servant would not be too well off. He agreed to the proposal, in return for a present of a hackney, the cost of which

* This was an officer named Hernando Acosta, who first approached Alençon through Mario Biragne, Colonel of one of the French regiments.

1583.

I paid. He delivered the instructions signed by the king of France himself, which I have had in my own hands, as well as his other papers, which I have had copied; although I could not get a copy made of the instructions, for fear La Mothe should miss them, but they are to the same effect as the proposals, and leave La Mothe to use his discretion, according as he may find affairs here and in Scotland.* I am delighted to have taken this step, because, not only has it enabled me to be sure about Scotch matters, but it has fully proved the trustworthiness and honesty of my second confidant, who had minutely informed me, verbally, of La Mothe's designs, the information being exactly confirmed by the papers which I have seen.—London, 17th March 1583.

20 March. **325.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I enclose a letter from the queen of Scotland, which was the one I thought was missing.† The long delay in its delivery was owing to the gentleman who brought it having been in hiding, as an attempt was made to arrest him as a Catholic one night in the house of a friend with whom he was lodging.

The constable of Dumbarton Castle replied to the demand made of him by the conspirators (which I mentioned in my former letters) that he held the castle for the King on behalf of the duke of Lennox, to whom he was pledged by oath. He could not, therefore, surrender his charge except into the hands from which he had received it. The Queen's ambassadors and the conspirators have informed her of this, and say that, as all their efforts to obtain possession of the castles of Dumbarton and Blackness have failed, it was advisable that she should get possession of them by any means. A great council thereupon was held here, where it was decided to raise troops in the county of Leicester (?) and its neighbourhood to send to Carlisle, one of the principal keys to the Border. I do not know whether the intention is to enter Scotland, or only, by arousing the fear of it, to help the conspirators to obtain the two fortresses by means of money and promises.

The Queen's two ambassadors there say that the king of Scotland's demeanour towards the conspirators is pure artifice, and that he speaks much more spiritedly since the departure of M. de la Mothe than before. Méneville was secretly approaching the Scots, and was daily getting more friendly with them. Walsingham, speaking of this with a friend, said that the Scots were not much to be trusted now, for they always remained French in their sympathies, and were more than ever so at present. Leicester recently sent a son of the countess of Shrewsbury to prompt his mother to sound the queen of Scots as to her feeling with regard to the marriage of her son in England. I have informed her of it.

* La Mothe Fénélon's instructions are printed in an appendix to Robertson's "History of Scotland," from Calderwood's MS.

† *See* letter queen of Scotland to Mendoza, 28th February, page 446.

1583.

Several ships have come from Antwerp, reporting that the people there are not reconciled with Alençon, and that Orange was pressing the rebel States urgently to send money to the men at Alost who have mutinied, although this was only a pretext for giving it to Alençon. They report the marriage of Orange with a daughter of Admiral Coligny who was executed (*justiciado*) in Paris. Her age is 30. Two ships were being fitted out in Flushing to bring her from France.

The Council here have been meeting daily to discuss the papers brought by Darcy, but have not yet arrived at a decision. This Queen's physician, Dr. Lopez, has gone to Dieppe with letters from the Queen to Don Antonio.

The English ship I mentioned, which was going to Tripoli in Syria, was detained in an English port by contrary winds. I managed to ship on board of her an English gentleman named Giles Porter, who is married in Seville and is a good Catholic and faithful adherent of your Majesty. He had made a vow to go to Jerusalem, and I have instructed him to learn the negotiations the English are carrying on, and report them on his return to any place where there may be a minister of your Majesty. The collection of money I spoke of, as being made from the Bishops, Ministers, and Merchant Companies, is being continued all over the country.—London, 20th March 1583.

28 March. **326.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my letter of 20th instant the Queen has received letters from Alençon, which caused the Council to delay a decision on the documents brought by Darcy. Alençon writes that he is at a loss to imagine on what grounds of conscience, reason, love, or gratitude she could leave him in his present state of misery and extremity, considering that he had embarked in the war solely on her account and to prove his desire to serve her. If, he says, she loves him as well as she has so often professed, she will again send to Norris decided orders. This she has done, telling him that he is to oppose the duke of Alençon in nothing, and that if he finds he cannot consistently act thus he had better resign. She has used some very ill words of Norris, both publicly and privately. The Councillors have been much surprised that she should take such a course as this, even if it only be for appearance sake, and say that she might well have avoided it, because Norris' oath to serve the States relieved him of the obligation of obeying her in matters appertaining to their service. They have decided that the communications on the matter with Norris and the rebels shall be carried on by private persons, and they will not again send a formal representative. The man they have sent for the purpose is also to suggest to Orange that, even if they (the States) make friends with Alençon again they should on no account give him the title of duke of Brabant. If he (Alençon) proposes to return to France on their giving him a sum of money, leaving the French troops under Huguenot chiefs, the Queen says she will help them with part of the amount required, as it appears impossible now for him to fraternise with the Flemings, in view of past events. This

1583.

they think would be the best way, rather than to keep the fire smouldering, and would relieve the Queen of the risk of Alençon's finding himself utterly abandoned, oppressed, and powerless, and making terms with your Majesty. The course they suggest would also avoid the sending of a large French force to the Netherlands by the King, which they suspect might bring war to their own doors, whilst if Alençon returns to France they will be more secure on Scotch affairs, as the Huguenots will divert him (the King of France) from any enterprises of the sort, and he will be in greater need than ever of the friendship of the Queen, in order to keep his brother in awe of him. This will enable them to continue, as heretofore, to foment the war and draw matters out, unless your Majesty be driven to make peace, conceding liberty of conscience, which is one of the aims they have in view.

The Lord Chancellor said at the last council that it was more advantageous for the English that your Majesty should occupy the Netherlands than that the French should do so, which view was opposed by Leicester and Walsingham. The Treasurer silenced them by saying that there was no need to discuss the question, since the war was going forward, which was very advantageous to them.

Two nights recently three very shabbily dressed Frenchmen have been in the secret gallery with the Queen, on the first occasion only Lady Stafford and another being present, and on the second Frances Howard, a lady, and Mr. Sennet (?) of the Chamber. I have not been able to discover who these people are, but I hear that after the Queen had seen them, she asked the French ambassador to tell her truly whether any Frenchmen had come hither secretly, whereupon he replied in great surprise that he had not heard of any such. It may therefore be concluded that they come from the French Huguenots and the Queen asked the question she did in order to find out whether it was a ruse.

Cobham writes to the Queen that, as soon as the king of France learnt of the return of M. de la Mothe from Scotland, he said that as affairs there were in such a state as to be irremediable, this Queen would work her will and he would profit by it, and that the Pope was pressing him warmly for France to accept the Council of Trent.

On the arrival of letters from Antwerp, dated 21st, the Queen sent word to the French ambassador that Alençon had come to an agreement, but letters to the chief heretics here deny this. Orange and the rebel States, it is true, had agreed upon terms with him, but the people would not accept them.

I enclose copy of letter from the queen of Scotland. I am replying to her, as regards the (English) Catholics, that on no account should any declaration be made to them, and they should not even be sounded, as they are quite paralysed with fear, and no good end would be gained by doing so. When the business has to be carried into effect they will be obliged to embrace it, whereas if they heard of it now, the secret would not be kept.—London, 28th March 1583.

1583.
4 April. **327.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As I said on the 28th ultimo, the Queen has again sent Somers to the Netherlands (he is the man who was with Alençon at the relief of Cambrai) with the object of his treating secretly both with him and the rebels, without either party knowing that he is dealing with the other, to persuade each of them, if they wish to settle the matter on favourable terms, to send envoys here to beg the Queen's intercession, and place the decision in her hands. The Councillors think that this will be the best way to consolidate her position in the affair and to pledge Alençon not to make terms with your Majesty. It will also give them time to learn from the king of France how far, and to what extent, in men and money, he intends to help his brother in the war, and the Queen has sent instructions to Cobham in furious haste to learn clearly the King's intentions on this point. No reply has been received from Somers, and, as the weather is contrary, he probably has not gone across yet.

I enclose copy of the terms negotiated between the States and Alençon, which have been printed at Ghent, but as will be seen by the enclosed letters from Antwerp, nothing has yet been concluded.

The meeting of nobles in Scotland decided that they should all endeavour to live together in peace and quietness. The Queen is informed that Father William Holt of the Company of Jesus, who was there, has been arrested by means of Colonel Stuart, and Alexander Seton, brother of Lord Seton had also been taken. Two cipher letters were found on Holt, written by the duke of Lennox, one to the Earl of Eglinton (?) and the other to the said Alexander Seton, by which it appeared that he was in communication with the Pope. The moment the Queen learnt of this she sent courier after courier, entreating the conspirators to sent Holt hither, and they write that the French ambassador Méneville was pressing the King to surrender the priest to him, as he was an Englishman, in order to send him to France. I have given notice to the queen of Scotland's ambassador through Juan Bautista de Tassis, so that he may press the King earnestly to write to the king of Scotland and Méneville about it. I have also changed the cipher I had with Dr. Allen and the priest who went from Scotland,* which was the same cipher as Holt had, to avoid danger in case he (Holt) had not burnt his copy. If God should decree that he be brought hither, it may be concluded from his good life that he will meet death as firmly as the others have done, and gain the crown of martyrdom without confessing anything to the prejudice of others.

I am informed that His Holiness is being much urged from France to appoint the bishop of Glasgow a Cardinal.

Some of the Councillors here have affirmed that the Queen has intelligence of Méneville's having ratified the treaties between France and Scotland, the king of Scots having accepted a regular pension. I cannot confirm this, my communications with Scotland being stopped by Holt's arrest.—London, 4th April 1583.

* Mendoza's agent there. *See* pages 359, 388, etc.

1583.
15 April. **328.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In my last I gave an account of the state of the negotiations between Alençon and the rebels. He has now come to terms with them, and the articles which I now enclose were published in Antwerp with great ceremony, by which a new arrangement was inaugurated. The Queen has made every effort to direct the affair into the channel which suited her best, whilst keeping Alençon always dependent upon her and inflaming the war in the Netherlands. She has rejoiced exceedingly that Alençon has accepted the conditions and gone to Dunkirk, and she sent word to the French ambassador the moment she heard the news. She is anxiously awaiting the return of the private agents she sent over, and particularly Somers, so that by the light of his information she may know how best to proceed. Her ambassador Cobham writes that the health of the king of France is very doubtful, as his strength continues to diminish, and his mother will therefore do her best to please Alençon in all things. She will shortly leave for Calais, in order to close more strictly still the passage of victuals to the Netherlands, and to be able to confer with Alençon with greater ease. Appearances still favour the undertaking of some enterprise by the house of Guise.

Cobham also writes that Simier had seen the king of France, and had been so well received that there was no doubt that he would be sent hither as ambassador to replace the present man.

Marchaumont writes from Dunkirk that his master's affairs were proceeding very well, and that the Councillors of this Queen would soon repent of having slighted him. Leicester and Walsingham have suggested to the Queen that she should ask the rebels to pay her interest on the money she has lent them. She has refused to do so on her own account, but has authorised them to arrange with the rebels to pay 8 per cent. per annum, and if they can obtain it they, Leicester and Walsingham, are to enjoy the revenue. They are sending a Lucchese heretic, an exchange-broker of Antwerp, to negotiate it.

The Portuguese, Dr. Lopez,* who I said had gone to Dieppe, has returned hither bringing news of the misery in which Don Antonio is. I understand that Diego Botello embarked there two days since for Flanders, and that five ships are being armed at Havre de Grace to take troops to Terceira; the principal provisions they carry being wine and cider, as there is a great lack of drink in the island. Men who were on board these ships a week ago assure me that, although they profess to be ready, even if the troops were on board, they could not sail until the end of this month. Don Antonio declared that he expected seven hulks which were to come for him from Denmark and Holland. I have no news from Zeeland of any ships being fitted out for him, the only rumour being that

* This was Dr. Rodrigo Lopez, the Queen's physician, a Portuguese Jew professing Christianity. He was house physician at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and was hanged at Tyburn early in 1594 for attempting to poison the Queen.

1583.

certain pirates are asking him for letters of marque.—London, 15th April 1583.

15 April. **329.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since writing the enclosed letter I hear from Scotland that two gentlemen had formed the plan of releasing the King from the hands of the conspirators, and, in order that he might not be exposed to any danger by being ignorant of the intention, they informed him thereof by means of one of his favourites, who was in the secret. When the King heard of it he feared that it might cause increased personal risk to himself, and told Colonel Stuart, the captain of his guard, to increase the strength of the guard in the place where the attempt was to be made, but without divulging who were the persons involved. The conspirators were more annoyed than pleased at this, in the belief that the King's action is all artifice, and with a different aim to that which suits them.

The meeting of nobles had been prorogued, after many complaints had been made of the proceedings of the new government. These complaints had been listened to by the King, who had proceeded impartially between the two parties. The French ambassador had again urged the renewal of the treaties between France and Scotland by common accord, and also that the King should be set at liberty and allowed to govern in his own way. As regards the first point, the King replied for the third time as before; and they write that, on the second point, although most of the nobles wished the King to be set at liberty, they did not dare to declare themselves openly, out of fear of the guards and armed men, at the disposal of the conspirators. When the ambassador saw this, he replied that the men-at-arms and new guards surrounding the King should be dismissed, whereupon the conspirators said that they were necessary for the King's safety in the altered and disturbed state of the times. In order to prevent the ambassador from following the matter up, the conspirators immediately afterwards incited the populace to assault his house and kill his priest, on the ground that mass was said there. The ambassador then went and complained to the King, who promised that the disorder should be put down; but he dissembled, and nothing was done.

The earl of Gowrie, finding himself the object of much intrigue in consequence of his having appointed himself treasurer, offered his resignation of the office to the King, in the expectation that the King would confirm him in the post and that he would thus be free from attack. The King, however, accepted his resignation and kept the office in his own hands.

I hear, also, that this Queen's ambassadors (in Scotland) write that Father Holt had been tortured, but that he had not confessed anything prejudicial to others.

Fernihurst, a confidant of the duke of Lennox, had been arrested, and Colonel Stuart was shortly coming hither with an embassy from the King. The ambassadors say that his principal mission is

1583.

to thank this Queen for her maternal care for the King's safety and the quietude of the realm, and to say that the King and his subjects desired to conclude a binding accord and friendship with her, and would willingly accept the conditions which she considered would be most conducive to a lasting harmony.

He is to represent that the whole country is urging the King to marry, and in this, as in all things, he desires to have the advantage of her opinion, begging her to intimate where she thinks he should look, in order that he may not forfeit her friendship, which he hopes to enjoy for ever. He also asks her to surrender to him the person of his vassal, Archibald Douglas, whom she is detaining, and to restore to him (the King) the lands possessed in England by his late father. This point has been discussed for years past, the sum claimed being 1,200*l.* a year charged on lands belonging to his father, which the king of Scotland demands in accordance with English law. The Queen replies to this that, when it is established that she is his guardian (a law of Parliament making her guardian of all minors in her realm), she will deliver the property to him.

The earl of Ormond has written telling the Queen that he has arrived in his territory in Ireland, and had taken away from the earl of Desmond 300 men who were his (Ormond's) vassals, and a great quantity of cattle. Desmond in view of these losses had been forced to ask for terms, and the news was at once made the most of here. The very reverse is the truth, however, because although some of Ormond's vassals who had followed Desmond in their lord's absence, have now left him, Desmond has done more harm to the English than they to him, he having slaughtered a whole company of them, only twenty men of which were saved. The Queen has secretly sent a servant of James Crofts', the controller, to sound Desmond, as if of his own accord, as to whether he is willing to submit. Two martyrs have recently suffered death here, with invincible constancy, and I send enclosed a statement of the event. The lists of Catholics imprisoned in the country which have been furnished to the Queen compute the numbers to be nearly 11,000, two-thirds of whom are women. Many converts are gained daily to the Roman church, and priests assure me that this is evidently the result of this shedding of martyr's blood, together with the good example and virtuous life of the priests who go about the work, who, although they are young men, are granted special grace by God for their task. May He be praised for all things.—London, 15th April 1583.

19 April. **330.** JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1561.

Three or four days since Hercules sent to tell me that he had communicated with the duke of Lennox, who had informed him that he had left the castle of Dumbarton, which, they say, is a very important one, held in his interest, but on condition that within three months the captain of it should be furnished with certain supplies he required, without which he might be obliged to go over to the other side, which would be a great drawback to the projects they have in hand. He (Guise) therefore considered it necessary

1583.

that the castle should be supplied with all speed, and asked me to give him 5,000 crowns for the purpose. I made no difficulty about this, but instantly promised to provide the amount, in the first place because I thought it really important to maintain the footing at Dumbarton, and secondly in order to prove to him, in effect, that the whole affair is left to him, and so to bind him the more. Last night, accordingly, I handed to one of Lennox's men, who had been indicated by Hercules, 5,000 sun-crowns. He is going to ask the nuncio for a similar amount, but has not done so yet, as the nuncio has been ill in bed. I went and saw him before I paid the money, in order to show that I did not wish to take any steps without his knowledge. He (the nuncio) told me that he intended to follow the same course, and provide the sum they requested, with the same alacrity as I had shown. I beg your Majesty do not forget the horses for Hercules. I have promised him they shall be sent, and he is expecting them anxiously.—Paris, 19th April 1583.

22 April. 331. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since I wrote on the 15th a gentleman named Bex has arrived from Dunkirk with letters from the duke of Alençon to the Queen, the purport of which is to ask her for the 25,000*l*., balance of the sum she promised. He also complains of Colonel Norris, who, not contented with the injury he had already done him, had now refused to obey the States and surrender the territory he held in the Vast country, unless he were paid 200,000 ducats. He will not on any account serve Alençon and would rather go to Cologne. The Queen has replied to Alençon's first request by saying that her own need will not allow of her giving him any money; and, with regard to the second, she promises to write ordering Norris to prefer the service of the duke of Alençon to any other. No doubt, however, secretly they will send him orders, as they so often have done before, as to how he is to reply, and that the talk about going to Cologne really came from the Queen.

Alençon also writes that he may assure her that the troops being raised by Casimir, ostensibly to aid the apostate bishop of Cologne, are really for the purpose of going to Friesland, and, on the pretext of recovering the money owing to him by the States, seizing the province and selling it to your Majesty. During the audience with Alençon's gentleman, Bex, the Queen complained of certain words used by the Queen-mother, not only injurious to her (Elizabeth), but also to Alençon, who ought to resent them. Speaking of the Antwerp affair the Queen-mother had said that neither she nor her son, the King, understood anything about the matter, as Alençon had embarked in it, compelled by the queen of England, who had sent him to the Netherlands for her own pleasure. The Queen exerted all her blandishments on Alençon's gentleman to discover whether his master was carrying on any negotiations with the prince of Parma, but the man swore emphatically that such a thing had never entered his head. Bex assures intimate friends of his that if the Queen-mother had pressed Alençon very earnestly to continue the war, he would not have been reconciled (with the

1583.

States). When the Commissioners from the rebels had arrived at Dunkirk he would have complained of the way in which he had been treated, and have demanded the payment of the money already disbursed, with a clear assurance for the payment of future amounts, as well as the possession of places from whence the war could be carried on. He says that, to judge from the behaviour of the rebels and Alençon's resentment against them, he thought it would be difficult for both parties to come to a stable settlement.

For the last two days the rumour is current here that the Holland and Zeeland people have given to Orange the title of Count of those two provinces, and lord of Utrecht.

The queen of Scotland has written to this Queen, complaining of the way in which she is treated. She says she is no longer a prisoner only, but a slave, and requests permission to send her secretary to the Queen, with proposals for an agreement which will be safe, honourable, and salutary for her realm and for both Queens. This Queen has replied in general terms, to the effect that she is very sorry for her troubles, and, with the object of alleviating them, she was sending Beal to see her, to whom she might give an account of the other matters she spoke of. On his return the Queen would consider the question of her release.

The king of Denmark has sent a gentleman hither, to signify to the merchants belonging to the Muscovy Company that, if they intend to continue their trade, they must pay him his dues as formerly, or he will compel them to do so. The Council has discussed the matter, and has recommended the merchants to send a person to Denmark to offer the King the payment of a part of the dues, if they are allowed to continue the trade, and no doubt the Dane will accept the offer. This Queen has sent to Cologne, to stir up affairs there, one Herll, a great spy, who was formerly in Antwerp. I have advised the prince of Parma. They say here he is going to Mayence.

The Palatine Lasqui, of Poland, is expected here, but the reason of his coming is not known.*—London, 22nd April 1583.

4 May. Paris Archives, K. 1561.

332. JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

It appears to me that Hercules, seeing matters in Scotland altered, and with but small probability of promptly assuming a

* "E Polonia Russiæ vicina hac æstate venit in Angliam, ut Reginam inviseret, "Albertus Alasco, Palatinus Siradiensis, vir eruditus, corporis lineamentis, barba "promisissima, vestitu decoro et pervenusto, qui benigne ab ipsa, nobilibusque magno "honore et lautitiis, ab Academia Oxoniensis eruditis oblectationibus atque variis "spectaculis exceptus, post quatuor menses ære alieno oppressus clam recessit."—*Camden, Eliz.* He arrived in England early in May, and the French ambassador writes that the English were very suspicious of him and could not understand what was the purpose of his visit, as he appeared to be a devout Catholic and heard mass. The Queen, however, was making much of him and had given him a good lodging. Alasco claimed to be of English blood and allied to the earls of Lincoln, of which house, it was said, a cadet had married in Poland, and whose arms he bore. A seventeenth century Polish historian says that the family descended from an English baron, constable of Chester, who fled to Poland in the time of King John, but there is no confirmation of this. The family arms were an ancient ship bearing a tower. The Palatine was presumably the nephew of the famous reformer John A'Lasco, who lived in England for a time.

1583.

position favourable for the plans that had been formed, has now turned his eyes towards the English Catholics, to see whether the affair might not be commenced there. He has already carried the matter so far that he expects to have it put into execution very shortly, and intends to be present in person. As he is entering into the business with the assurance of the support of His Holiness and your Majesty, and in any case it is necessary, if the matter is to be attempted, that it should proceed on solid bases, and with a probability of success, he requests that His Holiness and your Majesty should provide 100,000 crowns, to be available here instantly when it may be required, as when the hour arrives it will be too late to obtain it, and the whole design will risk failure, and especially because he, however good an opportunity might present itself, would not undertake to effect anything without being certain of the wherewithal to make a commencement. He has told the nuncio this, and sent the same message to me by the Scots' ambassador, with a request that I will convey it to your Majesty, and humbly beg for your support. I understand that he has the matter in such train as may ensure his success, and in such case it would be very necessary that he should have at hand the funds for immediate wants, and particularly for one object which I dare not venture to mention here, but which if it be effected will make a noise in the world,* and if not, may be safely mentioned another time. I beg your Majesty to instruct me on the point, as Hercules is very confident that your Majesty will not fail him, and this doubtless is the principal reason which impels him to take the matter up. The nuncio is writing to the same effect to His Holiness. Your Majesty should bear in mind that you will have to provide the greater part of the amount requested, as I am not sanguine that any large sum can be got from Rome, having just learnt that His Holiness has only sent 4,000 crowns, whereas your Majesty has supplied 20,000. I have still in hand a matter of 11,000 crowns, but apart from this, I have not a *real* for extraordinary expenses, and I have been obliged to trench somewhat upon this money for them.—Paris, 4th May 1583.

5 May. Paris Archives, K. 1447. 192.

333. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Your letters of 17th and 28th March and 4th April bring us copies of the proposals made by M. de Fénélon in Scotland and the result of his embassy, and it was very desirable to send us this in such full detail. I thank you much for your reports and the sagacious way in which you are dealing with such fickle people as those. I thank you also for the consolation and communications you sent to the queen of Scotland, encouraging her to promote the plans she has in view, although the departure of the duke of Lennox and the imprisonment of the King will make success difficult and doubtful. God grant some means by which the King may be released, and that those who are in connection with

* This was Guise's plan to murder Elizabeth. *See* letter, 24th June. Tassis to the King, page 479.

1583.

Lennox may take up a better position, otherwise there will be trouble.

With regard to Flemish affairs which are being so artfully supported by the Queen, who keeps both the rebels and Alençon in hand, there is nothing to say except to beg you to report to the prince of Parma all you think necessary, so that he may be the better able to act effectively.

I can well believe the evil offices the Queen is exercising with the Turk to prevent the Sheriff from delivering Larache, and to induce him to send a fleet into these waters; but that other plan you mention, of establishing a trade between England and the Levant, and carrying lead and tin to Alexandria and Tripoli in exchange for drugs and spices, is a threatening danger to everyone, and particularly to the Venetians. I am so friendly with the Republic that you may write to Cristobal Salazar all that is necessary upon the subject, so that he may inform the Governors. Send also full particulars to me in order that I may adopt measures to obviate the evil.

I grieve for the imprisonment of William Holt. The man who came hither will shortly be with you.* One day soon I will give audience to the queen of Scotland's secretary,† and will have you informed of what passes.—Aranjuez, 5th May 1583.

6 May. **334.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

I wrote on the 22nd that the Queen was sending Secretary Beal to the queen of Scotland respecting the message sent by the latter through the French ambassador. It is clear to me, from what the Queen (of Scotland?) says, that the affair is a feint on the part of the ambassador. I am confirmed in this belief, as I know that he addressed the Queen (of England?) on the subject, and used the exact words I wrote to your Majesty, as I learnt from a confidant of his to whom he repeated them, with the Queen's reply to the queen of Scotland. The latter wrote me hurriedly in English what had passed between her and Beal, further particulars of which would be given to me by the gentleman who brought her letter.‡ She asks me to give her my opinion on two points with all possible speed, this being the principal object of her sending. She said she would on no account treat with Beal until she had my reply. I enclose *ad verbum* copy of the English letter and my reply thereto. It appears to me that nothing can be more injurious to your Majesty's interests, and to the hopes of converting this Island, than that the French should get their fingers into the matter through the queen of Scotland, and turn it to their own ends. The most certain method of keeping the conversion well alive is for the queen of Scotland to remain in the country, as her firm support is upon the English Catholic party, who in their turn are upheld

* Father Creighton, who had been sent to Rome and Madrid.

† Fontenay.

‡ Full particulars of Beal's interviews with the queen of Scotland will be found in his papers now in the possession of Lord Calthorpe.

1583.

by the arm of your Majesty, so that, being mutually interdependent, they cannot afford to lose the shelter of your Majesty. I have used all possible artifice in letting the Queen (of Scotland) know that the best course she can adopt, in every respect, is to decline to absent herself from the country and abandon the cause. I mention the various places where she might find herself at liberty, and point out the inconvenience of each of them in order that she may consider the arguments, and convince herself that my opinion is founded on reason rather than with an eye solely to your Majesty's interests. There is no desire that she should live for ever in prison, but it would be a pity to risk, by leaving it, the consummation for which I am so earnestly striving with great hope of success. I enclose to your Majesty her letter of 9th April, and will add here, on my own account, how unadvisable it will be for your Majesty and the Pope to appoint Lennox to command the troops, in defect of the duke of Guise, as he is so ostentatiously Protestant in appearance. The priest from Scotland, in letters dated Rouen, 25th April, advises me that there is little hope that Lennox will recover his health.

Davison has returned from Scotland, and assures this Queen that affairs there were going on excellently. She continues to beguile the King with the hope of his being appointed her successor, and he writes to her privately letters full of endearments. I hear that a letter of this sort arrived the other day; and, in order to keep him in suspense, and to avoid his being offended at the non-fulfilment of the promises she has made to him before the end of this session of Parliament, she has suddenly dissolved Parliament, and the King's hopes must now stand over until the next House meets. Every means is adopted to avoid a final decision, and as soon as Parliament met the Treasurer spread the rumour abroad that this throne would now be consolidated, as the Queen intended to marry the king of Scotland and appoint him her successor, which news was believed by those who failed to penetrate the real reason for publishing it. Orders have been sent to all gentlemen who are bound to serve on the Border to make ready with their horses, and await further instructions.

The French ambassador has written to Alençon, assuring him, in the names of the majority of these Councillors, that when he chooses to make an attempt on Gravelines they will help him with munitions and victuals. I have reported this to the prince of Parma and M. de la Motte.* Somers has returned from Dunkirk with letters from Alençon, written in his own hand, for the Queen, who replies in the same way. He still continues to entreat her for money. The Queen told Alençon's gentleman, Bex, after he took leave of her not to speak with Leicester and Walsingham, which makes them suspect that she may have sent asking him to come back. She has appointed a gentleman named Arber (Arthur Sendye?) to go to Denmark with the offer I mentioned.

* La Motte was the Commander of Gravelines for the king of Spain.

1583.

Diego Botello arrived at Antwerp and the people wanted to kill him, on the ground that he had come on French plots. I have not heard that he negotiated anything.

I enclose letters from Manuel de Silva in Terceira to Don Antonio and others. They were in the ship which was lost near the Sluys, and were bought of a sailor by one of my men who was in those parts.—London, 6th May 1583.

(6 ?) May. **335.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the Queen of Scotland.

——— has given me an account of what your Majesty ordered him, respecting Beal's mission, and the reply thereto, which was worthy of your Majesty. I am greatly favoured by your Majesty's commands that I should give you my opinion on the two points, and if my understanding and penetration could be made to equal my goodwill and desire to serve your Majesty, I am sure I should not err in my judgment; but as unfortunately my dullness is only too undoubted, I state my opinion, more out of obedience to your Majesty than because I think it will be of any service. With regard to the first point, of your Majesty's release, this may take one of two forms, either complete freedom to go whithersoever you choose, or the obligation to remain in the country, as was the case with Queen Mary in the time of King Edward. Release under any other conditions, and, without free access being allowed to your Majesty, would only be another sort of imprisonment.

The second consideration, as to the conditions of release which it would be wise for you to accept, in your own interests and those of the Prince, depends entirely upon the first. In order to judge as to which form of release would be best to choose, it will be necessary to know how some of these Councillors are disposed towards you, who they are, and which of the principal Catholics are devoted to you, upon what ports and forces they can depend, and what following they are counting upon. These points can hardly be elucidated, except by your Majesty yourself, and the same may be said as to similar information with regard to Scotland, which is as important in this respect as England. I can therefore only speak so far as my own knowledge of these points will permit me, without going into details. I know that there are many Catholic gentlemen devoted to you, as are all the schismatics and some Protestants, but only to the extent of being sure unanimously to acclaim your Majesty in the case of the death of the Queen, which the Catholics would do if they saw a strong fleet with foreign troops arrive on the coast, able to undertake the conquest of the country unaided. I have been diligent in sounding their intentions, and I must confess that I find no particularly strong spirit or effort to forward the matter themselves, nor do I perceive any close association or league amongst them, each acting and thinking separately, doubtless in consequence of the close watch kept upon them by the Councillors having completely cowed them, so that they not only distrust one another but avoid expressing their opinions.

In accordance with the information given to me by the priests

1583.

who have been in Scotland, I am forced to a similar conclusion with regard to that country, and I gather, also, from the duke of Lennox's communications that he is not so ardent, as in the interests of your Majesty's release he ought to be, in concluding the association of your Majesty with your son, and in forwarding energetically the conversion of that country and this.

If your Majesty be allowed to leave the country you might live either in Spain or France, but there are inconveniences in your staying in them or other neutral country, as none are adjacent to England; and your Majesty would thus be abandoning the business altogether, and putting it out of your power to render so inestimable a service to God as the conversion of these islands to the holy Catholic Church, and the securing of them to it for the future by means of your line. Even apart from your natural maternal love, which would urge you to this task, your Majesty desires the consummation of it so earnestly. There remains, therefore, the choice of remaining at liberty in this country or in Scotland, and the conclusion and confirmation of the association by the Prince and nobles would be of the highest importance in connection with this, if the Queen (of England) will allow it; because as your Majesty, of course, must be permitted the exercise of the Catholic religion, others would naturally exercise it as well in Scotland, and, by this means, through your Majesty's influence, ground could continue to be gained by the preaching of learned and saintly men to the Prince, who might thus be won by the easiest way, and one fully consistent with your Majesty's honour and dignity. At the same time, your Majesty would establish law and order in the country, now so unhinged, and would prevent the heretics and badly intentioned people from holding the person of the Prince in durance, and the ministers from misleading him spiritually with their diabolical fictions. With your Majesty in Scotland, and the person of the Prince safe, very many good results will follow, as will be evident to anyone, and much more so to your Majesty. If this Queen agrees to such an arrangement, equivalent conditions to those proposed by Beal may be offered for her security and the quietude of England; not forgetting, however, the important point of the repeal by the English Parliament of the statute passed some years ago, authorising the Queen to appoint her own successor, adding also such conditions as your Majesty may consider desirable for the purpose of pledging, as far as possible, the nobles of England in union with those of Scotland. If the Queen will not agree to the association, which for many reasons may be feared, particularly as she has protested against it, and the conspirators are aware that it will be to their detriment, their hold upon the government depending on the pretext that your Majesty has abdicated, and the King been accepted by Parliament, the stay of your Majesty in Scotland, without the conclusion of the association, would be useless. The Prince, in such case, would still be in the hands of the conspirators, and the only result would be that you would be very unhappy, and unable to attain any of the objects above mentioned. In defect, therefore, of the first means, another

1583.

course might be adopted, after your Majesty had, by the aid of this Queen, liberated the Prince from the hands of the conspirators, which is for your Majesty to reside in some convenient place in England with complete liberty, on the pretext that if the Prince do not approve of the association you can hardly get him to renounce during this Queen's lifetime the claim he may have to the English throne, although your Majesty may do so, as you only desire to enjoy in peace what you now possess. Your stay in this country would thus amount almost to a tacit admission of your claim to the succession. If the Queen refuse this arrangement, which is also not improbable, considering her behaviour in keeping up the marriage fiction, approaching one prince after the other, as the interests of her own quietude demand, without allowing a successor to be appointed, which she has often told me herself she would take care she did not permit, as men were naturally more inclined to worship the rising than the setting sun, another course is open to us. It is true this would involve your Majesty's remaining under guard, but without the strictness hitherto used, or the prohibition of the recreations and pleasures necessary to make life enjoyable, whilst you would be allowed free access to despatches and letters from all quarters. Your Majesty would be assured of the person in charge of the guard, in case of disturbance here, not undertaking anything in your Majesty's interests, and the Prince would be out of the hands of the conspirators. This, of course, would mean your continued imprisonment, and as such, irksome; but it would have the result of ensuring and confirming the adhesion of the Catholics here, as well as of other people who, in case of your absence, would doubtless fall away and follow the greater crowd, whilst you would be able to live in a place from whence you might guide the Prince in the government, and keep up the spirits of your friends in Scotland.

I have thus laid before your Majesty the courses open to you, upon all of which much may be said, but notwithstanding this, I should be thoughtless indeed if I did not urge you, with all my heart, to get your liberty at any cost, liberty being the thing most to be prized in the world after life itself, for those who are deprived of it are said to suffer civil death. If you were free and in good health, there is no doubt that, in time, all the evil could be remedied; and I therefore say that the conditions of your release need not be too closely looked at, if the Queen seems inclined to grant it. This, however, is very difficult to believe, seeing how things are going in France, as the Queen fears that the moment your Majesty is free you would unsettle her. It may safely be predicted that, unless circumstances lead her subjects to compel her to appoint your Majesty as her successor, some prompted by their desire that right should be done, and some by the conviction that, little as they may love you, they are most likely to enjoy peace and quietness under you, the Queen will never willingly agree to it, nor release your Majesty. The sending of Beal to you at this time was certainly only with the object of sounding you, in the fear that, with the Prince at his

1583.

present age, it is impossible for Scotch affairs to continue in their actual state, but that these must sooner or later break out, to their (the English) detriment, as England would catch the flame at once, seeing the multitude of Catholics daily being discovered, to their great dismay. This makes them fear an outbreak in Scotland; and in order to see how the land lay, they seized months ago the letters sent by your Majesty; and the French ambassador, I have reason to believe, has been stirring in the matter, and talking for the purpose of giving him an excuse for staying here, now that the Alençon match has failed them. I am led to this belief by the fact that your Majesty says nothing about having instructed him to take any steps which could result in Beal being sent,* but yet the ambassador told two gentlemen, as soon as Beal left, that your Majesty had complained through him of your treatment, and had proposed to send your secretary hither, with some safe offers to the Queen, which should be also honourable to her country. He said that if the Queen would agree to your suggestions, he doubted not that as soon as Beal arrived your Majesty would renounce all claims you might have to the crown of England during the life of this Queen, which will enable you to judge whether I am right in my suspicion. As the aim of this Queen and her Councillors is simply to entertain you with words whilst she gains time to work her will in Scotch affairs, your Majesty should use great circumspection and consideration in agreeing with them, and pay them back in their own coin, whilst at the same time taking care so to arrange matters as to be able to embrace the opportunities that God may send for the conversion of the island, which, as it will tend so greatly to His service, it may be hoped He will soon dispose by His divine action, whilst all human efforts are being made towards the same end by the negotiation of his Holiness and the King, my master.—London, May 1583.

6 May. **336.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

At the killing of the two martyrs I mentioned, in the county of York lately, I am informed by trustworthy persons that an occurrence happened for which we should be thankful to God. After one of the martyrs had been sacrificed, one of the three thieves who were brought with them for execution cried out, on seeing him die, that he would die in the same faith as that martyr, which he protested was the true one (although the man had previously been a heretic) and that in which alone could men hope for salvation. He said that the law had killed an innocent man, and would soon be called to account, and then, with an appearance of great horror and fervent belief, he gave up his life willingly.

* By Castelnau's letter to the king of France on this subject, dated 16th May (Chéruel, Marie Stuart), and also by the queen of Scotland's letter to Castelnau from Sheffield, dated 12th July (Labanoff), it will be seen that the approaches made by the French ambassador for Mary's release had been made with her full consent. It will be observed by the present letter that the Spanish ambassador was opposed to Mary's release by arrangement with the queen of England, above all under French auspices, and was directing all his efforts towards the Spanish and Papal invasion under the nominal leadership of Guise.

1583.

The Queen maintains such a multitude of spies in France to dog the footsteps of the English Catholics there, that it is not possible for their friends to send them a penny without her hearing of it. They therefore constantly have recourse to me, and I send the money as if it were my own. I have now 10,000 crowns which they have asked me to send to Rouen and Paris.

The Council have suggested to the Catholics to contribute a sum of money to carry on the enterprise in Florida, upon which Humphrey Gilbert has sailed with the ships I described to your Majesty, in which case they promise to release the prisoners and will allow them to live without persecution. As they have been warned that the expedition is an illicit one, and fear that the offer is only a trap to discover them, they are keeping in the background, although some few Catholics, out of indifference and penury, have gone with Gilbert, selling what little property was left to them for the purpose.—London, 6th May 1583.

20 May. **337.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since I wrote on the 6th, Beal has returned hither from the queen of Scotland, and has given an account of his errand to the Queen, who says, with regard to the queen of Scotland's request that she shall be released, that although it may be so unsafe and perilous a business for her, yet as soon as the matter of the association with her son has been finally concluded by the Scots nobles, she (Elizabeth) will be happy to discuss the question of her liberation. The truth is that she herself would stand in the way of the "association" if the Scots wanted it, and what she says is simply compliment and empty words to waste time and entertain the French. With this end Walsingham sent Beal himself to the French ambassador, to say that in his opinion and that of other councillors nothing would be more conducive to the welfare of this country and Scotland than the "association" between the mother and son, and he therefore begged him to discuss the matter with the Queen, who, he would find, was now well disposed towards it. In consequence of the countess of Shrewsbury having quarrelled with her husband and accused him of giving the queen of Scotland more liberty than was fitting, the Councillors were trying to get her (the Queen) out of his custody. He (the Earl) thereupon wrote to this Queen, saying that he had kept his prisoner for more than 14 years, and through the time of the rising in the north in her favour, and he could not help feeling grieved that he should be relieved of the charge when he had done nothing to forfeit confidence in him. The Queen, therefore, made no change.

On the 14th there arrived here an embassy from Scotland, Colonel Stuart, John Cockburn, of the King's chamber, David Lindsay a minister, George (Buchanan ?), and a second secretary. The two first mentioned came as ambassadors, and the rest as councillors, without whose consent they cannot act. All of them are terrible heretics and accomplices in the conspiracy. In addition to the points of Stuart's instructions which I detailed in my letter of 15th ultimo, he is to request this Queen to give a firm assignment

1583.

for 12,000*l.*, to pay the pensions and the guard that holds the King, and to lend him a sum of money to repair the fortresses, some of which are in ruins. It is even said that he will ask for 60,000*l.* for this purpose, but I am not sure that he will request so much as that. He is to say that if she will not agree to it they will be obliged to renew the alliance with France, and accept the subsidy and pensions from that country, which are again being offered by the French. The King and they also wish to ask her what method she intends to adopt to preserve her religion in this country in case of her death, this being a feeler to see whether she will announce her intention of appointing the king of Scotland as her heir. The Queen received them on the 16th, but nothing passed but ceremonies of welcome. I will report what I can learn of their proceedings, which I am watching with the utmost vigilance, especially with regard to the queen of Scotland, whose life is of such vital importance for the conversion of this island and the service of God and your Majesty here.

The only news from Alençon is that he is continuing in his former position, and was daily expecting the arrival of the rebel Commissioners. Cobham writes to the Queen that his most trustworthy informants there (in France) affirm that Alençon would certainly make terms with your Majesty.

Sends particulars of Don Antonio's armaments at Havre de Grace and elsewhere.—London, 20th May 1583.

4 June. **338.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 20th ultimo that the Scots' ambassadors had seen the Queen, and since then she has given them a second audience, in which they again submitted to her the principal points of their mission, namely, the importance of an offensive and defensive alliance being concluded between the two countries, in order that their position might be consolidated and their religion more firmly established, and the granting of a loan to the King. They said if these points were not accepted they would be obliged to seek alliance with other princes, which, up to the present, they had avoided on this Queen's account. They concluded by handing her a statement of the pensions granted by the king of France in Scotland, and also of those which M. de la Mothe had offered in his name if the alliance with France were brought about. The Queen replied that, with regard to the alliance, she thought it could not be made binding without the consent of the queen of Scotland, and she consequently would send persons to her for the purpose of discussing the matter. She had expected to be able to preserve her friendship with the King, by reason of the good and honourable offices she had effected during his childhood, and their relationship and identity of religion, but now she saw that it was to be a question of money with him, which was the lowest form of pledge. She dwelt on this point, and Stuart replied that friendship was proved by the readiness with which help was given in times of need. After this the Queen complained to the Treasurer and Walsingham of the importunity of the conspirators, who were

1583.

always asking for money, and using their religion as a pretext for despoiling her, which she said she would never allow, and the Treasurer approved of her determination.

The next day Stuart brought great pressure upon Walsingham to submit to the Queen the reasons which existed for her to help the king of Scotland, and the same night he, Walsingham, did so very warmly, whereupon the Queen replied that her own servants and favourites professed to love her for her good parts, Alençon for her person, and the Scots for her crown, three entirely different reasons, but they all ended in the same thing, namely, asking her for money. The one object was to drain her treasury, but she would take care to defend it, as money was the principal sinew and force of princes. Walsingham repeated this to Stuart, who was very indignant, protesting that the Queen would repent of it, when perhaps it would be too late for her to remedy the evil that would befall her. Walsingham therefore offered to reiterate his arguments to the Queen, and, although Stuart displayed much dissatisfaction at the small hopes of getting any money, it may be suspected that they will give him something, and that all this ceremony is only to reduce the amount, it being the Queen's aim to keep Scotch affairs in suspense, without coming to close quarters with them, and allowing them to press her to declare the King as her heir. This was the reason why she referred the question of the alliance to the queen of Scotland, who will certainly not agree to it, as its object is the preservation of their abominable religion. I will report further developments; this being the present position.

They (the Scots' ambassadors) have been relegated to the earls of Leicester and Bedford, the Treasurer, and Walsingham to discuss their business. The French ambassador has written to his King that the alliance between Scotland and England had been concluded, he having been so informed, in ambiguous terms, by one of the Ministers, but I am fully assured that this is not yet the case.

The countess of Shrewsbury has again complained, through a son of hers, of her husband, in the matter of the queen of Scots, and the Queen, after hearing him, referred him to the Council. He replied that as the matter was one between husband and wife, he did not think this course would not be agreeable to his mother, and the Queen then told him to give her a written statement of the allegations, which she promised should be seen by nobody. The substance of the complaint is that, so long as the queen of Scots was in the hands of the earl of Shrewsbury, she would never be secure, as he was in love with her, and this the Countess sets forth with a thousand absurdities and impertinences, which the Treasurer and Walsingham have repeated, the Queen having shown them the statement,*

She has written to Cobham, telling him to intimate to the King of France—not as coming from her, but from one of her Councillors—that she intends to send Lord Hunsdon, Sir Walter Mildmay, and

* The particulars of the disputes between the earl and countess of Shrewsbury, as set forth in their correspondence, will be found in Part III. of the Hatfield Papers, Hist. MSS. Com.

1583.

Beal, to confer with the queen of Scots respecting her release. This is only for the purpose of beguiling the latter, whilst she (Elizabeth) is dealing with Scotch affairs in her own way. She (the queen of Scotland) is perfectly aware of this, as your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy of a letter I received from her two days ago.

I understand that the French ambassador has written privately to Stuart, saying that he cannot avoid feeling some surprise that, he being the ambassador of a King with whom France has been so friendly, they should not have met. I do not know whether Stuart has replied yet.

Méneville has returned from Scotland to France, as your Majesty will have heard from Tassis.

Alençon has sent hither a secretary of his, who arrived ten days since, to inform the Queen that the rebels were again approaching him with terms of settlement through Marshal Biron. He says he advises her thereof in order to have her opinion as to the conditions he ought to grant. Alençon says he is now convalescent. A Venetian gentleman of the house of Cornari, who has been in France for some months past with the ambassador of the seigniory there, has come hither on the pretext of seeing the Queen. I understand his object is to endeavour to arrange with her for a Venetian ambassador to reside here, in which case he will be the man. The Queen will be very glad of it, as she tried to arrange it some years ago, in order that she might have an excuse for sending an ambassador thither, who might inform her on Italian affairs, but the Venetians would not then allow it, in the fear that his Holiness would not consent to the English ambassador exercising his religion there, even in his own house. They therefore expect to have a minister here, whilst the Queen sends none to Venice. I am informed that this Venetian says that if your Majesty proceeds in this way, they can do the same.—London, 4th June 1583.

4 June. **339.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

My isolation grows daily more irksome, as I receive no despatches either from His Majesty or yourself, which I desire to do for a thousand reasons, apart from my maladies. I sent you a clear letter (*i.e.* not in cipher) by William Bodenham,* a person of trust and usefulness here, and I must repeat that his loss will be much felt if he be not sent back, in case of His Majesty's deciding to send a minister hither.

The Queen continues to make much of the Palatine Lasqui, and a few days ago she had a joust got up expressly for his gratification. He saw it from a window with the Queen and the French ambassador. The personages who were with the duke of Alençon at Dunkirk, I understand have returned to France, Fervacques alone remaining with him. Biron is in the field, but in very bad case. You will see by my letters to the King the talk there is about an arrangement.

* The Bodenhams were an English Catholic family of merchants long settled in Seville.

1583.

I cannot help mentioning a very strange thing that has happened in this country, as I am assured by very trustworthy persons. In a place called Beaumaris, in the province of Chester, there is a hermaphrodite, who has hitherto chosen to dress as a man, and, as such, was married and had children. A few months ago, however, he changed his functions and is now pregnant. It seems contrary to nature that he should both conceive and engender as well.—London, 4th June 1583.

5 June. **340.** The QUEEN of SCOTLAND to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

As I do not wish to proceed ceremoniously with you, I must ask you to excuse me for not writing a long letter now, as I am so busy with the commissioners who arrived here on Saturday. I will only say how pleased I am to hear of your convalescence, and thank you affectionately for your good advice touching the negotiations for my liberation, in which I recognise your great prudence, especially in the reasons you set forth for my stay in this country, which course I think will be most advantageous for me, in view of the state of affairs here.

The Queen has written me a very honest and gracious letter, and up to the present, the commissioners have exhibited every appearance of goodwill towards me. God grant that all may tend to His glory rather than to my own contentment.

By the last packets I have received from France, my cousin M. de Guise writes me that he still persisted in his first determination to land personally in England, and that as soon as things were ready he would not fail to set out. He was nevertheless hurrying as much as possible the return of the duke of Lennox to Scotland, although I am greatly afraid that they will not let him pass. Whatever happens, I shall be equally thankful to the Catholic King, your master, for his acceptance of my offers and his demonstration of goodwill as if success had attended our efforts. Certainly nothing shall be wanting on this side.—5th June 1583.

6 June **341.** The KING to JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS.

Paris Archives, K. 1447.

You were informed lately that a reply should be written soon to the message sent to you by Hercules through the Scots' ambassador; and you may now tell him that I am glad to hear that he has brought the important matter he mentions to the point he has, and I shall rejoice to see it well finished by his hand. In order not to fail in so good a work, I have written to his Holiness begging him to respond promptly with money, and I offer to contribute my fair part to the extent of my power. I am, however, short of money and obliged to provide for very many exigencies, so that, as the case demands it, and the Pope is better off than I, it is only just that he should supply a liberal proportion of the 100,000 crowns, and it will be well that he should be written to from Paris to that effect, and assured that he (Guise?) will not fail in his good intent. It is true that, as the affair is such a great one, and it is so important that it should not fail if once it is undertaken, I shall be glad to have further particulars of the forces and

1583.

combinations, and the way in which it is proposed to execute it; because, although I do not doubt his prudence and experience, and am convinced that the matter is well planned, I should nevertheless be pleased to learn the details, which he (Guise) can send through you. He may rest assured, as I have said before, of my attachment to his interests and particularly in this matter.

When I get a reply from Rome, I will advise you of it and provide my part, but, as you remark, even there (in Paris) the supplies from Rome are very scanty, and you had better point out to Hercules that he must insist very strongly upon the money being provided by the Pope, and must press the nuncio upon the matter. The obligation is one which rests especially upon his Holiness, and he is free from the many calls which burden me. This is all I have to say upon the matter at present. You will do your best to encourage him (Guise) in it by assuring him of my warm approval of the enterprise, and report to me the method by which he intends to effect it, the pretext he will adopt, what is his principal motive, and all else you can learn. Impress secrecy upon those who are concerned, as so much depends upon no mistake being made.—San Lorenzo, 6th June 1583.

6 June. Paris Archives K. 1447. 196.

342. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I note by your letters of 15th and 22nd April and 6th May the plans that were being hatched between the Queen and the duke of Alençon about Flanders, and the various artifices she adopts to keep the king of Scotland oppressed and captive, whilst she feeds him with hopes and deceives him. The best way to open the king of Scotland's eyes will be for his mother to write to him, telling him what he had better do under the circumstances.

I see also what the queen of Scotland, tired of her long imprisonment, wrote to you, and your reply persuading her not to make any change in her residence to France, even if she were able to do so. I approve of this, and you will continue the same course, because it might happen that her presence near at hand might, at a given moment, be of the greatest importance for the Catholics, whilst her absence might be correspondingly prejudicial. The secretary she sent to me will shortly be despatched, and you will be advised as to the reply you are to give to the mission he brought to you.

In your last letter, you say it will be highly detrimental for the island and its conversion, as well as for my interests, if the French are allowed to get a footing there on the pretext of Scotch affairs, whilst, on the other hand, I hear that Lennox entirely depends upon Guise, who, as the kinsman of the Queen also, will naturally possess her confidence, as I understand he also does that of the Scottish Catholics and of the Pope's ministers. I shall be glad if you will let me know what is your opinion of Guise, and if you think that anything attempted through him would possess the objections you mention as attaching generally to the interference of Frenchmen in the island, and also whether he would be able to conduct a successful enterprise with a money aid only, and, if not,

1583.

what else he would require. Let me know your opinion on all points, as you are on the spot and so well versed in the matter.—San Lorenzo, 6th June 1583.

11 June. **343.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 4th, I reported the reply that the Queen had given to the Scots ambassadors. She despatched them, after all, in the way I suspected, having granted pensions of 3,000*l.* to the conspirators, although some people say they accepted them for the King as they had promised. She also lends 6,000*l.* in the form of bills of exchange from merchants here, payable in Scotland. The Scots were informed that these concessions were granted solely at the instance of the earls of Leicester and Bedford, and Walsingham; as the Queen had made up her mind to give them nothing. It is thought this will make them prize it the more.

With respect to the King's marriage, she said she thanked them much for placing into her hands a matter of such great importance, especially as she was informed by her ambassador that your Majesty and the king of France were making many marriage proposals to him. As for herself, she had decided to decline, as she thought she was better without a husband; but she would give him her opinion on the matter. At present, she would say no more but that there was no person in England with the necessary qualifications for the purpose. After this, the Queen earnestly begged Stuart to tell her whether it was true that Leicester had negotiated through Davison for the marriage of the king of Scotland with the daughter* of his wife. Although Stuart denied this, the Queen became so excited about it as to say that she would rather allow the King to take her crown away than see him married to the daughter of such a she-wolf, and, if she could find no other way to repress her ambition and that of the traitor Leicester, she would proclaim her all over Christendom for the bad woman she was, and prove that her husband was a cuckold. She said much more to the same effect; and, in order to mollify her, Leicester is now making great efforts to marry the girl to a private gentleman.

The Queen gave Stuart a chain worth 60*l.*, and corresponding presents to the rest. They left here in company with Walter Mildmay, who, as I said, is going to the queen of Scotland, which gives rise to the idea that Stuart may be allowed also to go and kiss her hand.

Cobham writes to the Queen that Alençon wishes his mother to go to Dunkirk to confer with him, whilst she wishes him to go to Calais. Alençon continues to assure this Queen that he will not agree to any fresh settlement with the States, except on the conditions that she desires; and says that, if she thinks it will be better for him not to negotiate, he will not do so. The Queen is so puffed up with this that she neglects no opportunity of trying to force me to take offence. There recently arrived in this country a

* Lady Dorothy Devereux.

1583.

Genoese gentleman married in the Netherlands, named Bartolomé Salvariccia, a subject of your Majesty, who came to give me an account of certain matters in France; he being a person who regularly corresponds with me, and sends important information of that (the French) Court. His object on this occasion, also, was to open up a correspondence between me and a man whom he has bought over near the person of Don Antonio, which man being a Frenchman, objects to treat with Juan Bautista de Tassis. As he admitted that the only reason for his coming hither was to see me, Walsingham one morning sent five men to the house to arrest him and seize all his documents, which were carried to the court and examined, after which they told him that he had better leave the country instantly, as the Queen had information from an Italian that he had come hither for the purpose of arranging with me to poison Orange, which statement had been made by that heretic Horatio Pallavicini* who lives here. Salvariccia replied that he did not interfere in such matters, nor did he think the Queen had any right to inquire into them, as Orange was a rebel against your Majesty, and he, Salvariccia, had only come here to see me. As for leaving the country, he said, so far as he was concerned, he would go at once, but the Queen would see how I would take it. When Walsingham heard this he said he would communicate with the Queen, which was only to gain time whilst they saw whether there was anything in his papers. They found there was nothing, and consequently they sent me word that, notwithstanding the information the Queen had received against Salvariccia, she could not believe that he came for the purpose of seeing me on an evil errand, and therefore she surrendered him to me as my prisoner. In consequence of his having communicated with me, Orange, as soon as I arrived here, had confiscated the property which Salvariccia's wife owned in Holland, and exiled her from the Netherlands. On this account and as he has sent me much valuable information, especially about Don Antonio, he deserves favour at your Majesty's hands.

Colonel Stuart replied to the French ambassador's letter in the terms your Majesty will see by the enclosed copy. The ship I spoke of as going to Terceira with munitions has returned bringing a little woad. They say there were 1,200 soldiers in the island and great scarcity of everything. English ships arriving from Andalucia report having met off Cape Finisterre the ships belonging to Don Antonio which sailed from Havre de Grace, with a fresh east wind that would soon carry them into Terceira.—London, 11th June 1583.

20 June. **344.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

Many thanks for your kindly speaking to the King about my recall. Doña Ana (de Mendoza, his sister), writes telling me of your kind efforts in my favour, and that your advice is that I should be patient and cheerful.

Doña Ana also says that you had remarked that you thought

* Sir Horatio Pallavicini was an eminent Genoese banker long resident in London.

1583.

when my knighthood was granted my company was taken away, which agrees with what Secretary Mateo Vasquez wrote to me,* as you will see by the copy I enclose. My ill-luck thus turns to my disadvantage what to others would be a boon, as you are aware that I farm out my knight-commandership for 1,300 ducats, and I am now deprived of 500 ducats (pension) and 960 ducats (that is 80 crowns a month for my company), so that I lose money by it, as well as having the best part of the first two years' revenue swallowed up in costs; but if his Majesty should even take away the knight-commandership as well, his will be done. The loss will not be so great to me as the day upon which I lost the sight of my eye.—London, 20th June 1583.

24 June. Paris Archives, K. 1561.

345. JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

The plan which Hercules had in hand, as I reported to your Majesty on the 4th May, *was an act of violence*† against that lady, which someone, probably from interested motives, was to have performed; but I see that the whole thing is now at an end and nothing more is being said about it, and the funds referred to will therefore no longer be necessary. M. de Meyneville, who is the second ambassador whom the Christian King sent some months back to Scotland at the request of the duke of Guise, and from whom Hercules expected to receive a full account of affairs in that country, has recently returned hither.

His intelligence is to the effect that Scotland is not at present in a fit state for our forces to go thither and begin the enterprise in accordance with the plan proposed last year by the duke of Lennox, as the King is the same as before with regard to religion; and being in the hands of the English faction, and so flattered and deceived with promises by them, believes himself to be at liberty, and that he will be able by negotiation to secure the release of his mother and his own succession to the English throne. Besides this, there is no port for us except Dumbarton, the captain of which will never give it up to anyone else but the duke of Lennox himself, who has recently died here, and he (the captain) is influenced to this end by the 5,000 crowns I gave him for the support of the place. In short, it is clear from Meyneville's account that, neither on the side of the King, by private combinations or the possession of fortresses and ports, is there at present any good grounds in Scotland for undertaking the enterprise.

Meyneville gilds his account with the grand hopes he gives that the King may be won over, as may many of his subjects. His idea is that the King may best be gained by the sending thither by the Christian King, under some pretext, of an experienced ambassador, who might gradually lead him to the desired point. Meyneville asserts that he is a prince of very good understanding,

* *See* letter No. 235.

† These words have been underlined by the King, who has added, "I think we "understood that here. It would not have been bad if it had been done by them, "although certain things had to be provided against." This referred to the proposed murder of the Queen by Guise.

1583.

and, although he will not at present allow any suggestion of a change of religion, he abhors the proceedings of the ministers of his sect. As regards the subjects, Meyneville recommends that some private person should be sent with money to comply with arrangements by which he (Meyneville) has already gained over certain men, and to continue to buy others, as they are all very venal and may be gained easily with money.

This advice has entirely fallen in with the views of Hercules and his associates, and he has therefore chosen for the second mission a nephew of the Scots ambassador resident here, a very honourable gentleman and a zealous Catholic, who promises that he will do all he can in favour of the cause. I have handed to him, at the request of Hercules, 6,000 sun-crowns, besides which I believe that the nuncio has given him the 4,000 crowns he had, and he will start on his mission immediately.

Hercules has also undertaken to induce the Christian King to send Meyneville back to Scotland at once. He is a very clever man, in whom Hercules has entire confidence. I do not know, however, whether this part of the plan will be carried through, as it depends entirely on the King's will, and Hercules and his party have not much influence with him at present, so perhaps he will not consent so easily as they expect. If it be done, it is, of course, possible that the result anticipated by Meyneville may be attained, but I cannot say that I am very confident about it, because, as the king of Scotland is still quite unenlightened with regard to the Catholic religion, and contented to be in the hands of the English faction, in the hope that he may obtain from the queen of England by peaceful means all he desires, a bait the Queen will dangle before him to any extent, it does not seem very probable that Meyneville, even if he go, will be able very easily to overcome all the difficulties. Besides this, the only way of winning over the people is by interest, in which there is no certainty, as there seems very little zeal or religion there, and this is what displeases me most. My own feeling in the matter is one of fear that, whatever we may do, Scotland shows but little indications of tending to the way desired, but I have nevertheless shown no disapproval of the decision arrived at, and, on the contrary, have praised it. My reason for this has been, in the first place, because I thought it worth the risk of 6,000 crowns, even if the money turn out to be wasted, to convince Hercules of our desire to please him in all things. The only thing that rather goes against the grain with me is that all these attempts to buy people over are made by, and in the name of, Frenchmen, and it seems as if we were gaining friends for them with our money. Nevertheless, I shall look upon it as well spent if they will serve our ends.

With regard to the enterprise itself, Hercules has come to the resolution set forth in the enclosed document.* As there are certain things in it which seem contradictory with what has

* The document is lost, but its contents are indicated in this letter.

1583.

already been said, I must relate, as briefly as possible, the events which have occurred, even at the risk of seeming prolix.

After Hercules had heard Meyneville's report about Scotland and had reflected for some days, he wished me to meet him at the Nuncio's house, where in his presence Meyneville repeated what he had to say. The discourse then turned to the principal matter, and Hercules suggested that it would be better to effect the enterprise by way of England, on the same footing and conditions as were verbally submitted to your Majesty by Richard Melino, which had been reduced to writing and were read to us, the time fixed for the expedition being next September. As the matter was so grave a one it did not seem fitting that I should reply hastily, and the meeting broke up after some general conversation. It was at this point that Hercules asked me about Rome, and I replied as detailed in my other letter. I afterwards reflected that Lennox's plan being now at an end, and that the natural jealousy of this crown (of France) at any enterprise of your Majesty's might be aroused if all the troops for the undertaking came from Spain, whereas if Italians and Germans were employed the affair could not be carried through at the time stated, and the same objection existed to sending much of the material from Spain, I determined to communicate to Hercules my ideas on the matter. I was also led to this by the consideration that, as a beginning had to be made in England, it behoved us to be sure that the party there was strong enough to make it worth while, and whether, above all, we could count upon a good port there; besides several other points contained in the proposal, which I thought worth consideration. If nothing else came of it, I thought that it would enable us to get more at the root of the business. As the duke of Bavaria will have to be mentioned in my remarks on Hercules' final proposal, I may say that the reason he was introduced was that I was told that the duke had sent offering his aid to Hercules, the business having been communicated to him by the queen of Scots.* The offers of the Duke, moreover, are considered of some importance here. In view of Meyneville's anticipations as to the conversion of Scotland, I did not care to flatly oppose it, but I began by pointing out the danger of national jealousy being aroused if this affair was undertaken solely by your Majesty's fleet, and said that even the king of Scotland himself, on whose behalf it was sent, might come to hate the expedition on this account, and hinder rather than help it. This, I said, must be considered deeply, seeing how uncertain it was that the army would be able to take possession of the whole country as soon as it entered, the said country being held by a woman who would not run the risk of a battle in the open, but would direct her efforts to holding the ports through which succour might reach her. As the whole of the men for the expedition would have to come from Spain, even though they were Germans or

* The duke of Bavaria had been gained to the cause of the queen of Scotland in 1578 by the bishop of Ross. *See* intercepted letters from the bishop on the subject in MSS. Cotton Caligula CV.

1583.

Italians, I said it would not be possible for the affair to be effected in September, and the same argument applied to the arms they required, which would have to be sent from Milan. I asked him (Guise) therefore to consider whether it would not be better to defer it until next year, and in the meanwhile the king of Scots might be converted and prepared to take the matter into his own hands, as was originally intended. If the king of Scotland himself took the lead there could be no jealousy on the part of France, where it was most to be feared, and if the queen of England had no support on the side of France she must certainly fall. If, on the other hand, the temper of the English Catholics would not suffer this delay, I said, let Hercules or his brother take the lead with 4,000 men, rather in the form of a succour than as a Spanish national expedition; and let the affair be done in his name and not in the name of Spain, as he was a relative of the queen of Scots and bound to seek her release. If he took a good force of Frenchmen, the Christian King would not hinder him. This course would obviate the difficulty about the number of men he requested, as, if he found 4,000 men, your Majesty might probably be able to provide the rest without having to send far afield for them. As regards the arms also, they might be obtained here, where there is an abundance of them, and the diversion on the Irish coast might be left to your Majesty, that on the Sussex coast to the brother* (*i.e.* of Guise) who remained here, whilst as for Norfolk, I said, since the duke of Bavaria was so determined to take part, let him secretly equip some ships on the coast of Holland, with the pretext of the war in Flanders, and embark four or five thousand Germans on them, and run them over to Norfolk. I also touched on the other points of his first proposal, such as sending the exiles over to England at once, &c., but as they are not important I will not detail them. Hercules thereupon made his final proposal, in which he insists that we must make the commencement, and he undertakes to banish the jealousy (*i.e.* of France) by the diversion that he will make on the coast of Sussex and the efforts he will exert, and will cause his Holiness to exert, in the same direction. This is a great point, because if we can take the matter in hand without exciting the opposition of France, we shall carry it through easily. He would not enter further into the question of the time for the attempt, but left it to his Holiness and your Majesty, although he really tacitly consents to its postponement, because, in addition to the number of men I said it would be difficult to raise in the time, he asks for many more, and indicates such distant nationalities that it would take all the time from now until September merely to engage them. I suppose this to mean that he sees the necessity for deferring the expedition, but will not admit it in so many words. His demands are high, but I am not surprised at this, as it is always easy to spend other people's money, and it is usual to ask for more than is wanted, so as to obtain enough. I have no doubt he will endeavour to comply with his own promises, and I try to persuade

* The duke of Mayenne.

1583.

myself that he will be able to do so. I wish they would not communicate all the particulars to the duke of Bavaria, but continue with him in generalities, as secrecy is so important; but I do not think Hercules liked the idea of refraining from telling him everything, although I do not know what good it can do.

The Englishmen who have the matter in hand, I mean Dr. Allen and those who went to Spain, are rather disconsolate at this decision, as they think all this talk and intricacy are mere buckler-play, and that we shall be a long time coming to deeds at this rate. I am not sure, moreover, that the English and Scots are quite at one with regard to the prime object of the enterprise, for the following reasons. The former are more anxious that the Catholic religion should be restored, whilst the latter think first of the release of the queen of Scots, and the succession to the English crown, although of course each of these aims is desired by all of them. The English, too, may suspect a tendency on the part of the Scots to look for a controlling influence in the new empire, and as they (the Scots) are naturally inclined to the French, perhaps they would rather see the affair carried through with but few Spaniards; whilst English hate this idea, as their country is the principal, and they claim that it shall not lose its predominance when Scotland is admitted into the empire. The English are more attached to the house of Burgundy than to France, and have received so much favour from your Majesty that they would rather have help from Spaniards than others. I see signs that the aims are not quite identical, and notice that the English are less active than the Scots in discussing and forwarding this project, although Dr. Allen and his people have been the men who from the first have been preparing matters in England, and upon whom the party there principally depends. They are, however, very prudent, and do nothing to oppose the plan; but seeing Lennox's scheme entirely at an end, and convinced that they must look for a remedy only to the feeling in their own country, they have made up their minds that they are simply wasting time in depending upon what is arranged here (in France), and will lay before your Majesty a clear statement of the present tendency in England, and beg you to extend your royal pity to the poor afflicted oppressed Catholics there. They will, whilst not asking your Majesty to lose sight of the proposals now made, point out to you the present favourable condition of England, which will make the task there comparatively easy. Allen has impressed this upon me very forcibly, and although I know that exiles are apt to be sanguine, I cannot help believing what he says, and I trust God will reward their zeal by delivering them from their bondage. They say that, even if Scotland were in a fit state for the attempt to be commenced there, it would not be advisable to do so, and the party in England are of the same opinion. At all events, I can see no indication that feeling in Scotland is likely to be favourable for some time, and although this gentleman is going thither with the money, and Meyneville may follow him, I fear much that they will be too late to turn the King, a mere boy who has hitherto been a heretic, and is flattered by the English faction. Everything, moreover, which delays the matter

1583.

causes the risk of unfavourable changes in the interim, and however little may be looked for from the king of Scots, if he saw the enterprised once undertaken in England, and understood that what was being done was in favour of himself and his mother, he would agree to it.

They (the English) are assured of an excellent port, and talk much of the many Catholics and friends they have in the north, and other parts of the country. Hibernia (York ?) and Norfolk will be raised by the people of the districts themselves, and also Wales, which they consider very important and secure. They would be content, as your Majesty will see, with very few troops, so strong is their confidence in the people of the country, but they consider that it will be highly necessary for arms to be supplied to equip the country people. They also request that the fleet should bring money to pay the men for the first few months, so that they may live in orderly fashion, and they ask for some surplus money to enable them to raise some men of the country to serve with the army in the form of militia. They are so confident of success, with the blessing of God, in whose service the attempt will be made, that it is impossible for anyone hearing them to help being convinced.

Not much importance need be attributed to the fact that this plan is somewhat divergent from that of Hercules, as the latter, the Scots ambassador, and a French Jesuit father, a confidant of Hercules, who have drawn up his plan, are well aware of it, and have asked for much more than they will be content to accept from your Majesty. If just a few Germans and Italians were sent, so that it would appear they were not all Spaniards, that would satisfy them. I believe, indeed, that Hercules will not stand out on the point at all, if he be flattered as hitherto with the notion that he is to be the guide and director of it all, that everything will be in his hands and that the expedition will go whither he may choose. If he is made to think that we shall do nothing without him, and the necessary provision is made for him here, I have no doubt that he will agree to whatever your Majesty may order. In the interest of the business itself, moreover, and to prevent jealousy here, it is necessary that he should take charge. These Englishmen desire, in any case, that the attempt should be made at the beginning of next winter—September or October—as they fear delay. They think your Majesty's fleet will have returned early enough for preparations to be made, and as they hope to God it may return victorious and entire, there being now no enemies at sea, they think the necessary preparations might be made beforehand, and everything be ready when the fleet arrived. Even if a few more troops had to be put on board, they could soon be raised, the principal thing being the fleet itself.

They are anxious to be informed of your Majesty's decision, so that they may forewarn their friends, both in the part of the country whither the fleet is to go, and that where the diversion is to be made, so that everything shall be ready and they may, if there be time, send the ship they mention to Spain with expert and faithful pilots to guide the fleet to England. Father Robert

1583.

(Persons) signified to me to-day that they would make a start as soon as they got even a conditional promise that the enterprise would be undertaken if your Majesty's fleet returns in time, in which case they will at once begin their preparation. I am not quite sure whether this is advisable, and whether it will not risk the discovery of the project. Your Majesty may therefore decide rather to give an answer definitely, yes or no, to them, or if this be impossible and the matter has to be deferred, to advise them exactly when it is intended to effect it, so that they may make their preparations in due time. They should be comforted and encouraged in the meanwhile to keep their party together. They also desire prompt advice, so that they may find means to join the fleet of the exiles in Flanders, under the earl of Westmoreland and Baron Dacre, who are the most influential men in the part of the country whither they intend to go, and they wish to arrange for Allen to go thither, as he comes from those parts and will be near the bishopric of Durham which he is to have. There will be some difficulty in his going, as he is older and more feeble than the rest, and will need more comfort on the voyage. They must make the best arrangements they can. Your Majesty will see that they offer to defray the expenses, and enter into a perpetual alliance. I need not enlarge on the quality of this business, as no one knows better than your Majesty how greatly it will redound to the service of God, the advantage of christianity, and the honour of a Catholic King. It may also benefit affairs in Flanders although it ill befits me to intrude my views on so exalted a matter. I will confine myself to recommending warmly to your Majesty these English Catholics, whose whole hope is founded upon you; and I supplicate your Majesty, for the love of God, to help them as much as possible. I will only add that, if the enterprise is to be undertaken, it appears to me that the true road to success is by England rather than by Scotland.

Another point which partly bears upon it must not be forgotten. The Guises are lately so out of favour and neglected that I understand the flood has nearly reached its full and threatens to burst the dam. They are affronted with the present form of government and the growth of the power of the favourites, and are convinced that as the latter increases the public disorder will also increase, whilst they (the Guises) will decline. They probably fear also that if they continue to put up with it they may lose their influence with the nobles and the people; and perhaps even the Huguenots will fall upon them, particularly if Bearn should rise in the scale in consequence of the illness of Anjou. I have an inkling that to save themselves from entire submersion, and secure the respect they consider to be their due, they are again tending to a bold course, and may very shortly appeal to arms. This is a delicate matter, and I do not presume to affirm anything for certain, but I hear a secret whisper that they are raising 6,000 foot soldiers. Their first pretext will be against the Huguenots, and they will afterwards demand a reform of the government to compel the King to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors, whilst his vassals

1583.

love and obey him as they should. None of them (the Guises) are at present with the King, both brothers being at Eu, which is an estate in Normandy belonging to the elder. If the affair comes about, the great object will be against the heretics, and it may be expected that it is to this end that they desire to prove your Majesty's friendship, although they have not hitherto given me the slightest hint in the matter. The only word I have heard was from the Nuncio, who asked me the other day whether, in case anyone opposed the Huguenots here, your Majesty would help him. He said he did not know whether his Holiness would help or not, unless the King (of France) himself took the matter in hand. I saw by this that he (the Nuncio) had scented something, or else that he knew more than he said, although when I pressed him he stopped short as if he did not know particulars.

When Hercules was discussing the Scotch matter I noticed some inclination in him to defer it until next year, on account of this other matter, as he may have thought he could hardly undertake both things at the same time. But he must afterwards have convinced himself that his resources were sufficient to do so, and that the business here might even help him in the other matter, as it would direct attention away from it. He is right in this, and it would do no harm in Flemish affairs. I have got some enlightenment from Melino, who is very grateful for the favours he received in Spain.—Paris, 24th June 1583.

5 July. **346.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The rumour has been current here that the king of Scotland was free, some movement having taken place during his progress in the north. The truth is, however, that he is in the territory owned by the earls of Argyll and Huntly, enjoying greater liberty than before, because, although the earls of Gowrie, Mar, and Angus are at Court they are not so entirely in possession of the King's person as previously. This news has greatly disturbed the Queen, as the affair happened before the arrival there of the ambassadors with their despatch, they having left here anything but satisfied.

I enclose copy of a letter to me from the queen of Scotland. Mildmay and Beal have returned, but the former has stayed at a house of his on the road, so that the result of their visit is not yet known, although Beal says that, when they spoke of the charge brought by this Queen against the queen of Scotland, that she had planned to marry the duke of Norfolk without her consent, the queen of Scotland had replied that she would never have entered into the negotiation but for an autograph letter she had received from the earl of Leicester assuring her that this Queen would be pleased with it, and she was ready to exhibit the letter as often as might be desired. This had made the Queen very indignant with Leicester.

I understand that the king of France has written to his ambassador here, saying that he has received a secret letter in cipher from the king of Scotland excusing himself for having sent the embassy to this Queen and for his cool reception of Meneville,

1583.

which, he says, was rather the result of the influence of the conspirators than of his own feelings.

Alençon has left Dunkirk for France, as he was afraid of being beleaguered. He did not advise this Queen of his intention, greatly to her surprise and that of her Councillors, when she learnt from Dover the news that he was already in France. Last night news came that the prince of Parma was battering Dunkirk on three sides, and the Treasurer, in conversation about it, said that it could not hold out long, as there were not 400 Frenchmen in the place.

The French ambassador had audience of the Queen yesterday on his having received letters from France, and, from certain words that he has let fall, it is suspected that he might ask the Queen to help in the relief of Dunkirk. She, however, is very shy about it, as Cobham lately advised her that the Huguenots were suspicious that Alençon would come back to France and help his brother to make war upon them.

Diego Botello is now in Antwerp, having returned from Holland, where he had been trying to arrange for them to help Don Antonio with ships, but the towns only laughed at him. The magistrates of Holland and Zeeland have granted the title of Count to Orange, but they have not dared yet to call the guilds together to confirm it.

This Queen has sent a pensioner of hers named Bowes to Muscovy with the envoy who has gone in the merchantmen which usually leave at this season. They were not quite free from apprehension as to the king of Denmark, as they do not know whether the arrangement with him about their trade is concluded, although, as I reported, the Queen has sent a gentleman to negotiate with him.

Some merchants have come hither from an English port called Lavair (Havant ?) to complain that Manuel de Silva had captured from them at Terceira three ships with merchandise, saying tha Don Antonio would pay for them next year. As they do not lament much over their loss, it is probably an artifice of Walsingham's to make people think the Queen is not helping Don Antonio. No doubt the ships are those that went with munitions.—London, 5th July 1583.

9 July. Paris Archives. K. 1562.

347. JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

Either Meyneville must have returned very ill informed of Scotch affairs or they must have changed considerably since he left there, as Mr. Seton, a gentleman of the mouth to your Majesty, arrived here lately, and has positively assured me of the following facts.

He is on his way to your Majesty's Court, ostensibly to reside and fulfil his functions there for some time, but the true secret of his voyage is that he has been sent by divers Scots gentlemen who have banded together resolved to take up arms and liberate the King, if they can obtain from your Majesty a promise that they shall be supported against the English forces if it should become necessary.

1583.

Not only do these gentlemen comprise all the Catholics, but also many heretics, who wish to see the King out of the hands of the English faction, this being the object of the bond. It is even asserted that the earl of Gowrie, one of the chiefs of the faction, is secretly a member of the party, and that the King himself knows something about it.

In addition, however, to this common object, the Catholics have an ulterior secret aim, which is, as soon as they have liberated the King, to ask him for freedom of religion, so that Catholicism may again be admitted to the realm.

Although the Scots have always had recourse in their needs to the Crown of France, by reason of their ancient alliance with this country, they are not inclined on this occasion to trust the French, but to address themselves to your Majesty in the assurance that, when once your Majesty promises them anything, they may depend absolutely upon it.

When I asked him (Seton) whether their designs extended beyond Scotland, and whether they intended to make any attempt against England, he replied that they did not at present, but, when their project had succeeded, they could then discuss the other question as they had good connections in England.

He has avoided mentioning this mission of his even to Hercules, whom he might have seen at Rouen, or to this (Scots) ambassador, whom he has met several times. He says he will leave here without fail on the 11th instant, and for greater security intends to go by way of Nantes.

He says he is only going to ask your Majesty for sufficient aid to enable them to put the design into execution. He asserts that on his departure the King still remained in the power of the English faction; although, greatly against their will and in spite of the strenuous efforts of the English ambassador, he had left Lisleburg (Edinburgh)* for another part of the country. He (the King) is now aware of the artifice of England, and disillusioned of the idea of obtaining his wishes from the Queen by friendly action.

This falls in very satisfactorily with what is already proposed in the matter, and if it could be managed that the affair in Scotland and that in England should be effected at the same time, thus preventing the English Queen from attacking Scotland, she would be easily crushed and finished.

Our friends in England might then, with even greater confidence, look for a prompt and complete success. God guide it as may be best for His service.—Paris, 9th July 1583.

13 July. Paris Archives, K. 1562. French.

348. LETTER from a SCOTS GENTLEMAN to M. DE MEYNEVILLE.

Being at this Court of St. Andrews during the first ten days of this month, M. de Dony† and Sir Robert Melvil urged me to write to you separate letters in their respective names, but, in order to avoid writing so many long letters which would only weary you, and

* James went from Falkland to St. Andrews, where he was liberated on the 27th June.

† I agree with M. Teulet, who thinks that James Scrimgeour, earl of Dundee, is meant.

1583.

knowing that you are aware, from your observation, that I am in their confidence, I am bold enough to condense their messages, and send you a summary of what they desired me to convey to you; whilst at the same time thus assuring you, on my own account, that your friends have not forgotten their promise to keep you well informed of events here, and to do all they can in favour of our King and the maintenance of the old friendship with France.

First you must know that my master the King has kept his promise to you, for about the 28th June last (old style) His Majesty retired to St. Andrews and lodged in the castle. He so far regained his liberty that he sent away some of the lords who accompanied him previously, namely, the earl of Angus, the master of Glamys, and others of their adherents, who were ordered to return home until the King might summon them, thus allowing others who wished to have access to him to approach him without the fear of quarrels in his presence. His Majesty immediately had a moderate Council chosen to remain with him, namely, the earls of Argyll, Montrose, Rothes, March, great-uncle of his Majesty, Mareschal, and Gowrie, in whom His Majesty reposes most confidence, and by whose advice he is influenced. Colonel Stuart has returned from England, where matters went so badly with him that the best thing he could do was to join the side of the King and entirely abandon the other faction, as he has done.* The King himself is therefore much more tranquil. With regard to the English bribery, the money is no longer sent to pay the guards, and the latter are being disbanded, a small number of them only remaining with the King, who will pay them from his own revenues for the present.

The English ambassador is strongly pressing to be allowed to leave, and I expect he will obtain permission shortly without difficulty. There is therefore nothing more to be done now (if the Christian King desires to send aid to my master) than for you to return hither, as you said, without any armed force, but with plenty of cash to reward those who are most likely to be useful in the maintenance of the alliance, and perchance to succour his Majesty with a certain amount if he need it. As the King has now fallen into the hands of those who are favourable to you, and is now at liberty to undertake sundry good projects, and especially to think of his marriage, it is highly necessary that you should lay before the King your Master and his Council the present condition of this country. If any one comes hither it should be you, as his Majesty greatly desires it, he having found you very ready to be guided by his opinion when you were here, and you having given so good a report of him when you returned to France. I know that he has conceived a strong affection for you, and he expressly ordered M. de Dony to inform you how he (the King) had kept his promise, and was ready to be guided in future by the advice of his best friends, begging at the same time that you, and no one else,

* He was, in fact, the principal instrument of the King's liberation.

1583.

should be sent back hither from the Christian King. As, therefore, all is going well here, and His Majesty cannot decide anything important for his own advantage and the close union of the two realms without your presence, the two gentlemen Dony and Melvil pray you to hasten hither. They on their part have more than fulfilled their promise, and have taken great pains to manage and persuade the King in many ways to favour the lords, and their efforts have resulted in the late changes. You must especially state that Melvil has done so much that (putting aside the King's natural good inclination) the affair would not have been effected so successfully or so quickly without him. God grant, therefore, that the Christian King and our King's friends in France may not let matters drag, and thus put His Majesty in peril of person and estate for want of prompt succour, such as the Christian King and his (the king of Scotland's) kinsmen may consider expedient. If this good opportunity is allowed to slip it will never occur again. You know how subject this country is to change, and will recall the remark I have often made to you of the tardiness with which succour is sent from France.

You and others may ask why the King and his good Council do not send to the Christian King and state their position, and request the support they require. I myself put the same question, and was told that it was in the highest degree necessary that the Christian King should send hither at this juncture, because our affairs and the members of our Council are regarded with such suspicion by the English that if our King were to send thus suddenly an embassy to France, perhaps all the good designs might be frustrated, to the great detriment of himself and of the other person that you know of,* as well as of many others. A good listener needs not many words. We are people of the best intentions, but cannot do as we would wish for lack of means. This is the truth of all that has happened, and the communication these gentlemen wished me to make to you, so that if you hear events related in any other fashion you may be re-assured by our statement. If it were not that the King keeps me near him to write secretly to France when necessary, I expect I should have been sent to you. M. de Dony also tells me that he thinks you will already be on the road hither, and I should be very vexed to miss you. M. de Gowrie has frequently spoken to me of the good report he is told you have given of him. He hears this from several persons who have come from France, and even from Harry Maxwell, and he therefore considers himself more secure of your kind friendship than anyone near the King, or even in the country. He also is bearing well in mind all that passed between you before you left. I am sure you will regard this letter with as much consideration as if either of these persons had written it with his own hand, and especially as it is sent partly by His Majesty's express command. Pray excuse my ignorance and bad ciphering, although the gentleman who carries the letter is very trustworthy and takes with him other important

* Doubtless the queen of Scots.

1583.

documents to France. You will give me credit, I know, for good intentions, and a hearty desire to serve and please you all my life.

The King returned yesterday from St. Andrews to Falkland. It is rumoured that the Master of Livingstone and Hylsilz* will be sent to bring the son of the late duke of Lennox to this country. The King is going to St. John's town (*i.e.* Perth), and will show his trust and friendship in Gowrie by staying at his houses and even at Ruthven. You must know also that the earls of Huntly and Crawford have accompanied the King since he was liberated, although at first they were ordered to retire from court for a short time, so that the earls of Angus and Mar might the more easily and smoothly be induced to go. Three or four days afterwards Huntly and Crawford returned to court, where they still remain, and it is possible that the King may go north to Aberdeen. It will be advisable if you please to confer with M. de Glasgow, and convey to him so much of this intelligence as you think fit. The King is beginning to like and hold a very good opinion of him.†—St. Andrews, 13th July 1583.

13 July. **349.** The Queen of Scotland to Bernardino de Mendoza.

If I were not sure that you will already have received news that God had been pleased to deliver my son out of the hands of the traitors who held him, I would convey to you the details I have received of the affair. I will, however, only beg you to communicate the news, by the first opportunity, to my good brother the Catholic King, in order that he may be good enough to forward the execution of our enterprise, at least to the extent of succouring my son in case he should be assailed by this Queen in the interests of the traitors, which I fear above all things. If she do not actively intervene, I have no doubt that the good party will easily overcome the others.

I have no reply yet from the Queen respecting what passed between her commissioners and me about the negotiations for my release, and consequently everything remains in suspense.

I thank you for the advices contained in your two last letters of 12th and 22nd ultimo, and judge your proceedings towards Mauvissière to be as well founded as his own designs are questionable. He wrote to me before about the reconciliation of the duke of Alençon with the Catholic King, but as I did not think there was anything in it, I did not inform you thereof.‡

I have advice from Spain that the Catholic King considers your

* Probably Sir James Melvil of Halhill, the author of the memoirs, or John Grahame of Halyards.

† This letter is signed in cipher ; but by a reference in another paper in this Calendar we learn that it was written by the nephew of the Scots ambassador in Paris (Archbishop Beaton of Glasgow), who had been sent by Guise to Scotland to bribe the nobles.

‡ This letter should be read side by side with another written about the same day from Mary to Castelnau in Harl. 1582, fol. 306, and printed in Labanoff. The copy was evidently supplied to Walsingham, probably by Castelnau's Secretary, Cherelles, who was in the pay of the English.

1583.

stay here more necessary than in France, in consequence of the experience you possess of the affairs of this country, his intention being to employ you in the arrangements here for the execution of the enterprise as soon as it be determined upon. When your indisposition was advanced as an objection to this he said the short distance between London and Paris would make no difference, and he learnt that you were already better.

I am sorry that my wishes for you have not been more successful, because I have no doubt that your presence in France would have greatly advanced matters, which is extremely necessary there. The decision is to be sent by the end of this month at latest, and in view of its tenour you can decide for yourself about your retirement from here. Nevertheless M. l'ambassadeur I can assure you that wherever you may be, you will have in me a friendly princess always desirous of repaying her obligations towards you.—13th July 1583.

16 July. **350.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Referring to your Majesty's despatch dated on the 6th ultimo, received here on the 8th instant, I have always kept the queen of Scotland informed of events here, and it was well that her son should be made to understand how desirable it was that he should persuade his mother not to leave this country. Your Majesty will have seen by her letters that she has taken it in good part.

In reply to your Majesty's orders that I should give my opinion about the duke of Guise, and whether the affairs conducted through him offer the same objections as I pointed out, generally attach to the intervention of the French in this island, and in answer also to your Majesty's question as to the strength of the duke of Guise being sufficient to succeed in an enterprise, if he were aided with money only, and if not, what more would be necessary, I may repeat that if the French undertake on their own sole account the invasion of Scotland or England, in the absence from the country of the queen of Scotland, and under cover of her claims, it is easy to see the infinite number of insuperable obstacles which will present themselves to the submission of the country, considering that they are unable at present to establish the Catholic religion in their own realm. Besides this, the French put the question of religion into a second place, as a mere accessory after politics, and in this even they are not steadfast, but are swayed by their appetite and interest for overbearing and insolent domination. Of this many past and present instances are seen in the Netherlands; and the evil to your Majesty's interests which would arise in this case may be judged thereby. England would at once be in a ferment of confusion, by reason of the natural enmity towards France, and your Majesty would be unable to oppose them, their ostensible cause being so just a one as the conversion of the country to the faith and the establishment of the queen of Scotland's rights.

In order to avoid this and banish the jealously which may exist

1583.

between Spain and France if each nation for itself yearns for the conquest of England, God has brought things into such a position as to enable the queen of Scotland to reconcile this suspicion. I have frequently pointed out to your Majesty the many advantages promised to your interests by the elevation of the queen of Scots to the throne after England has been converted, and for many reasons France will equally benefit. Both parties are therefore constrained by powerful and immediate reasons to prevent the forces of England from being used, as they have been during this Queen's reign, to the injury either of Flanders or France. This must be done by deposing her (Elizabeth), or rendering her impotent to injure or offend, and in my judgment it can best be effected whilst the queen of Scotland is in this country. I have pressed this point upon her, dealing with her in a way which will force her to cling to your Majesty's side, and her adherents, Catholic and Protestant alike, to join you also, as the person to come in her defence of whom they may be certain that his sole aim is to set her at liberty and establish the true faith.

I have no knowledge of any principal Catholics here being in treaty with Guise, in which matter as he is French, they might be shy of me, or that he is regarded otherwise than as being generally favourable, he and his house being strong Catholics who have often offered to risk everything in defence of the cause. Catholics here acknowledge that any good that may reach them through France will he solely owing to your Majesty's favour, as they know that if the Guises be the medium, your Majesty has been their mainstay and protection against the French heretics. I am therefore of opinion that, very far from its being against your Majesty's interests and the conversion of the country, that the duke of Guise should personally attempt any enterprise in England or Scotland, it will be of the greatest advantage, and the intention should be forwarded in every possible way, as there is no other personage in France who possesses the same qualifications. The objections pointed out will thus be obviated, because, as he is so close a kinsman of the queen of Scots, and has charge of her private fortune, he will, both for her sake and his own, and for the sake of his party in France, take care that the French do not go further than may be agreeable to the queen of Scots, and thus the interests of God and your Majesty here will be safeguarded. Guise also will have to look to your Majesty, who provides the expedition, and will take care that the son does not deprive his mother of this crown as he has that of Scotland, because until the king of Scots is converted to the Holy Catholic Church no more can be expected of him than of any heretic Scot. The Catholics here, moreover, will not accept him as King until he be converted, and will only feel themselves safe under your Majesty's protection, and whilst the queen of Scotland leans upon your Majesty's arm as her main support. This she will undoubtedly do, as you will have rescued her from her miserable state, and because of the Queen-mother's anger against her and the hatred of the Bourbons and the Montmorenci's towards her kinsmen the Guises.

1583.

With regard to the second point, as to whether only money, or what else, should be given to Guise, I can give no opinion unless I know whether the enterprise is to be openly countenanced by the king of France, or whether it is to figure only under the name of the Pope or Guise, which would enable your Majesty if necessary to step in if the French go faster than desirable. I cannot say in what other way it would be well to assist, as the former plan was to enter by Scotland, and I sent the duke of Lennox a statement of the number of men which would be required. Since then I am ignorant of the steps that have been taken by Juan Bautista de Tassis and the Nuncio with the parties interested. Now that Lennox has died, therefore, it will be necessary to hear what Guise's adherents in Scotland require, and as it is now settled that the invasion is to be made in England it is not possible to say what help should be given till we learn what Guise is expecting from Catholics here, and who they are, what troops and followers they promise for the landing, and where they think the debarcation should take place. All these points must be decided in turn, and upon them will depend whether Guise comes, as he says, with 3,000 or 4,000 Catholic troops upon whom he can depend, or with a much larger force, almost a regular army.

In case the former course is adopted, it will be highly desirable that your Majesty should send with him some trustworthy and experienced officers, who could take command if necessary. They might pretend to be dissatisfied with the prince of Parma or some other of your Majesty's commanders, and might join the force as if they had been dismissed. In the event of a large force being sent, as soldiers of various nations will then necessarily be included (unless your Majesty is willing so far to disclose yourself as to send Spaniards), they should be Italians and German Catholics, receiving their commissions entirely from your Majesty, which Guise cannot help agreeing to when he decides to leave France, because, by this means, he will ensure your Majesty's always favouring him if he behave properly, and that you will help him to return home safely and prevent his rivals from injuring him in his absence.

This country is quite in the humour to accept any sort of corruption arising from divergence of sects, or even sedition, as will be seen by the accompanying letter. The people especially are most contemptuous of the proceedings of the councillors and ministers, as they call ecclesiastics here. This may be expected to produce good results. The French ambassador continues to tell the Catholics that if they will help Alençon he will be glad to come to their aid on behalf of the queen of Scots, and my zeal for the service of God and your Majesty will not allow me to refrain from saying, in view of the faithless behaviour and insatiable ambition of the man (Alençon), how important it is if anything is to be attempted here or in Scotland that it should be done as speedily as possible, and that Guise should be the sole instrument, without allowing Alençon time to take it into his head to try to get the lead. If he were thwarted in this he is quite capable of upsetting the whole plan, and even of informing the Queen of it.

1583.

If Guise be not the chief, I consider that any other French commander than he should be accompanied by as many Spaniards as French Catholics. The zeal of the latter will not be greater than that of your Majesty's soldiers in the matter of religion, whilst if they (the French) have any other aim, it will be just as well to have men on your Majesty's side here whilst the cape is being cut up. Pray pardon my boldness, only my zeal impels me to say this.—London, 16th July 1583.

16 July. **351.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In my last I reported the return of Walter Mildmay from the queen of Scotland. Although I have no letters from her, I hear that no alteration has been made, except that the earl of Shrewsbury has been induced to take back his wife who had left him. The Queen (of Scots) complained to Walter Mildmay of the implacable vengeance with which this Queen was treating her by depriving her of her liberty, and Mildmay made her the following proposition, by virtue of a fresh commission and a letter from the Queen which he produced. First, that the captain of her guard should be appointed by this Queen to accompany her everywhere with 30 archers; secondly, that she should carry on no communication either in England or elsewhere without this Queen's consent and intervention; thirdly, that she herself should bear all the expenses; fourthly, that the king of France and other Princes should make themselves responsible for her good behaviour, and that she should undertake not to leave the country without the permission of this Queen; and, finally, that she should make a voluntary renunciation of any claim she might have to the English crown during the life of the Queen, the renunciation to be acquiesced in by her friends and relatives. It may be believed that she will not agree to this point; and Leicester and the rest of them mean to make this the pretext for taking her out of the hands of the earl of Shrewsbury.

News comes from Scotland that the King refused to hear Stuart except in the presence of the Council, and would not accept the money the Queen sent him, in bills of exchange on merchants (which means of sending it had been purposely adopted here in order to pledge him more securely to the speedy repayment of the loan). The King complained of this, and said that he would accept the money from the Queen, but not by the hands of merchants. He was also aggrieved at the continued imprisonment of his mother, and was much affected at the death of Lennox. Cobham writes again, saying that if Lennox had lived he would certainly have entered Scotland with troops in August. Parliament was summoned in Scotland for the 1st July, and the Queen suspected that if the King demanded then his entire liberty they would grant it, as the earl of Angus writes saying that he (the King) is getting every day more obstinate with the conspirators, so that they can hardly hope to withstand him, except by open rebellion. The people, too, are murmuring that it is not well for the world to say that they are holding their King in subjection.

1583.

When Walsingham had left the Queen after giving her this news, she said to Lady Stafford that she could never be secure whilst that boy lived.

The sect of Puritans is greatly increasing here, and many of the principal people belong to it. Six gentlemen of the county of Suffolk, seeing that the Queen will not reform (as they call it) religion here by killing all the Catholics, have written to members of their sect in France, whom they call "bretheren," asking their opinion as to whether they were justified in taking up arms against the Queen and deposing her, placing some other in her place, or killing her, in order that their religion might be settled. The letters were intercepted at the ports before leaving the country, and were sent to the Council. They sent for the writers, and interrogated them as to who were the "bretheren" to whom they wrote thus. The answer was that they were people of the same opinions as themselves. But, after all, they did not even reprehend them, or give them a bad word, but simply sent them away, which is very different from the severity with which they treat the Catholics. Since then a book has been published with the impress of Middleburg, in Zealand, on behalf of the Puritans. It is dreadfully seditious, and full of a multitude of abominable propositions, such as that kings are no kings or magistrates, except in so far as they conform with their gospel, as they call it, but if they fail to do so, it justifies their being deposed and killed. Some of the members of the Council were in favour of punishing these men, but as Leicester, Walsingham, and Bedford are touched with the same opinions, and are friendly with the leaders, they prevented it.—London, 16th July 1583.

16 July. **352.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In the ship which I said had arrived here, after fighting with your Majesty's vessels on the coast of Brazil and at Port St. Vincent, there arrived a Portuguese named Juan Pinto, who says he is married at Rio de la Plata. They captured him in a boat with the friars and brought him to London, where the Councillors secretly examined him and begged him to remain in this country and go with English ships to the Rio de la Plata. He slipped through their hands and came instantly to inform me. I at once shipped him in a vessel bound for Lisbon, and gave him letters for the Cardinal Infante,* in order that he might give a verbal account of what happened in the combat with the ships as an eye-witness, and thence, if necessary, be sent on to give an account to your Majesty. He positively asserts that the English sent to the bottom the flagship of your Majesty's fleet. The Queen has ordered the arrest of the captain of the ship, and of the galleon which accompanied her, not to punish them for having attacked your Majesty's ships in your own ports, but for not having continued

* The Cardinal Archduke Albert of Austria, Philip's Viceroy in Portugal, and subsequently the husband of his favourite daughter, the Infanta Isabel, Sovereign of the Netherlands.

1583.

the voyage. These ships have not plundered, and Drake's going to Plymouth was for the purpose, seeing whether they could be sent to serve Don Antonio. All the money spent on this expedition has been lost, and the merchants say that the English cannot make the voyage in ships of less than 1,000 tons burden, as they have to sail loaded with victuals, considering the way Englishmen eat, and they can only bring half a cargo home for the same reason. Even a cargo of spices will not pay under these circumstances, the voyage being so long.—London, 16th July 1583.

16 July. **353.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the King.

I wrote on the 5th of the Queen's dismay at Alençon's new step in France.* Her suspicions still continue, as he sent her nothing from Calais, where he remained some days, and in conversation with Hatton on the matter she said with many endearments how much she was indebted to him, as, had it not been for his great faith and prudence she would have found herself yoked to so evil a beast as Alençon, who now only thought of his diabolical plans of vengeance upon her, after she had rescued him from the hands of his enemies, lent him money and justified his actions before the world. She said she would be her own enemy if she did not, before the year was out, reward Hatton as he deserved, for so great a service.

She afterwards sent for the French ambassador, to whom she complained bitterly of the sudden devotion of the king of France, which, she said, could bode no good to her and her realm. What was the reason, she asked, for the rapid sending of the duke of Joyeuse to Rome without any evident reason? Then she passed on to the ingratitude and disloyalty of his brother (Alençon), who had intended to commit another massacre at Antwerp, and to expose Englishmen's throats to the enemy's steel, whilst he was carrying on negotiations with the prince of Parma, actions, she said, upon which God had stamped the fate of Alençon, never to prevail over his enemies or be faithful to his friends. The ambassador tried to satisfy her with arguments, but she was so inflamed with rage that she would listen to nothing, and ended by saying that she could not avoid the gravest suspicion of the meeting between Alençon and his mother.

Alençon has sent one of his secretarial officers with letters full of apology for not having informed her of his visit to France, and of entreaties that she will send him the rest of the money she promised him. She replied that she was only sorry that she had given him what she had with so little profit or return.

A man has come also from Casimir offering to inflame matters

* Alençon had returned to France in disgust, leaving Marshal de Biron in command of the French troops in Flanders. The Prince had entirely fallen under the influence of his mother again, and remained so for the rest of his life, hence Elizabeth's anger. Proposals of marriage for him with a daughter of the duke of Lorraine were already being discussed.

1583.

at Cologne in such a way as will make it difficult to allay them, if the Queen will at once help him with 20,000*l.* in cash. This she has also refused, and tells both parties she is short of money.

The Queen is informed that the king of France and his mother are growing more and more suspicious of the house of Guise, because not the Huguenots alone, but even the Catholics, were ill at ease about the King's manner of life and continued indisposition, as well as the evil inclinations and excesses of his brother, and in various parts of France pasquins had been distributed treating of the matter, and the people were thus being drawn towards the house of Guise, which they called the protector of the crown. It was feared that disturbance would result, and it was asserted that the dukes of Guise and Lorraine were in secret negotiation with your Majesty, of which the Queen is advised to be very suspicious. Walsingham, in conversation with a friend about this, said that the king of France had deserved no good offices from the Queen, but, on her own account, it behoved her to try rather to strengthen than weaken the house of Valois, in order to prevent her greatest enemy from getting possession of France, meaning your Majesty. The Queen had therefore ordered her officers and friends in France to stir up as much as possible the indignation and suspicion of the king of France against the Guises. I have reported this to Tassis, in order that if he thinks advisable in your Majesty's interest, he should warn the duke of Guise. The Queen learns that the people of Antwerp are very much dissatisfied with Orange, and it was consequently feared that they might submit to your Majesty. The earl of Bedford* was speaking of this in the Council, and urged that it was of great importance that the Queen should send envoys to Antwerp to treat with the people there about the safety of the person of Orange, and to request that he should be allowed to go to Holland. The other Councillors opposed it, as they thought it unadvisable for the Queen to declare herself so openly. Orange has sent a private envoy to her offering her again the possession of the States, if she will undertake the war and their protection, and promises to place in her hands certain towns, with a revenue of 300,000 crowns a year. Leicester and Walsingham and their gang tried to persuade her to accept the offer, which, however, she refused on the advice of the Treasurer, who told her that she had not sufficient strength to struggle with your Majesty, particularly with so small a contribution as that offered by the States. Leicester and the rest of them are trying to induce her to send five or six thousand men thither.

Well-informed persons in Holland write to me that the definite granting of the title of Count to Orange is being delayed because the Gueldres people intimate that they will elect a Duke of their province if the Hollanders elect a Count, and thus weaken and divide the provinces.—London, 16th July 1583.

* In the King's hand: "He is a great heretic."

1583.

1 Aug. **354.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447. 201.

Geronimo de Sousa, who has been serving Don Antonio in England and France, has gone to Juan Bautista de Tassis begging him to obtain my pardon, as he had determined to submit to me and serve me in Flanders or here. He has in the meanwhile gone to England, as he says for the sake of safety, he being known to you. If he or others like him should go to you, my desire is not to shut the door against them, but to give them hopes of pardon and get them to give the fullest possible account of all Don Antonio's plans and secrets, and his understandings in all parts. Although Sousa may be told that I will pardon him, it must be with this condition.—Madrid, 1st August 1583.

19 Aug. **355.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I last wrote on the 4th.* As soon as the Queen heard of the orders given by the king of Scotland that the conspirators should retire to their houses and stay there until his further commands, not approaching the Court with more than 12 horsemen, and also that the people at large were overjoyed at seeing their King free, she resolved to send Walsingham to confer with the King. He strenuously refused to go, and went so far as to throw himself at the Queen's feet and pronounce the following terrible blasphemy. He swore by the soul, body, and blood of God that he would not go to Scotland even if she ordered him to be hanged for it, as he would rather be hanged in England than elsewhere. The Queen therefore considered the sending of Lord Hunsdon, but decided to wait until letters from Scotland were received. I understand that in answer to his friends, who blame him for refusing the mission, Walsingham says that he saw that no good could come of it, and that the Queen would lay upon his shoulders the whole of the responsibility for the evils which would occur. He said she was very stingy already, and the Scots more greedy than ever, quite disillusioned now with regard to the promises made to them; so that it was out of the question that anything good could be done.

Since then I have other advices from Scotland, saying that the meeting of nobles had been fixed, and that it was certain that in it they would put the King into the possession of his government, as he has now entered his eighteenth year. He was proceeding with much greater spirit against the lords of the English faction. This news has caused the Queen to re-adopt her first resolution to send Walsingham, and he is now making ready for the journey. His commission is entirely verbal, and he is instructed to take the steps he may consider most advisable, in accordance with his knowledge of the Queen's wishes. He is to promise the King, in her name, that if he will not marry out of the island, and will bind himself to England, she will declare him her heir, and great hopes are to be held out to him also of the release of his mother. I have

* This letter is missing from the Simancas Archives, as also is nearly all of Mendoza's correspondence for the months of September, October, and November 1583.

1583.

advised the latter of this, and send herewith copy of a letter of hers to me.

I have seen a priest whom Hercules (Guise) had sent to the queen (of Scots), on the opportunity of the going of two Scots ladies from France to serve her, he having been to her before on a similar pretext. His errand was to give her an account of the resolution that Hercules had adopted, and the arrangements that had better be made with her Catholic adherents here for the successful carrying out of the enterprise. I understand this priest was with the queen (of Scots) last year, and on his return to France Hercules sent him to his Holiness, and from Rome he went to Bavaria to see the Duke on the matter of the enterprise. He gave me a full account from Hercules of the decision arrived at, and told me that, seeing the way in which the king of France was treating them, he and his brother would be obliged to take up arms, either in France or England; for which reason Hercules desired that it should be in so godly a cause as the welfare of Christianity and the liberation of a captive Queen. He begged me earnestly to send him a cipher, which would enable him to correspond with me, and also prayed me to give him precise information, as a soldier, as to what could be expected from the Catholics and friends of the queen of Scotland here, which information he said he would depend upon, and upon no other. He was driven, he said, to ask this service of me, as he could not see Juan Bautista de Tassis to obtain my opinion through him; and the nature of the business itself was such as to make it necessary that there should be as few intermediaries as possible. I sent him the cipher, as I thought it could do no harm and might do good in your Majesty's interest, and I shall not give him any information that he might not otherwise receive from the queen of Scotland, whilst my being in communication with him will enable me to keep well posted as to his designs and the people who are in his confidence here; and at the same time it will bind the queen of Scots more closely to us when she sees your Majesty's Ministers in intimate and cordial relations with Hercules. The liberation of the king of Scots has caused this Queen to judge that her interests will best be served by stirring up war in France, which would necessarily keep the Guises busy, and consequently secure the queen of Scots. She therefore immediately ordered Cobham secretly to send his secretary to the duke of Alençon, to say how sorry she was, out of her own affection for him, that his brother should have treated him so coolly in the matter of the Netherlands war, which had compelled him to retire shamefully from the country. When he wished to resent this behaviour, she said, as she was assured that he would, she offered to him the support of all she had for the purpose. Alençon replied to the secretary that he was going to see his brother, and if he found him as backward as he previously was in helping him in his claims, he would at once send a report to the Queen; and he gladly accepted in anticipation the promise then conveyed to him. In order to lose no time in inflaming him to a quarrel with his brother, the Queen has appointed Stafford as her ordinary ambassador in

1583.

France. He is not considered a man of any understanding, but the Queen has the idea that no one is so well acquainted as he with Alençon's humour.*

With regard to the debts owing by the rebels, upon which I wrote to your Majesty that I had made a representation to the Council, Walsingham replied that it was a matter of justice and they could not interfere or prevent its being done. This involves the recognition of the Netherlands rebels not being in rebellion, since they allow your Majesty's subjects to be prosecuted for their debts. This they are glad to do, as it will enable the States to raise money more easily to maintain the war.

The ships I have mentioned as intended for the Moluccas are now being fitted out with furious haste.

One of the Hamiltons, the elder brother, who lived in France† with a pension from the King, was told by the Queen that, if he would come to England, he should be enabled to return to Scotland with the Scotch King's pardon. As soon as Cobham gave him the message, Hamilton secretly posted off with a single servant, without saying a word to anyone in France. I understand he is now here in disguise, and not very well pleased, as the Queen has not received him so warmly as he expected; nor will she now help him to return to Scotland, which she previously desired, because he was an opponent of the duke of Lennox, whose son she hears the king of Scotland has summoned from France.—London, 19th August 1583.

19 Aug. **356.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Juan de Idiaquez.

These people are as venomous as ever against His Majesty's interests, and it is impossible to imagine how far their insolence and wickedness will go, seeing their reply which I relate in the letter to His Majesty.

The Queen has gone from Greenwich to Oatlands, where they say she will stay all this month hunting, instead of continuing her progress further. She continues to make much of the new favourite very openly. He is contributing a good share to the Moluccas venture.‡

An English ship belonging to Lyme has arrived here. She was at the island of St. Michael's as a spy, under pretence of being a merchant ship, until the safe arrival there of the fleet. She reports that she and another ship in her company sailed together for Terceira as soon as the fleet bound for Terceira appeared at St. Michael's. Their object was to give timely advice to those at the former island and allow the French ships and others there to get away, so that if the marquis (of Santa Cruz) do not find them

* Sir Edward Stafford had from the first been one of the principal intermediaries in the private negotiations with Alençon, and had for some time resided with the Prince as agent for the Queen.

† John Hamilton, Lord Abroath.

‡ In the King's hand:—"I do not know who this is. If he has written elsewhere let me know." Probably the new favourite was Raleigh, who was one of the adventurers of the enterprise in question.

1583.

there on his arrival it will not be surprising. By this you will see how industrious they are in doing harm everywhere.

Holograph enclosure on a separate sheet:—

The person I mentioned in my former letters has, in consequence of an accidental circumstance, been ordered not to go where the other person is, and he consequently has returned what had been given to him, saying that he does not wish to deceive any one, as the opportunity had not served. This is a sign that he was proceeding straightforwardly, but that God wills that the business shall not be done in this way.*—London, 19th August 1583.

19 Aug. Paris Archives. K. 1562. French.

357. James VI. to the Duke of Guise.

I cannot express the pleasure I experienced at receiving your letter so full of friendship and kindness. Young Frenti who brought it told me fully of the great care you show in the preservation of our person and estate, which I also experience daily from the divine goodness of God towards me. Most especially do I thank Him for preserving you in the midst of so many dangers in the service of the King, my uncle, in order that you may at last succour the Queen, my mother, and myself in our greatest need.

The offers you make me are so agreeable to me that I am very happy, and desirous of accepting them when the state of my affairs will allow me to do so. I esteem it the greatest treasure I have on earth to find so near a relative, who is universally acknowledged to be the first captain of our time, both for valour and prudence, ready to take my part if need should arise. What M. de Meyneville has spoken so much about, *my virtues and rare qualities*, which you write *that God has been pleased to grant me*,† greatly encourages me to imitate the virtues of our ancestors of the house of Lorraine, who have so borne themselves that their name will be honoured to all eternity. If there is in me anything which, by God's grace, may be considered worthy of praise, it must be attributed in part to your house of Lorraine from which I descend through my mother.

I am quite sure that M. de Meyneville in his discretion and courtesy will have very honourably represented me, and much better than I gave occasion for, the events at the time of his coming having been, as everyone knows, so very untoward. He will also have assured you that I have arrived to a certain extent at the maturity and perfection which I hope in time to attain with your aid and council, and that of my other friends.

If, when I received your letter, I had been in the same state as when M. de Meyneville left me, the arguments you employ would have impelled me to seek to increase my fame by trying to gain my liberty, but thank God, the plan which I had to commence and

* In the King's hand:—"I do not understand what circumstance this can be, if the matter had been well arranged." Probably this refers to Throgmorton's plot to kill the Queen.

† These words have been underlined by Philip II. who writes in the margin: "He is quite ready to confess them himself."

1583.

carry through myself has succeeded so well, by the aid of a little patience and prudence with which God has endowed me, that I have extricated myself from the difficulties which surrounded me by my own contrivance and the aid of a few faithful servants and subjects chosen by me for the purpose. I thus placed myself at liberty without trouble, and almost unexpectedly, and am ready to avenge myself as opportunity may present itself. I have learnt by your letters of the great affection and friendship you constantly show to my mother and myself, and, by her letters of 13th August, of the complete confidence she has in you, and her wish that I should follow your guidance above that of any other of our relatives.

From the words used by Frenti in your name, I also see that you greatly desire my mother's release, and that success should attend our claims. I rejoice at all this, and consider the means proposed to be very apposite, supposing that affairs be dexterously conducted, whereat I am extremely pleased, as I will convey to you in a few days by means of Frenti, who will take my private opinion on the whole matter. It is an affair of so much importance that it is worthy of being managed with secrecy and prudence. By my special orders, Frenti has only spoken of it to two of my Council, namely, the earl of Morton and Lord Ruthven, of whose fidelity and secrecy I have experience in many affairs of importance. I am anxious that no one else should hear of it in Scotland until I give you fresh notice. In the meanwhile, let me know by this same channel what is the state of things with you. Try all you can to send M. de Meyneville back hither, but, if you cannot do this without suspicion, let M. d'Andrages come, on the pretext of conducting his sister and nephews if you think well of this. I will be guided entirely by you, my cousin, to decide what is best. I do not think you will accuse me of having broken the promise I gave you through M. de Meyneville respecting William Holt, whom I set at liberty for your sake to the great annoyance of the English ambassador and many others. I will write to you in my own hand by another channel, but things of consequence must not be risked except in cipher, seeing the danger that exists. For all else I refer you to my mother's ambassador in France, who is well informed of what happens here.—Falkland, 19th August 1583.

Jaques, R.

22 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1562.

358. INSTRUCTIONS given to RICHARD MELINO, the Envoy sent by the Duke of Guise to Rome.

His Holiness is to be informed in full detail of all the preparations and arrangements now made in England and Scotland for the success of this enterprise.

After full consideration, the queen of Scotland and the nobles of the country having written to say that affairs are extremely well disposed, particularly towards the Scottish border, whither the Spanish forces are to be directed, arrangements have been concluded by which the Catholic King shall send 4,000 good soldiers if he cannot send a larger force. It is, however, necessary

1583.

that the expedition should take with it funds to pay 10,000 soldiers of the country for some months, as well as corselets, pikes, and harquebusses to arm 5,000 men of the country. The preparations and the disposition of the country are subject to many changes, and there is danger of discovery if the affair is allowed to drag, as it has passed through so many hands; and the king of Scotland has lately written, in accordance with his promise to M. de Meyneville, to say that, unless he is helped, he cannot maintain himself in the liberty which he almost miraculously gained, the queen of England being busy promoting her faction in Scotland. His Holiness must, therefore, be begged, in the name of Hercules and all the Catholics of that country (Scotland), to deign to stretch a point and provide a sum of money at once proportionate to the magnitude of the enterprise, things being now in such a condition that money alone is needful. His Holiness is also begged to leave the whole management of the business to the Catholic King and Hercules, so that it may be carried through as soon as possible—perhaps this year. His Holiness must be informed that we are certain of obtaining seaports in England to enable us to land in all security,* and the affair will be greatly aided by the ports which the Catholic King has recently recovered in Flanders, from whence troops may be sent to join Hercules, and support be furnished if needed. The port where the Spanish forces will land is called in English "the *Pileos Foudre*,"† which is quite safe and ample, where we are certain the force will be welcomed gladly by the Catholics, who are exceedingly numerous. They will be able to raise in a very short time at least 20,000 horsemen to join the said force, as follows, namely, from the Scottish border, 3,000 from the earl of Morton, 3,000 from Baron Fernihurst, 4,000 from Lord Dacre, 3,000 from the earl of Northumberland, 1,000 from the earl of Westmoreland, 1,000 from the earl of Cumberland, 2,000 from Lord Norton (?), and from the new bishop of Durham . . . . These are all in the neighbourhood of the Scottish border and the port of debarcation for the Spanish force, but, in the interior of the country, there are many gentlemen who are favourable to the enterprise, such as the earl of Rutland, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Arundel, Viscount Montague, and others.

Some good ships and seamen will go from the port of Fouldrey to meet the expedition and conduct it to England. Orders have already been given for them to hold themselves in readiness.

It will be necessary for the Catholic King to retain Don Bernardino de Mendoza in England until everything is ready, and a few days before the carrying out of the enterprise he will retire to Dunkirk to join Hercules' forces, which he will accompany to England. His Catholic Majesty will also write to the prince of Parma telling him to give passage to the troops who will go to Dunkirk, and other places in Flanders, to join Hercules. He will also give leave to all the English Catholics now with his army in

* In the King's hand: "This is very apposite for those who go by Flanders."
† The Pile of Fouldrey, a rocky island near Dalton-in-Furness, Lancashire.

1583.

Flanders, or otherwise in his service, to join the forces of Hercules, and finally he will give all possible help to the latter both as to victuals and men. His Holiness must also be begged, in the name of Hercules, to condescend to issue a bull declaring that the expedition is being undertaken by him (his Holiness), and explaining the reasons which move him. He will declare that he has entrusted the execution of the affair to the Catholic King and Hercules, and will give indulgences to all those who engage in so holy a work. He will also renew the bull of Pius V. against the queen of England, and all those who help or support her, as well as those who in any way oppose this saintly enterprise.

His Holiness will be pleased to appoint Dr. Allen to the bishopric of Durham, and either make him, or some other person with the Spanish force, his nuncio in England to publish the aforementioned bulls. He will also send another nuncio in the force that is to go from France, and it appears that a fit person for this post will be M. de Savona, rector of the county of Avignon.

His Holiness must also be informed that M. de Aromini, his nuncio in France, is dead.* He has done much good here, exhibiting great virtue, prudence, devotion, and edification, and greatly favouring this enterprise. His Holiness is requested to be pleased to send another representative as soon as possible, who should resemble his predecessor and not be attached to either side, but dependent entirely upon the Pope, and should be able to resist influence of every sort.

His Holiness will please pardon us if we speak very boldly on this matter, as we are only moved by zeal of the honour of our Lord, his Holiness, and the welfare of Christianity.

28 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1562.

359. INSTRUCTIONS given by the DUKE OF GUISE to CHARLES PAGET, his secret envoy to England.†

Mopo (*i.e.*, Paget) will go to England at once to take thither the decision we have adopted, which is that, having been assured of the ports where the Spanish forces are to be welcomed, we only now desire to know which place they think most appropriate for the reception of the expedition led by Hercules. Who are those (in England) who will join Hercules' forces? What strength have they? The English will also be informed of the forces which Hercules will take with him. We may say that these will amount to 4,000 or 6,000 men, if necessary, and we request the opinion of the English on this point. We have already assured them that we are firmly resolved to stand by them, and never to abandon them until they are in the employment of complete quiet and security, or we jointly sacrifice our lives honourably in the attempt.

Let them consider what ports and harbours they can count upon. The most convenient situation would be within 50 leagues above

* This was the bishop of Rimini, Giovanni Baptista Castelli.

† In the King's hand: "To judge from these instructions things do not seem to be very ready yet."

1583

or below Dover for the landing of our men. It would be desirable, if possible, that the place selected should have a fort or walled stronghold.

Who are the persons who will have to seize this place when news comes of our embarkation, and who will be there to receive us? What forces will they have? What store of victuals, munitions, ordnance, powder, &c.? We desire to know this in order that we make due provision if they are lacking in anything there. They should let us know also what number of pikes, corselets, harquebusses, &c., they will need to arm the people of the country.

It is very necessary that early consideration should be given as to where they will obtain a supply of victuals, and the houses and waggons to carry the stores, arms, and other munitions, and also as to the number of troops that will need to be paid in England, in order that we may know the amount of money we shall have to bring with us, so that the people of the country shall not be troubled but helped, and be made to understand that this is not a war against the country, but for its consolation and repose.

They will give us their opinion with regard to the safety we may look for on our passage across, what number of boats the Queen can bring against us, and what means can be adopted to impede them, or whether we shall have to be strong enough to successfully resist them.

Assure them, on the faith and honour of Hercules, that the enterprise is being undertaken with no other object or intention than to re-establish the Catholic religion in England, *and to place the queen of Scotland peacefully on the throne of England,** which rightly belongs to her. When this is effected the foreigners will immediately retire from the country, and if anyone attempts to frustrate this intention *Hercules promises that he and his forces will join the people of the country** to compel the foreigners to withdraw.

12 Sept. **360.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1447. 207.

I note the proposals for an agreement suggested by the queen of England to her of Scotland, and the brave way in which the latter bore herself and kept free from the snares which underlay the bait. Your counsel and encouragement are so good that they cannot fail to aid her greatly in the successful conduct of her affairs. I thank you warmly for them, and enjoin you to keep up your correspondence with her (the queen of Scots), and at the same time to continue to animate the English Catholics, urging them to unity and firmness in their good intentions, but to act very secretly, as their success or destruction all depends upon that.

I hope the news of the king of Scotland's liberation may prove true, and that his mother may be able to influence him sufficiently to bring him to the Catholic faith, and place near him men capable

* The King has underlined these words, and has called attention to them in his usual manner by writing against them the word "ojo."

1583.

of guiding him aright. Otherwise his liberation will not be a matter for much rejoicing. It would indeed be a pity that the son of such a mother should be lost, of which they say there is great danger, and that he will not depart from his errors unless he depart from the realm. On the other hand, that would expose him to the danger of being lost to us and falling under the sway of others, and the course can hardly be advised. Rather must we pray God to guide him aright, and with His almighty hand lead him to a goal so desirable for His service.

Advise me of your opinion on these conflicting points and what may be looked for in either case.

The sorrow felt by those in England at my success is quite in their usual spirit, and also is it that they should try to obstruct me by helping my rebels, but the Queen's new demand that certain places (in the Netherlands) should be surrendered to her, as a pledge for money owing to her, is a greater indication than ever of their intentions. It will be well to discover how they (*i.e.*, the States) have received the suggestion, and whether it was made with the connivance of Alençon.

Thank you for sending advices about the ships for the Moluccas and the trade with Brazil. If you can learn anything further about Diego Flores de Valdes' flagship let me know, as we have heard nothing here of her having been sunk, although we knew she had fought. Let me know if any other ships are fitted out there for their corsair voyages, and whether the Terceira affair has cooled their ardour.

You may promise my pardon to Geronimo de Sousa, and send him hither by the first good opportunity, as he can be of the greatest service here in divulging the names of those who come and go between Don Antonio and Portugal. In order that they may not suspect him he should come secretly to Cristobal de Mora, from whom he will receive instructions. You may give him money for clothes, or what else you consider necessary.—Madrid, 12th September 1583.

15 Nov. **361.** JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1562.

I note your Majesty's instructions about England and Scotland. It is quite true that Melino was in a hurry to obtain in Rome concessions which might well have been postponed, but as he was there he doubtless thought well to utilise the opportunity. He was probably also moved by his desire to see the consummation of an event he has so much at heart, and as often happens to people who are anxious and in trouble, he persuaded himself that the business was as feasible as he hoped.

Perhaps also his Holiness gave him those papers with the intention of casting the blame for the delay upon our shoulders; but even if this were so, they have not gained much by their move, as the opinion here is that the proposal made to your Majesty with regard to the money to defray the cost of the enterprise is very inadequate considering the circumstances. This opinion, which was expressed here directly the proposal was known, I will take care to propagate

1583.

in order that they may understand that the blame for the delay must be laid upon Rome, rather than upon us. With regard to the affair not having even yet been taken in hand, I am satisfied that Hercules in his own mind is perfectly aware that such things cannot be undertaken hastily, but must be well considered and arranged, in order to ensure success. The people concerned, however, as is usual with those who are in affliction, are yearning for a remedy to their ills, and are very anxious and impatient, as I have told them more than once, and have assured them that the enterprise shall be undertaken shortly.

I will continue in this course, urging them to await patiently the appointed time, and especially to keep the affair secret, as upon that really the whole success of it depends. I will not go beyond this, as I consider it very necessary that they should not learn of your Majesty's intention to attempt the affair from Flanders, until it has progressed too far to be longer concealed. Even then they must be told in such terms as may not make them suspect an intention of excluding the people here from the enterprise, which, indeed, would be very unadvisable. We should rather prompt Hercules to persevere in a project which he has so much at heart, and let him share the glory to which he aspires in order to prevent any obstacle being thrown in our way. With regard to other pretensions which I see mentioned in the summary sent to me, it appears to me that they should not be divulged even at the time of the undertaking. If they have to be entrusted to anybody to promote them at that period, in my poor opinion, it should be either to Allen or Melino, whom I find very much attached to our side, and who will gladly forward anything your Majesty may desire.

Hercules sent recently to ask me to beg your Majesty to adopt a prompt and favourable decision in the business. I expect the reason is that the queen of Scotland is hammering away at him about it. The Scots ambassador has also been to see me since, to give me an account of a letter Hercules had received from the king of Scotland, a copy of which he gave me to send to your Majesty.* Their object in doing this is that your Majesty may see how entirely at liberty the King is, and how desirous he is to aid in his mother's release.

The person who sends the enclosed letter from Scotland is the Scots ambassador's nephew, who, as I advised at the time, was sent to Scotland some months ago. He has succeeded at length in finding an opportunity of letting the King know the principal object with which he was sent, namely, to offer him in the name of Hercules any help which might be necessary for the purpose above mentioned. He found him well disposed, but I am not sure whether it was quite wise to go so far with him in the matter, because the King cannot be of much use in the execution, and all that is required of him is to look favourably upon the undertaking when the time for it comes. It would perhaps have been better

* *See* letter, James VI. to the duke of Guise 19th August, page 502.

1583.

not to go beyond this with him, or to give him an opportunity of speaking about it to any of his councillors, as there is always risk of discovery when a thing passes through many hands. It is true that the only communication to the King was made on behalf of Hercules, who, as a relative, may well make offers to him without much suspicion; but still it will be better for it not to go any further, and I will tell them to write to the nephew (*i.e.*, of Archbishop Beaton) to point this out to him. The nephew writes to his uncle (the Scots ambassador) giving him an account of affairs, and expressing his apprehension at the great confidence which the King exhibits, going hunting usually so poorly attended that it would not be surprising if it were to end in their trying to play him some trick. The ambassador assures me that this arises from the want of means to support a regular guard, and he again begged me from Hercules to ask your Majesty once more to help him with the 12,000 crowns to raise and pay a guard, so as to avoid that danger. This they look upon as most necessary; and my own opinion is that, as we have the King now so well disposed, and it is vital that he should be so for the success of the object in view, the money would be very well laid out. I do not know whether they asked the nuncio before he died to provide any part of this money, nor can I learn of any further funds being sent from Rome, beyond the 4,000 crowns which were given to the man who went to Scotland, and the 4,000 crowns obtained by Melino when he was at Rome, on the pretext that this sum was due as his Holiness' proportion of the money your Majesty had ordered to be provided during recent months for Allen and Melino, to defray their travelling and other expenses in the matter. It would therefore appear that this grant (*i.e.*, for the guard) must be made by your Majesty, if at all. I beg your Majesty to consider it, and I will keep the question pending with Hercules as best I can.

This willingness of the king of Scotland may possibly look like a bait to revive the idea of commencing the enterprise in Scotland, and I have discussed the point with Melino, who persists that on no account should this be done. He is strongly of opinion that the design upon England should be persevered in, and thus the heart struck at first, and he says that Allen is told this by persons on the frontier itself, who prove it by arguments so cogent as to admit of no discussion. These are, first, that if the army to restore the Catholic religion first lands in Scotland, they will find more difficulty in carrying out this object even than in England. Secondly, that whatever may be the nationality of the soldiers sent thither (*i.e.*, to Scotland), they will certainly be regarded as French, and consequently unwelcome to English people, owing to the enmity existing between the latter and the Scots. It may be feared, therefore, that this would cause many to refrain from joining. Thirdly, that the voyage to Scotland is farther, and consequently more uncertain; and after the force had arrived it would have to traverse a part of England so sterile and difficult that much suffering and delay would have to be borne before it could set foot in the enemy's country. This would give them time to put their

1583.

frontiers in a position of defence, whilst they molested the correspondents (in England) upon whose aid success depends. Everyone would thus be terror-stricken and afraid to move. Opportunity would also be given for help to be sent from here by the Huguenots, or even by the king (of France) himself, seeing how ready they (the French) are to impede anything we attempt. This last argument is so convincing that it really seems best that the attack should be directed against the source of the evil at once, rather than we should face unnecessary evils by beginning elsewhere.

I have thought well to set this down for your Majesty's consideration in due time; although in the account given of his voyage by the man they sent to England, he says that a certain Paget asserted that the gentleman with whom he communicated was of opinion that a commencement should be made in Scotland, as I advised at the time. Melino tells me that the question, however, was afterwards referred to those here, and it was decided that it would be best to begin in England, and Hercules is of the same opinion. With regard to Hercules I may say that he is strongly in our favour, and is worthy of your Majesty's esteem and countenance, when opportunity may offer. I am sure he would be very grateful for the horses and mares, respecting which I wrote some time ago, and I again pray your Majesty will satisfy his whim, as I held out hopes to him that they would be sent.—Paris, 15th November 1583.

26 Nov. **362.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote on the 18th, reporting the arrests that had been effected here. Fresh gentlemen are being seized every day and the Catholics are quite cowed. One paper only was found on Throgmorton, containing a list of the principal ports in England and particulars with regard to them and the chief gentlemen and Catholics dwelling therein. For this they at once carried him to the Tower, and it is to be feared that his life is in danger, although he informed me by means of a cipher note, written on a playing-card and thrown out of the window, that he denies that the document is in his handwriting, the caligraphy being disguised. He told them that some person had thrown it into his house for the purpose of injuring him; and assures me that he will endure a thousand deaths rather than accuse anyone, which message he begs me to convey to his Catholic friends with whom I was in communication.* I have written to the lady in prison, encouraging her and begging her not to grieve over the matter to the detriment of her health, but the business, it may be feared, may imperil her life if the negotiations in France are entirely discovered. Hercules has been duly warned in France. The Councillors here say that the affair

* Unfortunately, the letters from Mendoza, written during the autumn of 1583, are missing, and his exact action in regard to Francis Throgmorton's plot to kill the Queen is, therefore, not fully explained in the correspondence. The present letter, however, and some others in the Calendar, prove conclusively his complicity and also that of the queen of Scots.

1583.

was managed by the French ambassador at the request of the duke of Guise.*

As I wrote in my last, Hawkins and his seamen had arrived in Plymouth but would not leave their ships until they had a general pardon signed with the Queen's own hand, which is a sufficient proof that they have done something wrong and captured a great booty, especially as a quantity of pearls and money has already been brought from the ships to the house of Hawkins' brother in London. They say they have brought in another ship, with Portuguese and Spaniards on board, but I cannot confirm this, as the man I sent has not returned from Plymouth; although it is most likely true, as news comes from the Seville merchants and from France that the flagship of the Santo Domingo squadron was missing, which probably would contain pearls, money, hides, and sugar, such as they say Hawkins brings. The Queen sent Wilkes, Secretary of the Council, to Plymouth directly she heard of Hawkins' arrival. As the arrests were made at the same time, I do not know whether Wilkes went to arrest some personage of importance or to examine Hawkins' plunder, which is probable. As soon as I can find out what has been stolen I will lay the matter before the Council, which I can do without speaking to the Queen about it, although I am certain that both she and the Council will act as they have always done.—London, 26th November 1583.

22 Dec. **363.** JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1561.

Although I am sure Don Bernardino de Mendoza will give an account and explanation of the fresh persecution of Catholics in England, I think well also to send your Majesty a short relation which was given to me by one of our English friends, and to inform your Majesty what they think of it.

They are sure that nothing of this is caused by any real suspicion on the part of the Queen of the plan they have in hand, and God grant that they may be right. In conversation with one of them about it, I urged them by every possible means to have any suspicion on her part lulled, so that she may sleep soundly. They tell me that they have taken steps with this object, but not so ostentatiously as to attract attention, which I hope to God is true. The lady is so suspicious, that there was always danger in the matter being in so many hands. The point in the statement which alarms me most is that they have found two papers in Throgmorton's house, and the idea of what they may wring out of him about them by torture, although they tell me he is so faithful a gentleman that they have no fear of them getting anything incriminatory. With regard to the rest, it would seem there is little to fear. Lord Paget and Charles Arundel have taken refuge here, on account of this affair, they being Catholics and fearing arrest. Paget is the son of the Paget whom your Majesty will probably recollect. They have both secretly inti-

* An important letter from Castelnau to Henry III., dated 19th December, dealing with this matter will be found in Harl. MSS. 1582.

1583.

mated their arrival to me, and ask me to convey their humble duty to your Majesty.—Paris, 22nd December 1583.

Dec. **364.** ACCOUNT of EVENTS in ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1562.

A gentleman named Somerville,* being out of his mind, said in the presence of many others that it was necessary the queen of England should be killed, as she was the bane of the Catholic Church. The other gentlemen paid no attention to what he said, as they saw he was not in his right senses, but he continued in the same way of thinking and went towards London, saying openly that he was going thither to kill the Queen. He was arrested on the road by a judge, who sent him a prisoner to London. In the prison there he accused several persons, and amongst others his father-in-law† and a priest, his confessor.‡ Some of these persons are already in prison, and they are seeking the others on the charge of high treason for not having revealed to the Council the words of the madman. Four out of these persons are heretics, although adherents of the queen of Scotland. Lord Howard§ is also a prisoner, accused of having spoken somewhat freely in favour of the queen of Scotland, and he is suspected of having some communication with her. Francis Throgmorton and a son of his named George‖ are also in the Tower of London, the former under suspicion of communicating with the queen of Scotland. They have found a box of his containing two papers, in one of which were enumerated all the ports on the English coast where a landing could be effected, and the other bearing the names of many principal English Catholics. They have put him to the torture dreadfully.

1584.

18 Jan. **365.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 7th I reported the arrival here of the man who came from Alençon with letters for the Queen. He has now gone with the replies, and answers have also been sent to Orange and the rebels, but I am unable to learn their purport, or anything that is not publicly talked about at the street corners, as all my channels of information have been stopped through these arrests. Not only do people avoid converse with me, but persons of all conditions dare not even look at my servants, and the councillors are publicly using expressions from which it may be inferred that the Queen

* John Somerville, of Elstow, Warwickshire. He was condemned to death for treason, and on the 19th December was brought from the Tower to Newgate, in order to be near Smithfield where he was to be executed on the following day. He strangled himself, however, two hours after his arrival in the prison.

† Edward Arden, of Park Hall, Warwickshire. Both he and his wife were put on their trial, and the man was executed in Smithfield as a traitor on the 20th December. His head, with that of Somerville, was placed on London Bridge, and his four quarters exposed on the City gates. Somerville's body was buried as a *felo-de-se* in Moorfields.

‡ Hugh Hall. His life was saved by his disclosures.

§ Lord William Howard.

‖ George Throgmorton was the younger brother of Francis. Both were sons of Sir John Throgmorton, Chief Justice of Chester, who had been dismissed by Leicester's influence, and nephews of the famous Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, whom Leicester is suspected of having poisoned.

1584.

will order me to leave the country, as I advised your Majesty in my last. I am confirmed in this belief by their having arrested an English gentleman who was deep in the confidence of the queen of Scotland, and through whom she used to send some of her secret despatches to me. They say he has declared the names of the persons who communicated with her.*—London, 18th January 1584.

26 Jan. **366.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

On the 18th I reported what these councillors were saying, and on the following day the Queen sent word to me by Beal, one of her secretaries, that she had ordered some of the councillors to convey an important communication to me, and they would therefore expect me at three o'clock at the house of the Lord Chancellor. I replied that, if they wished to see me in their capacity of individual ministers they might come to my house to seek me, as I went to theirs when I wished to see them; but if they were in Council I would, as was my duty, wait upon them and hear what they had to say, but if I opened my ears I should not close my mouth, but would give such answer as the nature of the case and the service of my master demanded. I gave this reply as I foresaw that their intention was to tell me to leave the country, and I wished to do so in a way compatible with your Majesty's dignity. They answered that they wished to see me as a Council, and not as individuals, and I consequently went to the Lord Chancellor's house at the hour assigned. I found there, besides the Lord Chancellor, the earl of Leicester, Lord Howard, whom they have now made Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon, and Secretary Walsingham. They came with many bows to meet me at the first chamber, and after we had entered a small room, Secretary Walsingham said that, as he spoke Italian more readily than the others, he would be interpreter of what they had to tell me in the Queen's name. This was that Her Majesty was much displeased with me on account of the efforts I had made to disturb her country, and my holding communication with the queen of Scotland, as had been confessed by a certain More, who was now a prisoner, and who declared that he had delivered letters to me from her. He also alleged that I was trying to get her out of the country, in connivance with the duke of Guise, and was in communication with the French, with Throgmorton and his brother, and with the earl of Northumberland. For these reasons it was the Queen's will that I should leave the country, without fail, in fifteen days. I replied that I was surprised that the Queen had summoned them and me for so small a matter as this. I said that what they had told me were simply dreams, and although their allegations were hardly worthy of an answer, I would tell them that I was not so foolish, if I had had communication with the queen of Scotland (which untrue statement they had squeezed out

* This letter appears to be incomplete.

1584.

of More on the rack) as to deprive her of her rights to the throne of England, and of her 50,000 crowns dowry from France, whilst saddling your Majesty with an expenditure of 100,000 crowns a year for her maintenance. As for Throgmorton, I said, he was very young, and certainly not a man whose position and gifts, were such as to lead any sane man to think that I would discuss a matter of any importance with him. He occasionally came to see me for the purpose of asking me for letters of favour for a brother of his in the Netherlands whom I did not know (which is true). But I had never even spoken to the earl of Northumberland. I have been always most cautious in affairs of this sort, and have been careful to discuss particulars with no one but the queen of Scotland, unless she instructed confidants of her own to communicate things to me. I said I was much surprised that they should seek to fix these charges upon me supported only by a general statement without detailed information. If I wished to get the queen of Scotland away, let them tell me how I meant to do it, from what port she was to go, with what ships and men, how many times I had spoken to More about it, and where: all of which points must be considered before they gave credit to their imaginings. I pointed out how far different even were the things with which they charged me, from the acts of the Queen and her Ministers to your Majesty's prejudice, dwelling fully upon this point as I went to the interview forearmed.

With regard to my leaving the country, I said that I was not fond of staying in another person's house as an unwelcome guest, in any case, and they know how earnestly I desired to leave England. I would therefore comply with the Queen's desire the moment she sent a despatch to that effect to your Majesty. I said this to discover whether what they said was mere brag or not. They rose from their chairs and said that this would not be done, I must leave at once, and they explained their past acts with impertinences that I dare not repeat to your Majesty. The least of them was that I ought to be very thankful that the Queen had not ordered me to be punished for what I had done, and that I had injured your Majesty. I lost my temper at this, and told them that the Queen had nothing to do with that, nor had anyone in the world but your Majesty, to whom alone I was responsible, and they had better say no more upon that subject unless theywere prepared to fight. I said I laughed at the idea of the Queen punishing me, and should be overjoyed to go away the moment she sent me a passport. I said that, as she was a lady there was nothing strange at her being the least thankful to those who desired to serve her, as I had done, but as I had apparently failed to please her as a minister of peace she would in future force me to try to satisfy her in war.

These words of mine have been since ruminated over a good deal here, and they have been christened "*harsh*" and "*hasty*," but they say that I boldly declared that I answered on my own account personally, without appearing to pledge your Majesty. I was forced into speaking as I did and taking my departure at once by the behaviour of these people, and I must now get away from here

1584.

with all my servants, and even the people outside who have helped me, as I cannot leave them on the horns of the bull, and I send my servant Hans Oberholtzer to give an account to your Majesty, and to say that I am leaving this country in three days as safely as I can, having sent to ask the Queen for a ship to convey me to Calais, unless the eight Flushing ships now in the Straits of Dover impede me. Otherwise I shall go to Rouen and there await the return of Hans (Oberholtzer) with your Majesty's instructions. As every course before me is a dangerous one, I have determined not to adopt any without your Majesty's orders, leaving here as your Minister, and not trusting myself into English hands to carry me straight to Spain, as public indignation is very great against me. This feeling is increased by the statement they have set afloat, to the effect that I am being expelled for having plotted to kill the Queen, which was asserted by one of their ministers preaching in the Court itself before all the councillors. This will show how, with these fibs and fictions, they lead the people astray. The same night that I saw the Council they quietly took the earl of Northumberland to the Tower. The councillors told me that the Queen would write to your Majesty respecting her action, and complaining greatly of me, and they are already bellowing about sending on this errand Wotton, who went on an embassy to Portugal in the time of the late king Henry (of Portugal) and had an interview with your Majesty at the Escorial on his way back.* Two Huguenot gentlemen have come from Alençon with letters for the Queen, asking for money, which put her very much out of temper. She said that now, less than ever, could she give them money or forces, as she was in so much fear of your Majesty. The king of France, seeing the jealousy which my frequent intercourse with the French ambassador aroused in the Queen, whereby she was led to countenance less warmly the claims of Alençon, has written to his ambassador, ordering him not only to maintain his friendship with me, but to feast and entertain me constantly, in a way that the Queen shall hear of it. This he has done with great care, and exhibits sorrow at my going.—London, 26th January 1554.

Postscript to Don Juan de Idiaquez, the King's secretary.

Secretary Walsingham has replied to me in the Queen's name that, in view of my proceedings here, she could not give me a ship. I can see they are going to try and play me some trick. I cannot blame myself for this, except for having come to England at all. You may assure his Majesty that I will do all that is humanly possible to get away safely.

30 Jan. **367.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

After the accompanying letter was written, the people here kept my servant waiting six days for a passport, on the pretext that, in accordance with the fresh orders, it had to be signed by three councillors. He got a passport so signed, but was detained at

* Sir Edward Wotton, *see* Vol. 2 of this Calendar.

1584.

Dover for three days longer and was told that fresh orders had arrived that no one was to pass without a permit signed by six councillors. He was then obliged to come back and give me an account of what had happened, of which I sent a statement to the Council. They assure me that, with the new passport they now give him, he will be allowed to go, but I feel no confidence in it until I know he has crossed the sea; nor can I say anything decided about these people's behaviour, as they change from one moment to another, but I suspect that this detention of my servant, whilst they allowed another who was with him to go over to M. de la Motte to ask him to arm a ship to escort me across, was caused by their desire that he should not arrive at your Majesty's court so soon as a man they are sending thither, a different person from the man they first mentioned for the errand, as he is a person of low rank who acts as secretary to Walsingham, and is called Wade.*

As I signified to Don Juan de Idiaquez for your Majesty's information, they recently refused to give me a ship, as they said, in consequence of my proceedings here in trying to disturb the country, and that the Queen, consequently, could not treat me as a friend. I replied that, since she had not learned to know me in all this time, I could not avoid telling her that Don Bernardino de Mendoza was not born to disturb countries but to conquer them. On the following day they asserted that it would be well to detain me here until a reply was received from Spain, and now they are again saying they will give me a passport. I am pressing for it, but the changes are so constant that nothing can be depended upon until it is actually done.

They have arrested an English cook who has been in my service for the last six years, and after having examined him as to the people who came to my house, and many other things, they let him go, saying that they did not know whether he was my servant or not. All their behaviour is on a par with this, and if God had not made your Majesty so clement and God-fearing a prince, no vassal of yours, surely, would undertake to serve you in England, seeing the way in which the English treat us, for so powerful an empire as that which God has granted to your Majesty cannot meekly endure such ill-treatment as this for any earthly reward.—London, 30th January 1584.

30 Jan. **368.** Bernardino de Mendoza to Juan de Idiaquez.

My despatches, and the bearer verbally, will inform you that I am on the way. Whichever road across I may take, I shall direct my steps to Rouen, which I judge to be the best port and least costly, whence I may decide to go to Spain either overland or by sea. I pray you not to allow this servant of mine to be delayed, but send him off at once with directions as to what I am to do, or I shall sink under it altogether, my departure having been so sudden, and it having been necessary not only to bring away my

* Sir William Wade or Waad, Clerk of the Council.

1584.

own household, but all the outside people who helped me in any way, rather than leave them on the horns of the bull, which would be most inhuman. The hostelries in France too make you pay, particularly anyone accompanied by such a swarm of people as I have with me. The prince of Parma has not paid me, and if a Flemish merchant and loyal subject of His Majesty, who is with me, had not assisted me, I could hardly have got away so quickly as was desirable in the King's interests. The insolence of these people has brought me to a state in which my only desire to live is for the purpose of revenging myself upon them, and I pray that God may let it be soon, and will give me grace to be His instrument of vengeance, even though I have to walk barefooted to the other side of the world to beg for it. I am sure His Majesty will give such an answer as their insolence merits to the man whom they are sending. To justify themselves Walsingham is saying that the Queen has secret news that His Majesty was ill-pleased with my services in England.—London, 30th January 1584.

10 Feb. **369.** The KING to COUNT DE OLIVARES.*

It was well for you to tell his Holiness what was written to you from here about English affairs. Since then you will have heard of the troubles and persecution of the Catholics, and the danger that exists of the negotiations being discovered as they are passing through so many hands, and so much publicity is being given to them. This has always been my fear, and has led me to enjoin secrecy many times, and to urge that no show should be made until the blow could be dealt. I am very sorry for their sufferings, but can only hope for God's sake that the principal thing may not be discovered. You will be on the look out in case (as it is usual to try to throw blame on others) the Pope and his ministers wish to say that the evil has happened in consequence of my not having done as I was urged to do. You will reply, and prove to demonstration, that as matters were no further advanced in England than they were, if I had moved, as they wished me to do last year, with the object of attempting the main business, the Catholics there would not be suffering only imprisonment and affliction, but would all have been murdered. You will thus, in the best way you can, prevent us from being blamed for what was not our fault, but rather the result of the carelessness of the parties themselves, and perhaps of some of his Holiness' officers, who have dealt too openly with the business. You will not advance this last point unless they oblige you to tell them the truth in this respect also.—Madrid, 10th February 1584.

19 Feb. **370.** The KING OF SCOTLAND to the DUKE OF GUISE.

My cousin. I doubt not that our cousin and ambassador† to our good brother the Christian King will have informed you of our great esteem for your advice and counsel in all our affairs. He

* Spanish ambassador in Rome.

† Lord Seton, who had arrived in France seven weeks previous to the date of this letter.

1584.

will also have told you of the trouble which has occurred amongst our subjects in consequence of my having, in accordance with my duty and your advice, undertaken the defence of the cause and honour of my much revered and dear mother, and abandoned the English faction. I now perceive that the strength of my enemies and rebels is growing daily, with so many means and aims of the queen of England for the subversion of my State, and the deprivation of my own life, or at least my honour and liberty, which I prize more than my life, and that it will be impossible for me to resist for long without the aid of God and my good friends and allies. I therefore beg you, my dear cousin, to use all your influence with the princes who are your friends, and even with our holy father, to whom I am writing, with the object of obtaining prompt and speedy help, otherwise I fear I shall soon be forced either to be ruined or to throw myself into their arms and accede to all their unhappy designs and appetites. If by your means I can obtain some succour I hope, God helping, that, with the support of a good number of adherents that I have, both in Scotland and in England, I shall soon be out of these difficulties, and I shall be more free to follow your advice in all things, both in religion and State affairs, as I wish to do in all things reasonable.

From our palace of Holyrood, 19th February 1584.

Your affectionate cousin, JAQUES R.

19 Feb. French.

371. The KING OF SCOTLAND to the POPE.

The affection and goodwill which I understand your Holiness and your predecessors have shown to my crown, and especially to my ancestors, and the personal care that your Holiness has shown for the Queen, our dear mother, have moved me to address you respectfully, first to thank your Holiness for all your efforts in favour of the said Queen, our dear mother, and then to lay before you the difficulties in which I find myself, in consequence of my having acted as my duty towards her demanded. In this I have followed the sacred and natural law, and the advice of those whom I esteem as nearest and most faithful to me, particularly the house of Guise, who are, I understand, strongly devoted to your Holiness; rather than my teaching, or ambition, or the wishes of those who have unduly rendered themselves stronger than myself unaided. It has come to pass, that those who have banished my mother, in order to take advantage of my youth, as a cloak and buckler to all their appetites and tyrannies over the country, seeing that I was beginning to open my eyes and recognise their evil behaviour towards their true and natural rulers, have banded themselves against me with the aid and countenance of my neighbour the queen of England, who has always held out her hand to all their bad enterprises undertaken with the object of utterly ruining me. Under such a blow as this I can only look for aid and succour to the prudence and the affection you bear towards our very dear mother, although I myself have hitherto deserved nothing at your hands, but I have always been told by those who have advised me to the present course, that I might better hope for aid and succour from your Holiness than from any other prince. The extreme need in which I now am, is such that,

1584.

unless I have some help from abroad, I shall find myself in danger of being forced to second the designs of my greatest enemies and yours, because in my childhood the traitors abused my youth and authority and took possession of my domains and treasure, of the principal strongholds of the country, and of everything else which might strengthen themselves, whilst I was thus deprived of the power of defending myself, of delivering my mother, and of asserting her and my right to the throne of England. With regard to the means by which all this may be remedied, I have had recourse to my dear cousin the duke of Guise, to whom I have written, and by whose advice I have adopted this means of defending and protecting the cause of my dear and honoured mother. I hope to be able to satisfy your Holiness on all other points, especially if I am aided in my great need by your Holiness. I pray your Holiness will please to keep very secret the communication I thus open with you, and let no one know that I have written this, as my interests would otherwise be retarded, and perhaps my state utterly ruined, seeing the weakness of my resources and the small means I have here at present to defend myself, if I were assailed by my rebels and the queen of England.

From our palace of Holyrood, 19th February 1584.

(Signed) JAQUES R.

372. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

1 March.
Paris Archives, K. 1448. 4.

From your letters up to the 18th January, I learn of the new persecution of the Catholics in England, and the danger that existed that they would wring by torture out of the prisoners to their own prejudice, and that of others, confessions of things that never happened. By your letters of 26th and 30th January, brought by your servant, I am informed of the decision adopted by the Queen with regard to your departure, and the manner in which it was conveyed to you, together with your reply, which was a fitting one. I approve of it, and see that you have acted with the same good sense and courage in the manner of your departure as in all else that has happened during your stay in the country. I am entirely satisfied with you, and with your good services, and will take care that they are duly remembered. Anxiety has been felt lately in consequence of our not having any certain news of your arrival in France, and although two English ships which have arrived in Spanish ports now bring information that you passed over without misfortune, we are hoping for a direct confirmation of the intelligence. In the belief that it is true, I now inform you that, from whatever place in which your servant who takes this may find you, you may start for this place at once, and will be welcome. Funds are sent to you herewith for the purpose, in a credit for 4,000 crowns, and if passports from the Christian King, or escorts be needful for your safety in certain places, Juan Bautista de Tassis will take steps to obtain them. I shall be glad to receive an account, which doubtless you will already have written to me, of all you did, and all that happened up to the time you left, and anything that occurs to you in English affairs, as we are now dependent upon

1584.

correspondents in France with regard thereto. You need only deal with matters that you think we ought to know before you can arrive. All else may wait until you come.

William Waad has arrived, and will get fitting treatment and reply, as you will learn in good time.—Madrid, 12th March 1584.*

20 March. Paris Archives, K. 1448 . 3.

378. Document sent to the KING by JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS, the ambassador in France, headed "Intelligence brought "by John Utiton (Whittington?) who left London 20th "March 1584."

That three ships of 400, 300, and 200 tons were being fitted out on the Queen's account in London, the statement being that they were destined for Magellan and would be commanded by Francis Drake. They are to be very well supplied with soldiers, munitions, and warlike stores, but carry no merchandise. They are to sail at the beginning of May.†

1 April. Paris Archives, K. 1448.

374. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA. [EXTRACT.]

The heirs of Antonio de Guaras, who has died, have made a claim for money expended by him when he was in England. The Accountant-General has demanded vouchers for the expenditure, but they aver that they have none, as Guaras burnt all his papers in England by orders of Don Juan. The King desires to have Mendoza's opinion on the matter before deciding whether the money shall be paid to the claimants or not.‡—Madrid, 1st April 1584.

12 April. Paris Archives, K. 1563 . 9.

375. Document headed "Information sent from England by the correspondent left there by DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA."

The ships that were being equipped for the Indies were stopped for want of money, and only Raleigh and Walsingham's son are going, with four small, but well fitted ships, the largest being of 280 tons burden. Hawkins' brother is also very secretly preparing to leave shortly.

Scotland is in revolt, and unless they obtain aid from the French it will go badly with them, as the rebels are the stronger party and they will certainly not lack help.

The queen (of England) has asked the lady friend of the correspondent about Don Bernardino, and had complained bitterly of him, as she said he had given great help to her rebellious subjects. But, she said, he had better recollect that monarchs had long arms.

---

* In a letter of the same date to Juan Bautista de Tassis, his Ambassador in France, the King instructs him to take all necessary steps for Don Bernardino's safety and comfort, as he highly approves of his (Mendoza's) services. Tassis is instructed to keep the King informed on English affairs in the absence of an ambassador in England.

† A note on the back of this document, in the handwriting of Secretary Antonio Perez, says that Tassis is to send news of what he has heard about this matter through his other channels of information.

‡ The correspondence of Guaras and an account of his proceedings whilst in England will be found in the second volume of this Calendar.

1584.

William Waad had arrived there, much gratified at the kindness shown to him in Spain.

18 April. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 10.

376. JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

The correspondent left in England by Don Bernardino reports that the ships for the Indies are being fitted out with all haste. I have heard nothing of the sort, except that some private persons are fitting out ships for Newfoundland, and perhaps he (the correspondent) does not like to say this. Don Bernardino will be able to judge best what to think of it.* He also reports that the Queen is making ready some ships for fear that the French may send help to Scotland. At least that is what I gather from his words which are so badly expressed as to be almost unintelligible.

18 April. Paris Archives. K. 1563. 11.

377. JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

I have handed over to Don Bernardino de Mendoza the whole matter of the English design, and would not think of again referring to it, but occasion has offered for me to speak to people here on the matter, and I find very good reasons expressed for making a beginning in England itself, if possible, rather than in Scotland. Some mention has already been made of these reasons, but I cannot refrain from dwelling further upon them here.

There is no doubt that it would be of the greatest commodity and security for the debarcation and formation of the troops, to have a port in Scotland where the landing might be effected without trouble, and amongst friends, and the force marched tranquilly towards the enemies' country. If this course could be adopted, there is no doubt it would be the best, but considering that the object in view is to subdue England, and liberate the queen of Scotland, both on her own account and that she may be an instrument for the permanent submission of England, the following points must be borne in mind. Towards the first object, our principal help must come from a Catholic rising in our favour, of which the English who have the arrangement of the matter are very sanguine, and even believe that whole counties and towns will declare for us. This will run the risk of failing if the army do not immediately join them, and the earl of Westmoreland and others be not able to return to their territories and raise their partizans to revolt. If the queen of England is given time, she may take such precautions as may prevent anyone from stirring. The second object will be frustrated by the long distance to be traversed from the port of debarcation in Scotland, and the place where the queen of Scots is confined, so that people could not at once go and release her, as the queen of England would have plenty of time to put her into a place of security. The time, moreover, which would be occupied

* In the King's hand: "You had better obtain information about this from Don Bernardino and send due advice whither desirable."

1584.

in going from the landing-place in Scotland to England, may perhaps be longer than we imagine, seeing the many things needed for the march of an army, things which probably may not be so easily obtainable in Scotland as we think. This may enable the queen of England to send to the frontier a force to resist us, especially now that she is on her guard and making ready. She would even, in such case, have time to summon foreigners to her aid, which might result in a long civil war, bringing in its train many difficulties. The best way to end the affair promptly is to suddenly set her (the Queen's) house aflame, both with a foreign force and a rising of her own subjects, and to put the whole country at once in a blaze and turmoil. If things are done in this way, it is not unreasonable to believe that, even if the difficulty and risk be somewhat greater, it would be much better to land in England itself, rather than elsewhere, especially if the landing be effected at one of the two places near Scotland already mentioned, either on the east or the west side, where the army could obtain the same advantages from Scotland as if it had marched through the country, and any Scotsmen who pleased might easily join it. In addition to the above reasons, any army which might approach England from Scotland might be generally misunderstood amongst English people to be a Scots army, and as there exists a natural hatred between the two nations, this might cause, even amongst our friends, a certain coldness, and lead the Catholics themselves to defend their country, under the impression that the Scots with foreign aid were coming to conquer it. This moreover would be a great instrument in the hands of the queen of England to encourage all her people to resist, even if she did so at the expense of allowing to the Catholics liberty for the exercise of their religion as a reward, and this point is of considerable importance. I have talked on this matter with some of those who have it in hand, who depend entirely upon Muzio (*i.e.* the duke of Guise), and have asked them to consider it thoroughly, with the object of being able to advocate the most desirable course. Both they and their master, however, seem so little enamoured of the idea, that they attribute it to English intrigue, resulting from their dread of the Scots. I quite believe that the English would not like being dominated by Scotsmen, and that if the crown of Scotland is to be joined to their empire, they, the English, want still to be cocks of the walk, as their kingdom is the larger and more important one. On the other hand, the Scots may be unduly inflated with the opposite idea, so that imperfections may exist on both sides, but still, after all, it should not prevent them from listening to different opinions and adopting the most desirable. They persist, however, in the idea that the best course will be to enter by Scotland, which I do not contradict, but only place the above arguments before them for their consideration. The landing in Scotland offers one great advantage, namely, that we shall be in a perfectly safe country as if it were our own, in which, without running any more risk than we think fit, we can commence operations, whilst if it be God's will that the affair should be prolonged, aid can be sent to us as may be required, and if it be a

1584.

question of our retreat, which God forbid! we have a safe port of withdrawal there, which is no small matter.

If we go to Scotland, at least order should be given at once for the earl of Westmoreland, Dacre, and others who are to raise their partizans, to enter their territories with all speed, in order that that aid may not fail us, as it is so important. If they could take with them some separate force, preferably cavalry, to enable them to hold their own, until they were joined by the army, the landing of our troops in England would be less necessary. If it were possible for them (*i.e.* Westmoreland, Dacre, etc.) with a body of men to land at some English port simultaneously with the arrival of our army in Scotland, it would be better still for them, and would facilitate the raising of their friends, and their standing firm until the army reached them. This seems the surest way of avoiding the danger of delay, although as nothing certain can be calculated upon in sea voyages, this course, even, is not without risk, because if the army were to be much retarded in its landing in Scotland, these few men could hardly sustain themselves against the fury which, of course, would immediately be let loose upon them. It would seem however, even in this case, that they might take refuge over the Scotch border, which will be so near them.

A body of cavalry might also make an attempt at a dash from Scotland to where the Queen (of Scots) is, and release her and carry her off. It is true the distance is a long one, but by God's help the plan might succeed. This point, however, is a very anxious one, because, granted that we landed in England, it could not be done with such speed and secrecy as to prevent its being known before we set foot on shore, and could have men ready for the rush to the queen of Scots; so that even by these means her release will not be more easily effected than from Scotland. It does not seem very feasible by any means, and perhaps the only real way for her to help herself and get free is the method she has mentioned several times, which she had arranged, and for some time past has been asking for 12,000 crowns to pay for. The day before yesterday her ambassador begged me again very earnestly to ask for this sum to be provided at once, and as he urges it so strongly as he does, it may be concluded that the plan is now settled in a way that enables the Queen to be sure of success, unless they take her away from her present abode and place her in the hands of another custodian nearer London, in which case she would of course be lost, which would be a great misfortune, as she is the true instrument to smooth matters there easily and permanently. Besides this, she is a woman of such good sense that she will not fail to show proper gratitude to your Majesty by aiding in the settlement of affairs in Flanders, and in ordering all other things to your Majesty's pleasure.

If the attempts be made from Scotland it will be necessary for the army to be a powerful one, having regard to the doubts already expressed as to the Catholic risings in England if delay occurred in the arrival of the army there, and the probability of the Queen's being armed and on the defensive by the time we arrive. It is

1584.

well to be prepared for this, and we should have a force strong enough to succeed in any case.

With regard to raising forces in Scotland, which certainly will have to be done, there appears to be no great objection to it if it be undertaken with moderation, and if a sufficient number remain to be raised in England, so as to obviate the distrust and suspicion between the countries, and banish the fear of the English that the object is to conquer their country in favour of the Scots. Besides this it is desirable that the English contingent should be the superior and stronger one, so that if the enterprise succeed, as God grant that it may, the English may settle the Government in their own way, they being the first and most important party. This would not only be just, but would be the most advantageous for us.

I suspect that their intention is for the king of Scots to lead the army in person, and enter England with it, and for this reason I wish he had declared himself a Catholic. I have no doubt that Muzio will do all he can in this respect, and to judge by the signs given by the lad's letters, putting aside the probable worldly advantage to him, great hopes may be entertained that he may come round to the Catholic religion. But even when this is done, and he being a declared Catholic is allowed to lead the army, it will be well to keep all eyes fixed on the mother, in order that she may be sought out and made mistress of the empire which is to be won, and not allow any other idea to be countenanced whilst she is alive.

The king of Scotland undoubtedly shows a good tendency to return to the righteous road, and as he has certainly been led thus far to oppose the English faction strenuously, in consequence of the exhortations addressed to him from here on behalf of Muzio, and of the assurances of aid given to him, to which Muzio has verbally pledged himself to the utmost extent that he has been able, it is no wonder that his, Guises, going thither (to Scotland) should be urged, the more particularly after the message sent to him last summer by Northumberland from England, saying that he could not go thither, and that it was necessary to enter from Scotland. Constant reports are arriving also of the growth of the English faction and the fears that he (the king of Scots) may be captured and held by them again, seeing the unceasing efforts being made to that end by the queen of England, who has even sent the Hamiltons (people of the highest influence) to the border with money and musters of men to give countenance to the English faction and their objects. I am also informed that jealousy and discontent exist amongst those who follow (the King's) party on private grounds, and because some have received more than others, this passion of greed being the dangerous one of the race. It will become all the more dangerous now, for it may be certainly assumed that the queen of of England has been sleepless and ceaseless in her efforts to work upon it. Since Don Bernardino left I have had shown to me letters from Scotland which clearly prove this to be the case, and amongst them one from that Jesuit Holt, who is there, and who

1584.

presses most earnestly that the King should promptly be supplied with what was promised to him, in order that he might not relapse, which he was otherwise in danger of doing. This being so, it is no wonder that Muzio so urgently advises it, and there is no good reason why it should not be done. It would be very appropriate if the 12,000 crowns could be here promptly for remittance at once, and the King's guard be put into a desirable condition, and some sort of security obtained for the King's person, pending the sending of the rest of the money. They tell me that, failing this money, they (*i.e.*, the Scots) are going about here trying to raise funds for the purpose, and it was thought that the Nuncio would give 3,000 crowns. It appears, however, that he has recently been instructed not to dispose of the money until further orders, and he refuses the aid now until his fresh instructions come. When the Scots' ambassador told me the day before yesterday the news I have set down he said that the Queen his mistress expressly ordered him to pray me to urge speed upon your Majesty in the public business and that it might be carried out without consideration for her own safety, as she looked upon her life as well spent if success were attained.

I think Seton's son will not be sent to Rome, as they find they can do as well by writing.—Paris, 18th April 1584.

1 May. Paris Archives, K 1448 . 8.

378. The KING to JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS. [EXTRACT.]

The letter you sent me from the king of Scotland was received, and with regard to the request he makes to me about Colonel Stuart, I have ordered my nephew the prince of Parma to be written to, and asked what is the present state of the affair. When I have his reply, I will send it to you in order that you may forward it to, the King through his ambassador, to whom you may convey what I now say, and assure him of my great pleasure at reading the other points in the King's letter, and of my willingness to oblige the King in all things. You will impress strongly upon Hercules how much I depend upon him in these matters, as in others, banishing his suspicions which you mention and which have doubtless been aroused by others. You did well to keep your eye on the little expedition (in England). Keep me informed about it.—Aranjuez, 1st May 1584.

15 May.

379. COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

His Holiness ordered to be given to me Dr. Allen's discourse, and the original letters from the king of Scotland and the duke of Guise, the translations of which I send enclosed. I would send your Majesty the originals but for the danger, as they have to pass through France.* His Holiness orders me to write to your Majesty recommending this cause to you, leaving all details of the same to your Majesty's decision, as you will understand them better than

* *See* letters of 19th February, page 517–18.

1584.

he. He, for his part, promises to help to the extent mentioned in the statement of 16th August last. I have pointed out to him the difficulty that arises from the difference of opinion amongst them, as to whether the attempt shall be made on one side or the other, the larger force they request now than they did last year, and consequently the increased cost of the enterprise. I have also revived the former difficulties, touching as lightly as possible on points of detail, by promising to give a full account of everything to your Majesty, whilst I will try to be ready to take the course your Majesty may command. The Pope is now entertaining the hope that the departure of Don Bernardino from England, and your Majesty's refusal to receive the Queen's ambassador, may indicate a tendency in your Majesty's mind to make a demonstration against her.—Rome, 15th May 1584.

27 May. **380.** JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1563 . 18.

The two Scots ambassadors have just sent me word that they have news through England that the Scots rebels had occupied Stirling, but had been afterwards forced to retire therefrom and take refuge across the border at Berwick.* The ambassadors are very anxious to have this news confirmed from Scotland direct, as, if true, it will be a most advantageous thing, and at least will extricate the country from the pressing and immediate danger that has recently threatened it. Richard Melino† has returned from Flanders, and he and his companion Allen are still of opinion that the enterprise should be directed against England itself, and on no account should be effected elsewhere. He tells me in confidence that the Scotsmen here, impatient at the delay, are discussing the possibility of managing the business through other hands than those of your Majesty, and although he and the other man (*i.e.* Allen) are trying to keep in with them as much as possible. they (Melino and Allen) assert that the English want no other patron than your Majesty, and they not only look to you for a remedy, but that even if you make the queen of Scotland their sovereign you will not leave them hastily, or until everything is permanently settled on a stable basis. They even say that they would be glad for your Majesty to have some of the ports in your hands, the better to assure matters. No notice need be taken of the discussion of the others, as they are doubtless nothing but chimeras, and although the talk of these men may have for its object only to flatter us, yet it is certain that the English really desire no other patron than your Majesty, and under cover of this we may well believe all the rest. Since I wrote the above, another man has been to tell me that the news from Scotland is true and that the King had arrested some of the rebels.—Paris, 27th May 1584.

* This refers to the unsuccessful rising of the protestant earls of Angus, Mar, and Gowrie, the last of whom was subsequently beheaded for his share in it.

† Father Richard Melino was an agent of the duke of Guise, who in the previous autumn had been sent to give an account of the proposed invasion of Scotland to the Pope and to beg his assistance. *See* his instructions page 503.

1584.

29 May. Paris Archives, K. 1448-9.

381. The KING to JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS. [EXTRACT.]

You have done well to inform me so fully about England and Scotland. My desire in this matter still continues the same. We shall see how it is seconded by help from Rome, and other circumstances, by which my goodwill must be compassed. You will, in the meanwhile, assure the intermediaries of this, and try to keep them in hand, preventing them from being either rash or despairing and getting them to build on a sound foundation.

I am sorry that the king of Scotland has been in danger of again falling into the hands of the adherents of the queen of England. Cause Hercules to warn him to be very vigilant. The money for the guard shall be sent shortly.—San Lorenzo (Escurial), 29th May 1584.

Note.—In another draft letter of the same date, from the same to the same, the following passage occurs: "I have greatly "rejoiced at the good fortune of the king of Scotland, and will try "to send the money for his guard by the express messenger above-"mentioned. You acted very well with his ambassador Seton, and "if he gives you the paper with the undertaking to abandon the "French alliance and enter into a treaty with me, you will send it "to me, but do not ask for it; let him introduce the subject and "confine yourself to repeating what he says." To this draft the King has added a marginal note, asking what "good fortune" to the king of Scotland is referred to. It was, of course, the collapse of the Gowrie conspiracy.

1 June. **382.** The KING to the COUNT DE OLIVARES.

The same suggestion about the Duke of Guise's going to Scotland that his Holiness conveyed to you was also communicated to me by the Nuncio here, but it is not so easy a task to settle that country and free the king of Scotland; and the passage of the Duke thither with so small a force and without money could hardly result in success, but more likely in the loss of a person who can always be of such great service to the Catholic cause in France. Besides which, as you will since have heard from Juan Bautista de Tassis, the duke of Guise should never stir out of his house, unless well supplied with forces; and the affair will soon be more remote than ever, in consequence of the discussion in which they must all be immersed about the duke of Alençon. I am certainly anxious about this business, because it is so greatly in God's service that it behoves us all to aid it; and I understand that this help should not be confined to good wishes alone, but if anything is to be done it should be on solid foundation with foresight and caution, because, failing this, and if the secret leaks out, the Catholics there will be put to the sword, as they have been before; above all if, with but small support, we lead them to make a move themselves, which would complete their ruin, and would deprive us of their help when it really might be of advantage, if they were preserved.

I have on other occasions offered my forces to his Holiness, and I

1584.

do the same now, although the many demands I have upon me for money, on account of matters as godly and necessary as this, make me poor. I am not asking that his Holiness should do impossibilities, but if anything is to be effected he must contribute very largely, and must find ways and means through his holy zeal to do much more than anyone has yet imagined. It appears to me that the first thing to be kept in view is to aid the principal enterprise promptly and substantially, and if time should fail for this, or other obstacles should make it impossible, the king of Scotland must be helped with some money—for I am not losing sight of him—and the English Catholics advised to be patient and steadfast, in the certain hope that aid will be forthcoming in due time. In the meanwhile, things could be prepared. Let his Holiness consider what had better be done in view of this reply to his communication. Report to me what he answers.—San Lorenzo, 1st June 1584.

4 June. **383.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

His Holiness told me in the course of conversation that he hoped the queen of England would do something good. I pressed him with leading questions to discover whether he had any negotiations or understandings with her. He told me that he had not, but she was so much afraid of the Catholics and distrusted the heretics so greatly that he was inspired with this hope. I afterwards learnt from Cardinal Como* that the Nuncio in France had written saying that he had heard from a person whom the English Ambassador had told, that whenever any tumult took place, his mistress had a remedy ready at hand which was simply to hear a mass. I see some indications that the inquisition is carrying on some sort of negotiations with her, and, on my making a remark to one of the members to the effect that it was very desirable that your Majesty should know what was being done in this matter, he replied that when there was anything tangible he would not fail to inform your Majesty.†—Rome, 4th June.

8 Oct. **384.** The KING to JUAN BAUTISTA DE TASSIS.
Paris Archives, K. 1448. 20. [EXTRACT.]

The person who suggests to you that the English ambassador there (in France) may be bought with money, would have to be very trustworthy indeed for us to believe him. Even if the go-between is to be trusted, the ambassador may be of such sort as to cheat both sides, selling you false news for your money, and boasting in England of his having done so, which would be worse than the loss of the money. No fixed pension can therefore be

* Tolomeo Gallio, Cardinal of Como, was a Lombard subject of Philip, a member of the Spanish party in the Sacred college, and Secretary of State.

† This letter begins with a reference to the desire entertained by the Pope "that some famous enterprise might distinguish his pontificate." To which Philip II. adds a remark that "they apparently do not consider the affair of Flanders famous. They "do not seem to think what that costs. There is not much foundation for the English "affair."

1584.

granted to him, but you may first ask him to furnish information, and promise that it shall be well rewarded if it proves valuable. This really would be advantageous and the intelligence could be well paid for according to its value.*—The Pardo, 8th October 1584.

9 Nov. B. M. Add. 28,702.

385. Unsigned contemporary copy of Letter of Advices to the King respecting English affairs.

The queen of Scotland, foreseeing from the change of her guard and place of residence that she would probably not continue much longer to enjoy liberty to write and receive letters, wrote as follows on the 9th November 1584.

I am expecting no good result from the treaty between the queen of England and myself relative to my liberation; but let the end be what it may, whatever becomes of me, and no matter what change may be made in my condition, you will not fail to use all diligence in forwarding the execution of the great enterprise, without consideration for any personal danger I may incur. I shall look upon my life as well spent, if by its sacrifice I can help and relieve the multitude of oppressed children of the Holy Catholic Church. I say this now, as my final resolution, in doubt as to whether in future I shall have an opportunity of writing it, in order that you may convey it when and to whom you may think desirable. I also beg you will pray his Holiness and the King with much urgency to press forward the execution of the first design, in order that the results may be seen during next summer, which is the longest time we can wait. Failing this, we shall be unable to amend or redress matters, and shall find the Catholic cause and our own utterly ruined, without hope of its being resuscitated again, at least in our times. I have not received a groat of the 12,000 ducats promised to myself, and my son has only had 6,000 of the 10,000 promised to him, wherefore he is much grieved and annoyed. He is, however, not less well inclined to our enterprise than before, or less willing to be guided by me in all his affairs. He is about to dispatch a gentleman of his named Gray to the Court of England, the principal object, however, being that he should visit me for the purpose, conferring with me verbally on the decision relative to our business. This gentleman is a Catholic, and I hope to God they will allow him to speak with me. But pray urge the sending of the 12,000 ducats for me to London as soon as possible.

In addition to the above, written by the queen of Scotland herself, your Majesty must bear in mind that the queen of England and her Council, having first published in printed pamphlets that the queen of Scotland had intrigued with Don Bernardino de Mendoza and Francis Throgmorton against the queen of England

* This appears to refer to Charles Arundel's first suggestion that Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador, might be bribed to betray his trust in favour of Spain. It will be seen in the course of the correspondence that Mendoza, after his arrival in France, successfully concluded the bargain.

1584.

and her country, subsequently bound themselves together by oath to prosecute any person who may claim a right to succeed to the crown of England. They have finally removed the queen of Scotland from the place where she was living, and from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury, entrusting her to the keeping of two other heretics of obscure and low descent, who are strong adherents to the queen of Scotland's rivals.* For these reasons, as I say, it is extremely probable, and indeed evident to those who are experienced in English governmental methods, that the Queen (of England) and her Council have resolved secretly, not only to disinherit and deprive the queen of Scotland of her rights, but also to ruin her personally and take her life if his Holiness and your Majesty, within a very limited time, do not find some means of saving her, or, at least, of troubling and occupying the queen of England in such a way as to make her understand (as until a few months ago she had always thought) that the life and safety of the queen of Scotland involve her own quietude and well-being.

From the aforegoing it will be seen how vain and weak were the arguments which were urged last summer, to the effect that the succour which was expected by the queen of Scotland and the English Catholics might be deferred without prejudice until Flanders should be recovered, the queen of England should die, or some other great change take place in the country.

But admitting even that the queen of Scotland were to escape and save herself from her impending ruin, she would have to be dependent in doing so upon the favour of the heretical authorities that guard her, and it would not be either consonant with prudence or good policy, but in direct prejudice to the Catholic cause, that she should be driven to acknowledge that she owed her life and estate to heretics. If, on the contrary, she perish, as is to be feared, it cannot fail to bring some scandal and reproach upon your Majesty, because, as your Majesty, after her, is the nearest Catholic heir of the blood royal of England, some false suspicion might naturally be aroused at your having abandoned the good Queen to be ruined by her heretic rivals, in order to open the door to your Majesty's own advantage.

Note.—The aforegoing is probably the deciphering of an intercepted letter.

1585.

7 Feb. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 32.

386. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The earl of Derby, as I wrote to your Majesty, is coming to bring the garter to this King. He has disembarked at Boulogne with a great following of English nobles, and is to be lodged, and apparently splendidly entertained, by the King. It is already asserted that Joyeuse will go back to England with them to thank the Queen for the garter and confirm the treaties, if any really

* The Queen had been transferred on the 25th August from the keeping of the Earl of Shrewsbury at Sheffield to that of Sir Ralph Sadler and Somers at Wingfield.

1585.

be made, and he has begun to make preparations for the journey.

I am informed by letters of 23rd ultimo from England that the earl of Clinton (Lincoln), the lord Admiral, is dead, and that the earl of Leicester was trying very hard to get the office. The Parliament there had ended, and the Queen had ordered therein that 30 or 40 priests who were imprisoned in the gaols and the Tower of London should be banished, under sentence of being immediately hanged without further formalities if they ever return to the country again.

Mr. Grey,* the king of Scotland's ambassador, had returned to Scotland, his proceedings having given but little satisfaction to the English Catholics and the adherents of the queen of Scotland there. The Queen's secretary† also had returned to his mistress. I am informed that he had no understanding with Mr. Grey.

Letters from Scotland, dated 6th ultimo, bring news that all was quiet there, although Lord Seton had been harshly received by the King publicly, in consequence of his having openly professed Catholicism here, whilst in private he (the King) had approved of his conduct, and had shortly afterwards gone to his house to visit him as he was ill of dropsy, his death even having been announced here, but the King's visit had confirmed his hopes of recovery.

Ascanio Cifarini‡ has written to me from Dover, saying that he had come thither from London, having taken his departure without having spoken to the Queen. He had taken ship for Dunkirk, but the vessels from Flushing had chased him, and he had to return to Dover, whither I hear he went across to Boulogne with a servant of M. de la Mauvissière.—Paris, 7th February 1585.

Feb. 22. **387.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives. K. 1563. 39.

Notwithstanding what I wrote about the English Parliament having been dissolved and the members sent home, I have letters from there dated 8th instant, saying that it had only been prorogued as it had not yet voted the subsidy, although at the opening of Parliament it had been proposed to vote 150,000 (pounds ?).

The departure of the Scots ambassador had given rise to the rumour that the king of Scotland was coming to York, and that the Queen would go thither to meet him, but the thing does not seem likely.

The Catholic priests had embarked on the river Thames before the Tower, and although they were treated as traitors, the Queen

* The Master of Gray.

† Nau.

‡ This man had been sent by the duke of Parma to the Queen. Stafford writing to Walsingham, 8th December 1584 (Hatfield MSS., Hist MSS. Com., Part 3, page 75), calls him "a very bad man," and advises that he should be captured on his way across and taken to France. He accuses him of being the instrument for corrupting St. Soulène and persuading him to abstain from fighting during Strozzi's naval action against the Spaniards at St. Michael's in favour of Don Antonio, and thus causing the overthrow of Strozzi and the French force. Parma's instructions to Cifarini will be found in the B.M. Add MSS. 28,173B.

1585.

gave them a vessel and food for the voyage, and license for each one to take away with him 16 crowns for his expenses. There is already news that they have arrived in France, but, according to the list sent, Father Creighton does not seem to be amongst them. They doubtless want to retain him on the ground that he was sent to Scotland on State affairs.* They tell me that Walsingham had an English Catholic from Rome in his house as secretary. I suspect that it is a certain Solomon Ender (?) who is considered by many Catholic countrymen of his own to be a double spy, by reason of the facility with which he goes to England, although he is favoured by Cardinal Sabelo† and enjoys a pension from his Holiness. I have sent a report of this to Rome and have mentioned it to the Nuncio here.

The Queen has knighted Raleigh her favourite, and has given him a ship of her own, of 180 tons burden with five pieces of artillery on each side, and two half-culverins in the bows. Raleigh had also bought two Dutch fly-boats of 120 tons to carry stores, and two other boats of 40 tons; in addition to which he was having built four pinnaces of 20 to 30 tons, so that, altogether, Raleigh would fit out no fewer than 16 vessels, in which he intended to carry 400 men. The Queen has assured him that if he do not sail himself she will defray all the costs of the preparations,‡ and she has given the same assurance to Drake, and had granted a patent for the voyage, the conditions being that she was to find 20,000*l.* for the fitting out of the ships, 24 large vessels and 20 pinnaces, which were being made ready in London and the west-country and elsewhere, but more slowly than Raleigh's fleet, which will be ready to sail at the beginning of next month for Norembega; and Drake would ship 2,000 men with the intention of encountering your Majesty's fleets before they could meet at Havana. If he do not succeed in this he will land at Nombre de Dios, and is confident of making the voyage from England in 40 days. If the king of France takes the Flemish rebels under his protection it is also thought that some of the English merchant ships now being fitted out for Newfoundland might be taken directly to meet your Majesty's fleets, wherever they might find them.§ The Queen had likewise ordered her ships which were without masts to be made ready.

* Creighton had been captured at sea on his way to Scotland in the previous September, shortly after Throgmorton's execution. He had made some very compromising admissions on the rack and was kept a State prisoner in the Tower for long afterwards.

† Cardinal Giacome Savello was a prelate of Roman birth who had been proposed for the papacy when Sixtus V. was elected. He was chief inquisitor at Rome and his terrible severity and haughtiness had caused him to be greatly feared and disliked, and Cardinal Montalto (Felice Peretti) was therefore preferred to him.

‡ Ralph Lane, one of the Queen's equerries who was employed in Ireland, was given leave to undertake the voyage for Raleigh. *See* Colonial Calendar, Addenda, 1574—1674.

§ Hakluyt writes to Walsingham from Paris, 7th April:—"The rumour of Sir Walter "Rawley's fleet, and especially the preparation of Sir Francis Drake, doth so much vex "the Spaniard and his factors, as nothing can be more, and therefore he could wish "that although Sir Francis Drake's journey be stayed, yet the rumour of his setting "forth might be continued."—Colonial Calendar.

1585.

The English ambassador in Constantinople reports that the Turk was sending an embassy to the Queen. The Queen had sent a great spy called Herll to Embden, to discover what negotiations were being carried on by one of the Counts with your Majesty. The earl of Derby is coming from the queen of England to bring the garter to this King. He has arrived at St. Denis, where he has been ordered to stay, the duke of Montpensier being sent to meet him with a great train of all the gentlemen of the Court. He is to be entertained with balls and banquets, and there is much talk here of the festivities that are to be held in his honour.*—Paris, 22nd February 1585.

4 March. Paris Archives, R. 1563. 43.

388. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since I wrote last I have heard from England that Nau had left the queen of Scotland after having been only a few days with her. He has gone to Scotland with a passport from the queen of England, and is accompanied by Waad who was sent by the queen of Spain when I left England. It is understood that they are going to discuss with the king of Scotland the release of the Queen, his mother, if they can come to terms on the matter. To this end they say the king of Scotland will go to England; and rumour still runs that the earls of Bedford, Arundel, and Oxford, will be sent to Scotland as hostages for his safety. The priests whom the queen of England had liberated have arrived here, and I have regaled them in my house. There are not more than 20 of them and one layman, besides four more who had joined their company. I have tried to discover from all of them, and particularly from Father Jasper Howard, the jesuit, whom I know well, what reasons had moved the Queen to release them, whilst still keeping in prison the other priests who were with them. They say the only reason they can imagine for it is that the Queen may have been told that if she did so she would not be accused of punishing Catholics for their religion; and that the seven who were confined in the Tower may have been liberated to save the Queen the cost of keeping them, whilst the rest of them might have had some influence with the councillors.

Raleigh's preparations were being conducted with less energy.—Paris, 4th March 1585.

15 March. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 47.

389. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

The earl of Derby has left, having been feasted in an extraordinary way by the King, who gave him a buffet of plate worth 4,000 crowns. I cannot hear of anything having been effected in the matter of treaties, only that the discussion is still afoot.

I have reports from England that they have arrested William

* Thomas Morgan writes from Paris to the queen of Scots, 10th February, that Derby was bringing a train of 250 followers, and that the king of France was to give him 2,000 francs a day towards his expenses.—Hatfield Papers, Part 3.

1585.

Parry,* a man attached to the earl of Leicester and Walsingham, who had been been in Italy on their behalf. He is suspected of a design to kill the Queen and has confessed as much. They have also arrested here, at the request of the English ambassador, one Morgan, who managed the affairs of the queen of Scotland, and have seized his papers. I do not learn whether they will surrender him to the English, although great efforts are being made by the ambassadors to that end, in virtue of the second article of the treaty of alliance between England and France.† I am informed by letters of the 26th ultimo from London that Raleigh's ships were going down the river to join those from the west country, but that Drake was proceeding very leisurely with his preparations.—Paris, 15th March 1585.

15 March. B.M. Cotton, Galba, C. VIII.

390. SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I have been informed by the bearer that you desire the liberation of Pedro de Zubiar.‡ I have used great efforts to that end with the object of pleasing you, as I desire. He would accordingly have been released, but that the earl of Leicester has written saying that he was to be detained for some time longer on account of some person of quality who doubtless asked that this should be done. I will nevertheless continue to do my best in the matter, although Zubiar himself does not deserve anything at my hands, as he has been very ungrateful to me for all the kindness and courtesy I have shown him. My wish, however, is to serve and please your Lordship, and thus repay you in part for all the kindness I am told you show to my countrymen. The things you require from here will be supplied to you by the bearer, who has taken great pains about them. I also desire to say that none of the Spaniards who were captured in the prizes now remain under arrest, so far as I know, but if any should still be in prison, I will do my best to have them set free at once. There are only some Portuguese, who absolutely refuse to go, unless they are sent straight home to their own country, and will not accept a passage to the States.—Greenwich, 15th March 1585.

5 April. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 53.

391. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I understand that the proposed going of Nau, the queen of Scotland's secretary, with Waad to Scotland, was for the purpose of ascertaining whether the King would consent in the association of himself with his mother, which the latter had signed, and to

* William Parry, D.C.L., M.P. A full account of his trial and execution is given in Knight's "Criminal trials." The real reason for his prosecution is still a mystery, but it is by many persons attributed to his action in parliament in favour of the Catholics.

† It will be seen that Morgan was not released from the Bastile where he was confined until some years had passed. His letter to the queen of Scots announcing his arrest will be found in the Hatfield papers, part 3, page 96.

‡ He had been a merchant in Seville, and had been sent by the company of merchants there to negotiate, if possible, a private arrangement for the return of a part of Drake's plunder. Whilst in England he became a bankrupt and fled, but returned on assurance of safety, and was subsequently arrested on a political charge. There is probably an error in the date of the above letter, which appears to belong to the following year.

1586.

discover what his pretensions were. This step was adopted in consequence of Nau having asserted to the queen of England, in the presence of Grey, the king of Scotland's ambassador, that the King had given his consent to the association, which Grey denied. The queen of England therefore decided to investigate the matter thoroughly, and consequently sent Nau in the company of Waad to Scotland. When they were ready to leave she stopped them, in consequence of the discovery of a certain treasonable plot of the Scots rebels, who had taken refuge in England with this Queen's consent, and had entered into a conspiracy with some of the Scots barons. Of the latter, two have been beheaded,* one of whom was formerly the constable of Dumbarton castle, but who had been deprived of his post in consequence of his communication with the queen of England, and the castle had been handed over to the late duke of Lennox.

The Queen has now sent Waad with autograph letters from herself to the king of France and his mother, begging them to surrender to her the Scotsman (?) Morgan, who, I wrote to your Majesty, had been arrested here, and who is now in the Bastille. I do not learn whether the King will give him up, but as the examination of Morgan's papers showed that he was in communication about the affairs of the Catholics and the queen of Scotland with a gentleman named Courcelles, belonging to the French embassy in England, the Queen at once sent to the French ambassador demanding that Courcelles should be sent away from England, which was done.†

They have beheaded Dr. Parry, and when he was condemned a forged letter from Cardinal Como was produced, telling him to persevere in his good intention, and his Holiness would give him plenary absolution. Parry was asked whether he had received this letter, and on his admitting that he had, the judge condemned him to death, saying that there was no need for further confession. Parry thereupon replied that as he could now speak, he would say that this was not in accordance with the promise given to him, with which the Queen would be acquainted. This causes the belief, even amongst Englishmen, that Parry was unjustly condemned, and that the letter was fictitious.

Raleigh's ships, as I wrote, had gone down the river to join the others at Plymouth, and Pedro de Zubiaur, whom I caused to be detained in England in order that he might send me news, writes that he had sent a person to Plymouth to report the quality of the ships, men, and stores.

Drake is slackening greatly in his preparations, and it is rumoured that he will not now go with the Queen's commission, but with that of Don Antonio.

---

* Cunninghame laird of Drumwhasel and Douglas of Mains were beheaded on entirely insufficient evidence, at the instigation of James Stuart of Ochiltree, earl of Arran, James' restored favourite. Two border gentlemen, David Hume of Argaty, and his brother Patrick, were also executed about this time for having received a letter from one of the Scottish exile lords in England.

† *See* Morgan's letters to the queen of Scots. Hatfield papers, part 3.

1585.

Parliament was being continued until the 14th, in order to give time to see how the negotiations between the rebels and the king of France would turn out.

The companies of merchants had met in their halls, and had represented to their presidents the necessity under which Antwerp was suffering, and that if succour were not speedily sent they were sure that your Majesty would dominate the Netherlands, and would then fall upon them. They had agreed, at the persuasion of the ministers from the pulpits, that each burgess should give a shilling, which is equal to two reals, besides one each they gave before.—Paris, 5th April 1585.

Postscript.—By letter from London, dated 28th March, I am informed that the Queen was sending troops to Ireland, and also that she was ordering the English troops coming from Flanders to be sent to Ireland.

18 April. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 57.

392. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

With respect to England, I have to report that I hear by letters dated 28th ultimo, that the Queen, upon hearing from her ambassador here of the levies of troops being made by the duke of Guise, had decided to send a gentleman to offer this King troops, money, and help, against the Guises. This had been conveyed to the French ambassador, and Cecil had afterwards told the Queen that she was not to think that the King would take up arms against the Guises in consequence of these offers; since he could not do so, unaided, with safety to himself, and it would be better for her not to waste that which she might need, but to stand on the watch, and that when things were at their worst, she could tranquillise her country by hearing mass. An ambassador had come from the king of Scotland to give an account to this Queen of the treason that had been discovered, and the punishment he had inflicted. He complained also that the plot had been hatched by his rebellious subjects whom she was sheltering. The King (of Scotland?) resolutely replies that he will not be mixed up in any plan for helping the Flemish rebels, upon which point great pressure had been brought to bear upon him by this Queen, who made him many offers of assistance to that end.

Of Raleigh's flotilla, 5 ships of 150 tons, and 8 frigates of about 25 tons, had collected at Plymouth and were getting ready to sail.

Waad who I wrote came hither to ask for the surrender of the Englishman (Morgan) who attended to the queen of Scotland's affairs here has left, the King having answered that if he finds him guilty he will punish him here.—Paris, 18th April 1585.

Postscript.—I have just received letters from England, dated 6th, but as they are not yet deciphered, I cannot send an account of their contents to-day.

4 May. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 62.

393. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In the letter of which duplicate is enclosed, I reported to your Majesty the departure of Raleigh's ships for Norembega which has been confirmed by my confidant,

1585.

The delegates from the Netherlands went over to England, and were immediately dispatched after an interview with the earl of Leicester, who told them when they had made their speech to him, that they must not take it amiss if he did not enter so warmly into their affair as formerly, as it was a matter for much consideration. Parliament had closed after having voted supplies estimated at 150,000*l.* sterling. Amongst other things they declared it high treason to acknowledge the queen of Scotland as heiress to the English Crown; and subjected to the penalty of confiscation of goods those who harboured seminary priests for a first offence, and to that of high treason for a second.

The Queen had ordered the fitting out of one of her ships called the "Red Lion" of 800 tons, the earl of Leicester's galleon, another called the "Primrose," and two other vessels, the statement being that Drake was going to take them out to meet your Majesty's Indian flotilla. Rumours were also current that the Queen had ordered the raising of some infantry, but it was not known whether the intention was to send them to Holland or to help the Prince of Bearn. A servant of Don Antonio had arrived in England to inform the Queen that his master would be glad to come to England on account of the disturbances here.

Sampson is in great need in consequence of the imprisonment that has befallen him, and I cannot therefore refrain from again writing to beg humbly that your Majesty will be pleased to send him something as a subsidy towards his expenditure. His zeal and intelligence in your Majesty's service well deserve it.

Lord Harry (Howard), who was Lord Chamberlain of England, has been made Lord Admiral, his former office having been conferred by the Queen upon Lord Derby.—Paris, 4th May 1585.

Postscript.—Since closing this letter I have heard that the English Ambassador here has advices reporting that the earl of Arundel had taken ship to leave the country, but the wind being contrary, he had to put back, when he was captured and taken before the Queen.

Note.—The above is accompanied by a letter from Don Bernardino to Juan de Idiaquez, the King's secretary, pressing very urgently that something should be done for Sampson, and asking whether he may burn the papers of a former Spanish Ambassador in Paris, Juan de Vargas, "*as I can hardly keep my own papers, much less those of other people.*" Sampson, whose real name was Antonio de Escobar, was a Portuguese spy living in Paris, ostensibly favourable to Don Antonio, but really in the pay of Mendoza. He received constant news from the Portuguese attached to Don Antonio in England.

12 May. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 51.

394. Bernardino de Mendoza to the King. [Extract.]

I hear from England by letter dated the 1st instant, that the Queen, learning that the earl of Leicester would not surrender his office of Master of the Horse on receiving that of Lord Steward, had suspended the appointments previously announced of lord Howard

1585.

and lord Derby. General musters had been held all over the country, and the Queen had sent orders to the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, to hold themselves in readiness with arms and horses to muster at an hour's notice, under pain of death. —Paris, 12th May 1585.

1 June. **395.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1563 . 72.

I have received confirmation of the news from England I sent in my last, to the effect that they had captured, whilst he was attempting to escape from the country, the earl of Arundel, who is a brother (son ?) of the duke of Norfolk whom the Queen beheaded. As soon as the Earl reached London he was lodged in the Tower, and at the same time the earl of Northumberland was kept closer in the same fortress. The Queen also ordered the immediate arrest of my lord (William), the brother of the earl of Arundel, and that of Lord Harry his uncle, who are consigned to the care of Lord North, a great heretic, and it is said they are to be cast into the Tower. At the same time they took prisoner Harchilo (Harpsfield ?), a Catholic and a very great physician, who had been put to the torture on suspicion of carrying on communications with Catholics, and the partizans of the queen of Scots, under cover of his profession. They have also hanged a man before the queen of Scotland's window for having in his possession secret letters written by her. Paulet has now the care of her, his illness having for some time delayed his taking over the charge.

An Act was passed in Parliament ordering all priests to leave the country within 40 days, both those who are imprisoned and others, for whom passage will be found for any port they may choose, upon their presenting themselves during the period named. After that time is expired any justice may hang them without further formality or trial. Although some of them have taken advantage of this concession, yet, God be thanked ! He has infused so much fervour in many of the seminarists that they go over daily to England with glad hearts and wonderful firmness to win the crown of martyrdom. Of the 10,000 men the Queen had ordered to be raised there had been mustered in London 2,000 pikemen, 1,600 harquebussiers, and 400 halberdiers ; and a number of Englishmen had shipped over clandestinely to reinforce the fleet in Zeeland, which was about to attempt the blockade of Antwerp. With this object foreigners had been paid four or five pounds sterling each. Although it was said that the levy had been made by the Queen in consequence of a promise to the king of France that she would fulfil her treaty obligations to help him with 10,000 men against the forces of Cardinal Bourbon and the Guises, she has really secretly sent officers to Rochelle and to the prince of Bearn, offering help and succour.

The earl of Leicester was on very bad terms with Master Raleigh, the Queen's new favourite. The ambassador here, Stafford, has, by the Queen's orders, been bringing great pressure to bear upon the King to prohibit the sale of certain books which have been translated into French about the lives of the Queen and the

1585.

earl of Leicester,* and to order the arrest of the translator, who is an Englishman.

A letter dated 9th instant confirms the return of Raleigh's ships in bad case.—Paris, 1st June 1585.

7 June. Paris Archives, K. 1563 . 75.

396. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

I have news from England dated the 14th ultimo, that they had arrested Pedro de Zubiaur, by order of the Queen, and had confined him in the house of an alderman of London, after which he was taken to the Tower. The reason for this was that some letters for the prince of Parma were seized from a courier, who confessed that he had received them from Pedro de Zubiaur. His imprisonment will be to the detriment of your Majesty's service, as he was certainly very careful and intelligent, and sent hither all necessary information as to events in England. These numerous arrests recently will make it very difficult for me to establish fresh means of communication, but I am trying to do so by every possible way.—Paris, 7th June 1585.

Note.—In a note to Juan de Idiaquez accompanying the above, the following passage occurs, relating to the proposed invasion of England: "The prince of Parma's requests to the King for Spanish "troops is a good excuse for raising a fleet in Spain for the purpose "I have mentioned. His Holiness will be obliged to grant His "Majesty some help in the execution of it, as it is so proper a "thing, and Pope Gregory had consented to do so. I just mention "this by the way."

9 July. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 22.

397. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

With regard to the proposals made to you about England by Geronimo de Gondi, and subsequently by Secretary Villeroy, contained in your letter to me of 7th ultimo, I may say that although their observations with regard to England do not lack plausibility, there is much artifice behind them all. They would like by this means to free themselves from the pressure in which they are, and embark us upon a business which they who suggest it would afterwards prevent, unless we took very good care to hold pledges in our hands of greater value than their fair words. It would not have been bad, when they proposed it, and asked you what money and forces I intended to employ in the enterprise, if you had sounded their intentions a little deeper, by asking them a similar question, and had tried to get at what they were willing to contribute. You might have said that you could hardly ask me the question without giving me that information. In the present state of the business, however, it will be best for you to tell them that my answer was to greatly praise the King's zeal in desiring to bring England to submit to God's law, and I am no less wishful of a thing so signally in the interests of our Lord, which I

* Doubtless "Leicester's Commonwealth," by Father Persons the jesuit.

1585.

have never neglected. As, however, I am informed he has not yet consulted the Queen-mother upon the subject, and I have so high an opinion of her wisdom and advice if she agreed with the King, and I know the difficulties the matter would encounter if she disagreed with him, I think that it will be advisable for the King to consult his mother first. If she approves of it, they who before they proposed such a thing will naturally have considered it well in all its bearings, will be able to lay before you in detail their plans for the enterprise, the number of troops and ships, and the proportion of money and forces they propose to furnish, the commander who should be entrusted with the enterprise, the ports of rendezvous for the fleet, and if the latter should make a combined or divided attack, because in so serious a matter the fullest detail must be provided. When I know what they propose and what they expect me to do, I can reply to them better and more fully than I can now that my knowledge is limited to their good wishes, in which as you know I entirely concur. You will say so much, and pledge yourself to no more, and will try to get at their real feelings. If they seem straightforward enough for me to trust to their words, and afterwards to their help in carrying the matter through jointly, you well know how earnestly I desire the conversion of England. But I am forced by experience to expect from them quite a contrary course, and it is necessary that we should proceed with great care and circumspection with them.

It was well to inform Muzio of all they said, and you will tell him that, if they try to draw him into this proposal, and perhaps suggest that he may lead it, he had better consider the matter deeply, for it will never be safe for him to leave France until he has first dispersed his rivals and broken the Huguenots. In any other case, as soon as his back is turned, the King and they (*i.e.* the Huguenots) will seize all he now possesses, and he, who knows so well the humours of his countrymen, will be the best judge as to whether the men who make this proposal are moved solely by Christian fervour or by more interested motives of their own profit and Muzio's prejudice, which is evidently the case. Report to me how they both take it.—Monzon, 9th July 1585.

11 July. **398.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 49.

In the margin: "For Lord Paget and his brother Charles "150 crowns; *idem* for Charles Arundel 80 crowns, Thomas "Throgmorton 40 crowns."

You are already aware that, having regard to the rank and parts of Lord Paget and his brother Charles, and considering that they are fugitives from their home and country for the sake of religion, I ordered Juan Bautista de Tassis in September last, 1584, to continue to pay these allowances, namely, to Lord Paget 100 crowns a month, and 50 to his brother Charles. I understand that this has not been done, and they petition me to have the allowances duly paid. I have granted this, and now order you to have them paid from the day the grant was made, and that in future the same allowances are to be paid regularly until contrary orders come from

1585.

me, and the sums should be included in your account of extraordinary expenditure, which with their receipts shall be a good discharge for you. I have given strict orders to this effect, and no difficulty shall be raised about crediting you with the amounts.

15 July. **399.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

As I had been informed that Cardinal d'Este* had caused the Pope to be told that it would be advisable for him to endeavour to have these forces in France united, for the purpose of undertaking the enterprise of England and placing the crown on the head of the king of Scotland, and as the Pope had subsequently conferred on the subject with Cardinal Sanzio and Baudemont, I thought necessary to go and speak to his Holiness about it, and point out to him how untimely this discussion was, whilst the heretics were still unexpelled from France. I said that the only aim of the proposal was to divert matters from France, and that Cardinal d'Este had no other object than to cool his goodwill towards helping these princes (the Guises?), who could only accede to this wish of his Holiness by turning their backs for ever on the task of expelling the heretics from France, and, indeed, by themselves becoming exiles, as in their absence the heretics, with the help of the king of France, would seize the government and afterwards support the queen of England. I also told him that when affairs in France and Flanders were settled it would be time enough to think about England, and that, in any case, Cardinal d'Este was a bad intermediary in the matter, as also was the king of France, who is now in favour of the queen of England, but that the duke of Guise, being the first cousin of the queen of Scotland, would be the fitting person.

I also pointed out to him the small assurance that exists about the king of Scotland's religion, and how much safer it would be to place his mother the Queen in possession of the Crown, and I said that the more earnestness his Holiness showed in favouring and aiding the Catholic Princes of France, the more speedily would matters in that country be settled, and the sooner could the English affair be undertaken.

He recognised the soundness of all these arguments, and I thought he seemed ashamed that it had come to my knowledge that he had moved so unreflectingly in the matter, so I did not dwell upon it.—Rome, 15th July 1585.

16 July. **400.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1563 . 92.

Since my last advices of 30th ultimo, I hear that the queen of Scotland has had assigned to her the houses of Borton and Beaudesert in the county of York, which were formerly the property of Lord Paget, and all the furniture in them has been given to her. Paulet declined to accept the oath binding himself to the custody of the Queen, unless all the gentlemen suspected of Catholicism were expelled the county. This was done, and I enclose herewith

* Cardinal d'Este was a member of the ducal house of Ferrara and the leader of the opponents of the Spanish party in the Vatican.

1585.

the articles adopted in parliament relative to the Queen of Scotland.

The delegates from the Dutch rebels were already on the way back with their answer, which was to the effect that the Queen would help them with 10,000 men and would send Lord Grey as Governor. She told them that, even if France would not aid them, she would do so, and in such a way as would prevent your Majesty from ever subduing them, and that henceforward she would do so undisguisedly. Four thousand of these men were nearly ready to leave under Colonel Norris, and would go across at the same time as the delegates. It was said in London that the reason for sending them so hastily, was in order that they should arrive in time to succour Antwerp, and although the rumour is current here that they have arrived at Bergen-op-Zoom, I do not credit it. I also hear that Drake has sailed from the west country with some ships of the fleet to meet the Indian flotillas belonging to your Majesty. All advices concur in the fact of his sailing, but they differ in the number of his ships—some say 30, whilst the smallest number mentioned is 12—two of which belong to the Queen. The latter account is the most probable, but I cannot obtain positive information in consequence of the loss of Pedro de Zubiaur. The Queen, not satisfied with arresting the principal Catholics, has disarmed the whole of them throughout the country, and no one now dares to write, so that until this fury passes away I have to do my best to discover what the French ambassador writes hither, in order to send information to your Majesty.

The earl of Northumberland, who was a prisoner in the Tower, has killed himself, according to the account written by Secretary Walsingham, who says that he asked his guard for a pistol loaded with three bullets. This is very hard to believe, for those who know how strictly prisoners are kept there, and that the guards are not allowed even to give them their food without the intervention of the constable, especially in the case of so important a person as the Earl, to whom they certainly would not have dared to give arms. It is therefore concluded, from the fact that he was found with three bullet wounds, that the thing has been managed by the councillors, and it is to be feared that they may do the same thing to the earl of Arundel and other Catholic prisoners, who are now very numerous, having regard to their discovery six months ago that poison had been given to the earl of Shrewsbury, and, as I am told, to this earl of Northumberland as well. The poison, however, was so slow in its action that the Catholic physician Harchilo (Harpsfield), who is now in prison, was able to cure them and told them both that their malady was poison. The earl of Northumberland had three sons here being brought up in a christian way.

They report from Scotland that the King was expecting an ambassador from the king of Denmark, who was coming to discuss an alliance with the queen of England and other protestant sovereigns, and under this pretext bring about a marriage between the daughter of the king of Denmark and the king of Scotland,

1585.

Edward Wotton the English ambassador in Scotland was still there, and was said to be endeavouring to get the King openly to take the rebels of Holland and Zeeland under his protection, the queen of England offering him great assistance if he will consent to this.—Paris, 16th July 1585.

23 July. Paris Archives, K. 1448 . 25.

401. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

In one of your letters of 21st ultimo, I note the intelligence from England, and beg you to continue to send news on every occasion, as nothing comes from there now except through you. Report especially whether Drake's or any other fleet has sailed, and, if so, with what number of ships and men, since Raleigh's return to France. You will inform me, if you can ascertain it, whether the lieutenant-governor of Biscay, whom the ship "Primrose" carried off from the bar of Portugalete, arrived in England alive, and what effect was produced on the Queen, her Council and the rest of them, by the seizure of English ships and property in Biscay and Guipuzcoa, until we see what amends they make for so grave an offence.—Monzon, 23rd July 1585.

Aug.? Paris Archives, K. 1564 . 17.

402. UNSIGNED ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Letters from England dated 17th report that on the 13th Colonel Norris was at Gravesend making ready the ships that were to carry over his 4,000 men to Zeeland; whilst Drake was lying at anchor off the Isle of Wight with 24 well armed ships, although his intentions were unknown. Some people were saying that he was awaiting advices from the French huguenots and others, who had told the Queen that a fleet was being fitted out in Spain; whereupon Her Majesty had ordered Drake not to sail until further instructions, so that her coast might not be bereft of ships. The earl of Arundel was said to be mad in consequence of poison having been administered to him which, instead of killing him as was intended, had the effect of sending him out of his mind. His wife had died in child-birth in consequence of the distress it had caused her. She was a truly righteous christian and a woman of great worth. The Spaniards who had been brought from Bilbao were lodged in pairs in the houses of Englishmen. One of them had been sent to Bilboa by way of Rye and Nantes.

Aug.? Paris Archives, K. 1564 . 18.

403. Document headed "NEWS from ENGLAND."

The Queen is daily despatching troops to Holland taken from the dregs of the people. In the city of London 4,000 men were collected in a day and a night, all of whom were forcibly shipped for Holland without any of the things necessary for war.*

The councillors have proposed a plan for the condemnation of all the priests that may be captured, so that they may employ

* The treaty with the States had been signed on the 10th August and Sir John Norris was immediately afterwards sent with the stipulated auxiliary force of 4,000 men to the Netherlands.

1585.

them in the galleys. This decision is very like the tyranny of the Turk.

The dearness of grain is very great all over the country, and as a consequence of this, a ship which was lying in the Severn loaded with grain for Holland was hacked to pieces by 500 men, who had risen with that object. If it had not been for the recent arrival of six ships from Denmark with cargoes of grain there would have been a famine in the land.

The clergy of England had taken upon themselves the burden and cost of 2,000 horsemen ready for service in the Netherlands. It is said that during to last few weeks five million head of cattle had died of the plague in England.

17 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1448 . 29.

404. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.
[EXTRACT.]

Warn the duke of Guise against making any agreement with his enemies, and open his eyes with regard to the English enterprise. Point out to him the danger he runs if he allows himself to be cajoled into leaving his home and country before he has humbled his rivals, and converted or expelled the heretics, and how deceived he might find himself when he wished to return. I have little to add to the contents of my despatch of the 9th instant, telling you what you were to say to the King about England. Doubtless we shall soon have a letter from you giving us an account of your efforts to get the King to open out about the proposed enterprise, and his ideas for carrying it into effect.

Note.—In the margin of the draft of the above letter the King has written :—" With regard to England they (the French) may be " told first to put an end to the heretics in their own country, and " afterwards we can look after them elsewhere. I suspect the " proposal comes from the Queen-mother, in order to relax towards " the heretics (in France), but it is more important to us to " finish first the heretics who are near us, than those afar off, " although I quite believe that they are not able to finish them in " France."

6 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1448 . 31.

405. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

You will use every effort to obtain constant and trustworthy information from England, with regard to naval armaments, and send it to me punctually, because when we are not sure of our information we hear only confused reports which cause anxiety. If, however, on the 16th August Drake was still at Plymouth, as you report, perhaps he will not do so much harm this year as he threatened.—Monzon, 6th September 1585.

Note.—In another letter of the same date from the King to Mendoza the following passage occurs :—The number of ships that have left England seems very large, and you will in future try to have people in the English ports who, from their own observation, will be able to report to you what armaments are being prepared, in time for the information to arrive here soon enough for the

1585.

necessary precautions to be taken. I send you 8,000 crowns, out of which you will at once pay 2,000 to the seminary at Rheims.

11 Sept. **406.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1563 . 116.

I have no later news from England than those of 21st ultimo, advising me that some of the men of Drake's fleet were in London at that date, who said that he was at Plymouth with all his ships, and could not sail in less than a fortnight at the earliest.

M. de Chateauneuf, the French ambassador, who had gone thither to reside,* had audience of the Queen on the 18th, and had been received with great warmth, she having sent a ship to Calais to bring him over.

About 2,000 Englishmen had gone to Zeeland under Colonel Norris, and 4,000 more were to follow. The latter force was being raised and it was said that the leader of it would be the earl of Oxford.

Horatio Pallavicini, a heretic Genoese merchant resident in England, came from the Queen to negotiate with this King for the payment to her of 300,000 crowns she had lent to the duke of Anjou,† he, the King, being his heir. I understand he replied that he would endeavour to provide for the payment of the amount, but under this pretext the real object of Pallavicini's coming was to represent to the King the evils which might result from a war upon the prince of Bearn and the Huguenots, the sole cause of such a war being the house of Guise. She said that as the other side were of her religion, she must tell the King plainly at once that she could not refrain from helping them, and other princes would do the same, particularly the king of Denmark. The king of France replied in general terms, and Pallavicini took his departure. Lord Russell, the eldest son of the earl of Bedford, who was married to a daughter of Lord Forster,‡ one of the constables of the Scotch Border, was recently in the house of his father-in-law, where the people of the marches periodically meet before the governors of the provinces, and mutually arrange the robberies that have been committed on both sides during the previous three months. They always go armed to these meetings, and a number of pedlars attend with their wares. An English gentleman had bought a pair of spurs from a Scotch pedlar for which he refused to pay, and upon a remark in condemnation of this from a Scotch gentleman, the Englishman gave the latter a blow. The whole fair was set in a tumult, and each nation took sides. During the fight Lord Russell came out, attracted by the noise, and was killed, as well as many other Englishmen. The matter at last got so serious that both Forster and the Scotch governor,§ who was in his house, thought it most prudent to stay indoors. The English ambassador, Wotton, hearing

* G. de l'Aubespine, Seigneur de Chateauneuf, had just succeeded Michel Castelnau, Seigneur de la Mauvissière, as French ambassador in England.

† The duke of Anjou, or as he was still usually called, Alençon, had died on the 11th June of the previous year.

‡ Sir John Forster, Warden of the Middle Marches.

§ Ker of Fernihurst.

1585.

of this, and the damage that had been suffered by Englishmen, complained bitterly to the king of Scotland about it, and cast the blame of the disorder upon the earl of Arran, who was concerned in it, and was a declared enemy of the English. The King ordered the earl of Arran to remain in a castle until he justified himself, and he was there for three days. The reason why Wotton told the King that Arran was the declared enemy of the English was that he, Arran, was the first person who had openly opposed the league that Wotton was trying to negotiate between the king of Scotland and the queen of England for mutual offence and defence, although the earl of Huntly and other nobles were also against it. Notwithstanding this, letters of 17th ultimo from Scotland report that the King had concluded a defensive league with England, with the intention of preserving his religion, and with a special clause saying that the terms of the treaty were in no respect to contravene his old alliances with the crown of France, as the whole country was unanimous in condemning an English treaty, unless on this understanding.

The Danish ambassadors had arrived, but the King had deferred receiving them, as the rumour was current that their mission was to ask for the cession of the Orkney isles and Shetlands, which long ago belonged to the crown of Denmark and had been pledged to Scotland, and if the embassy met with a good reception from the King they were empowered to treat of his marriage with the daughter of their master. I have received a letter from England, dated 30th ultimo, whilst writing this, but it gives no fresh news, except that the earl of Oxford had left on the previous night for Zeeland by the Queen's orders.—Paris, 11th September 1585.

11 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 115.

407. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to he KING.

I understand that Don Antonio did not embark on a French ship, but went with four English ships which had brought over an embassy from the queen of England to the prince of Bearn, and on their return they carried Don Antonio back with them.

It is reported that there has been a disturbance in Drake's fleet, and that Drake had killed one of the captains. I have been unable to discover more particulars.

19 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 122.

408. Document headed "ADVICES from ENGLAND, 19th September 1585."

The earl of Shrewsbury had left to go to Derbyshire, he being Lord-Lieutenant of the two counties of Derbyshire and Stafford. When he took leave of the queen of England he kissed her hand for having, as he said, freed him from two devils, namely, the queen of Scotland and his wife.* He urged the Queen not to trust to

* The custody of the queen of Scots had been transferred to Sir Amyas Paulet, but Shrewsbury was not rid of his wife. In the following year an agreement for partial separation was agreed upon, particulars of which will be found in the Hatfield papers, part 3. Hist. MSS. Commission.

1585.

foreign friendship, and to take Holland and Zeeland under her protection, offering, if she wished it, to go in person thither and to maintain 2,000 men at his own expense.

The queen of Scotland is well in health and is guarded very strictly by Sir Amyas Paulet, who has placed 40 of his own men as her guard and watchers, and constant reports are made of what the Queen and her servants do and say. There is great disagreement between the earl of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer, Cecil persuading the Queen not to break with the house of Burgundy, whilst Leicester uses all his great influence with the Queen to bring her to an opposite course, and to weaken the party of the Lord Treasurer.

Five or six thousand English soldiers have arrived in Flanders with the earl of Oxford and Colonel Norris, and it is said that Philip Sidney will follow them shortly to take possession of Flushing, whilst other gentlemen will go to assure the governships of other towns, and the earl of Leicester will then follow as chief of the expedition.

At the beginning of this month Baron Willoughby left for Germany for the purpose of raising forces for the king of Navarre.

The persecution and terror in England are so great, that the majority of the Catholics are endeavouring to get exiled to Germany, and they offer full security that they will not enter into any plots against the Queen, or give her any reason for complaint. The principal people who are making this request are Master Thomas Tresham, Master William Catesby, and Master Tichborne.

The king of Scotland seems very dependent upon the queen of England, and to follow her humour entirely. Towards the end of September, the earl of Huntingdon and Baron Ewer for the queen of England, and Baron Sinclair and the earl of Northesk for the king of Scotland, will meet for the purpose of agreeing upon an offensive and defensive league.

Lord Paget, Charles Paget, his brother, Thomas Throgmorton, Thomas Morgan and Francis Arundel had been declared guilty of high treason,

It is reported from Scotland that Baron Fernihurst is still held prisoner in England on account of the death of the son of the earl of Bedford. Father Edmund the Scotch jesuit who was in Scotland with another companion, claims to have reconciled to the Catholic church over 10,000 souls in six months.

1 Oct. **409.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Paris Archives, K. 1563. 125. [Extract.]

I have only time to say now that yesterday letters arrived from the French ambassador in England, reporting that on the 18th ultimo Don Antonio embarked with Drake at Plymouth, and set sail with 35 good ships and 7,000 or 8,000 men with the object of effecting a landing in Portugal. Immediately after this news arrived here, it was sent to the Queen-mother; the King having gone to the Bois de Vincennes, and she summoned Marshal de Biron at once, with the Abbé Guadagni in order to discuss the matter

1585.

with them. She ordered Guadagni to speak to Custodio Leiton, who represents Don Antonio here, and ask him what news he had from his master, to see whether he knew anything about it, and if he did not, Guadagni was instructed to tell him. Guadagni found that Leiton was ignorant of the event, and told him, recommending him at the same time to go and see the Queen-mother. He did so and she complained greatly to him of Don Antonio's having concealed this voyage from her, which, she said, was a poor return for the favours she had extended to him. Leiton excused him by saying that it had been suddenly decided upon, whereupon she said that, on the contrary, she considered it had been settled long ago, when she call to mind the message that Don Antonio had sent her from the castle of Lusignan, warning the King and her not to be surprised if he sought help elsewhere since he could not get the help he expected from them. She therefore concluded that this plan was arranged some time since, and then went on at great length complaining that Don Antonio had kept them in the dark about it, ending by saying that, since the thing was done, she hoped God would prosper it, and that it would have all the good fortune in Portugal that she desired. If such were the case, she could assure him that the King, her son, would make such a demonstration in his favour that Don Antonio would recognise the goodwill the King had ever borne him. She sent Leiton to speak with the English ambassador, to discover whether he had any news of the expedition, but he found he knew nothing of the matter, whereupon he told him what the Queen-(mother) had heard from her ambassador, and he seemed much pleased at it. He signified, however, that of the number of ships and men, which, it was said, Drake and Don Antonio had, the Queen could not have provided more than seven or eight ships, as the rest of her vessels could not be spared away from the English coast, and the number of men also appeared to him to be very large. He asked Leiton whether the navigation of the Straits of Magellan was very long and difficult, but as Leiton did not know much about it, he gave the best answer he could. He then wished to know whether Don Antonio would be well received if he landed in India, and whether he would be welcomed in Portugal. Leiton was anxious to be free from all this questioning, and told him, at last, that he knew nothing about these points, but if the news was true he would very shortly have advices. I have not heard of his receiving any yet, and the Italian Cosmé Rogier, (Ruggiero?) who was sent by the French King to England with despatches for Don Antonio, has not yet returned, although he wrote from London on the 18th ultimo, saying he was leaving soon. This seems to cast some doubt upon the truth of the news.

I have received letters from London, dated 19th, saying that Drake was proceeding with the fitting out of the number of ships I previously mentioned, and that probably 3,000 or 4,000 men would go in them, soldiers and sailors together, although it was not considered probable that they would be ready to leave before the end of the month. Philip Sidney had been sent by the Queen to receive Don Antonio, and Somerset House was being put in readiness for

1585.

his residence. Although the letters from the French ambassador are of later date (21st ultimo), I have thought well to send the news to your Majesty at once, and the moment confirmation reaches me I will send a special courier. The Queen-mother has made the intelligence public, and whilst she was at dinner asked a heretic what he thought of it, to which he replied that the queen of England was determined to lose like a man, and not like a woman.—Paris, 1st October 1585.

8 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 129.

410. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since they arrested Pedro de Zubiaur in England I have endeavoured by every possible means to open up a correspondence which would enable me to give prompt information of events there, but they so constantly open letters in the ports that no foreigner will dare to undertake the task of writing, whilst the Englishmen of my acquaintance to whose reports credit could be given are for the most part in prison. I tried to send a Frenchman in the character of a member of the household of the ambassador from this King to the queen of England, but I could not manage it, as Secretary Villeroy insisted upon constituting the embassy entirely himself. I am still persevering in the same direction, however, because although it is easy enough to introduce men into the country, and for them to inquire into and inspect any warlike preparations that may be made, there is no assured way of conveying the intelligence either verbally or by letter. Letters from the ports to London can only be sent with great risk, and the person who makes the inquiries could not bring the information himself in time to be useful, as the ports are all so strictly closed. Some person must therefore be fixed in London who is able to receive news from the ports, and has means of sending the intelligence he obtains in the French ambassador's packets, which are the only ones allowed to pass intact. I shall manage it in time, but in the meanwhile have to depend upon what I can glean from the news sent by the French ambassador to the King and that current in the house of the English ambassador here.—Paris, 8th October 1585.

8 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 130.

411. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Gives an account of the great discomposure of the Queen-mother at the news of Don Antonio's departure with Drake's fleet for Portugal, and cites several instances of the sudden change of tone towards Don Antonio's representative on the part of the courtiers, in anticipation of the probable success of the expedition. Hopes are now held out that active help will be given by the Queen-mother to Don Antonio . . . . . I am informed that letters have been seen in the possession of the English ambassador here, dated 13th October, N.S. (although they were headed according to the old style, 23rd ultimo), which came by special post sent to him by a son of the Lord Treasurer, who writes saying that as his father is in great travail of mind and body in consequence of his wife being in a dying state, and he himself suffering

1585.

badly with the gout, he has ordered him to write in his stead. The only news he sent was that Don Antonio was in the county of Devonshire (which adjoins Cornwall) in a house belonging to Drake, with Philip Sidney. The latter had not, as was reported, been sent by the Queen from Court to receive Don Antonio, but had left in despair to embark on Drake's fleet in consequence of the Queen's having refused him the governorship of Flushing, for which he had asked, if the States would agree to it and she took them under her protection. He said Drake had about 30 ships and 4,000 men, soldiers and sailors together, and that Don Antonio had written to the Queen, saying that, in order to bear company with Philip Sidney he wished to embark on the fleet, whereat she scoffed greatly, as did also her ambassador in conversation with a friend of his who told me of it. From this it may be concluded that the going of Don Antonio in the fleet was not with the Queen's connivance. This view is also confirmed by the interview which Custodio Leiton had with the English ambassador here, when he went to ask him whether he had news of the going of Don Antonio. The ambassador replied that he had no letters, which was intended to keep people here in the mistaken belief that Don Antonio had sailed, as there could be no question of trying to conceal the matter in order to prevent your Majesty from making due preparations, the news having been already made public, besides which Drake cannot even yet be ready to sail. Sampson is of opinion that if Don Antonio goes with him Drake will most likely go to the coast of Brazil, and, as the season is already late to encounter your Majesty's fleets, it is more possible that they will endeavour to plunder some place and sack as much as they can, rather than try to establish themselves firmly ashore, the English people being unable to suffer hardships except at sea.—Paris, 8th October 1585.

9 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 130.

412. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

Begs for more money on account of need for obtaining intelligence from all parts of France, the country being so disturbed; and now that Don Antonio is in England news from there is worth more than its weight in gold.

Lord Paget, his brother Charles, Arundel, and Thomas Throgmorton constantly beg me to pay them the pensions that your Majesty granted them, it being now nearly a year since Tassis conveyed your Majesty's message to them, and the amount due now reaches 3,240 crowns. I understand that Lord Paget, being dissatisfied with my reply, and with the hopes I hold out to him that your Majesty's grant will be duly fulfilled, has decided to go from Rome, where he has passed this summer, to salute your Majesty personally.—Paris, 9th October 1585.

Note.—A letter from Don Bernardino to Idiaquez accompanies the above request for the remittance of money, saying that if he draws money from merchants the exchange costs him 3 per cent.,

1585.

whereas if he receives cash from Spain he makes a profit of 8 per cent. "as they do." He therefore begs permission to import from Spain 3,000 crowns, to be spent in the King's service.

17 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 138.

413. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

This merchant's post is going at such an undue hour that I have only time to say that Don Antonio was still in England, and was going to London, although Cosmé Rogier who took despatches from the King and Queen of France to him has not yet returned. The French ambassador wrote on the 4th, excusing himself for sending on the 23rd the false news (of Don Antonio's departure with Drake's fleet from England).

Drake weighed anchor in Plymouth at nightfall on the 27th September, and all the next day and at dawn the day after was still in sight from the land, becalmed. The day following he arrived at Falmouth in Cornwall, and up to the end of the month he had fine weather, but with many calms. Since then there have been furious westerly gales blowing, which will certainly have driven him back to the English coast, unless he made for Ireland, which is the most likely, as very many of the sailors and others who were with him had been pressed on board, and if he put into an English port they would desert. It was asserted here as a positive fact that he had returned, and I have delayed sending a report to your Majesty until I could ascertain the truth. Up to the present, however, there is no certain news, except that there has been a strong gale blowing dead against his course, and this has also prevented letters coming from England.

I send your Majesty herewith an exact account of the ships Drake has, and the stores, munitions, and men on board of them, which report was furnished to me by a trustworthy Frenchman who had ocular evidence of the facts he relates. I sent him to England for this purpose months ago, and he made friends with Drake himself, and arranged to go in the fleet. He gave him the slip, but could not come hither (all the ports being rigidly closed) until M. de la Mauvissière crossed over on his return from his embassy in England. I feared the man was dead or a prisoner, and I consequently did not venture to tell your Majesty I had sent him. The reports from England received by this King (of France) are similar in effect to that which I send, but not so full in detail. —Paris, 17th October 1585.

16 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1563. 153.

414. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Don Antonio had travelled towards London, as I wrote to your Majesty (lodging in the houses of various gentlemen who entertained him on the way), but I have not heard whether he had arrived. Walsingham has written hither, saying that the Queen had ordered two houses to be made ready for his reception, of which he could hardly support the cost unless his pension from France were continued. I am told by Sampson that, when he applied for the 500 crowns this month, the cashier of Don Antonio's agent told him that he had orders not to pay him any more as

1585.

the King had revoked the pension. The ships fitted out by Raleigh have brought into Plymouth some vessels belonging to subjects of your Majesty, loaded with sugar and other drugs, and, as Raleigh himself had gone down to the port, it was said that they had brought some silver or gold.

The earl of Angus, with the rest of the Scots rebels who were on the English Border, had entered Scotland with their armed followers, but without any Englishmen, although the earls of Pembroke and Cumberland, with Lord Grey and a body of men, were ready to support them in case of need. When the king of Scotland heard of this he sent for the English ambassador, Edward Wotton, and asked him whether this was the sort of friendship promised to him by the queen of England, whom, he said, he would pay some day for it, and with this he ordered him to begone to England. The King himself went to Dumbarton. This news comes from the French ambassador in England.—Paris, 16th November 1585.

29 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1563 . 161.

415. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

News has been received here that Don Antonio had arrived at one of the houses which the Queen had had prepared for him, nine miles from London. He was visited there by the French ambassador before he had seen the Queen, and Cosmé Rogier, who has returned, says that the Queen resented this. She had seen Don Antonio four times, for which purpose he had come to London and stayed in the house of a Portuguese Jew physician named Lopez, where the Queen visited him; and Rogier says that she gave him some money, but he does not know what amount, only that all his people had been dressed in London cloth, and were fed on beef and beer without any other entertainment. He was sending hither for the necessary paraphernalia for saying mass, and Diego Botello has written letters full of hopes that they will soon go to Portugal, signifying that they are negotiating for the means for doing so. Custodio Leiton has gone to England to see Don Antonio, desperately in need of money as his pension had been stopped. The Queen-mother urged him to return shortly, and to persuade Don Antonio to do the same.

Sampson has asked me to ask your Majesty to give him leave. I have told him I would, but that it was important that he should stay until we see whether Don Antonio will remain in England or return hither, because if Sampson goes it will be very difficult to find another man to report so carefully and promptly all Don Antonio's movements. For this reason I have provided him with means to stay here for the present in your Majesty's interests.—Paris, 29th November 1585.

29 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1563 . 162.

416. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my last news has come from Scotland in letters dated London, 14th instant, saying that the earls of Angus, Mar, and Morton the younger, with 3,000 Scotch horse, had entered Scotland, leaving on the frontier at their backs in support a large body of

1585.

the Queen's troops, their avowed object being to overthrow the government of the earl of Arran, whose great enemy, the earl of Maxwell, has also raised a force and was on his way to join the rebels. The King (of Scotland) had consequently decided to retire to the earl of Huntly's house, but, on hearing that the latter earl and some Catholic Scotch priests had persuaded Maxwell, who professes to be a Catholic, how bad it was for him to rise with rebels against the King solely on account of his enmity to the earl of Arran, the King returned to Stirling, and Maxwell had joined Huntly. The King had sent what forces he could raise to strengthen the two earls, who were between the castle of Stirling and the abbey of Abroath, where the rebels were lying, the intention of the King being to engage them as his forces were the stronger.—Paris, 29th November 1585.

29 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1448 . 36.

417. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA. [EXTRACT.]

The news you sent about Drake's fleet agreed with the number of ships he took to Galicia, where the daring of his attempt was greater than the damage he was able to effect. We have no certain information about him since he left the Galician coast, and it will be well for you to report to me what you can learn of his subsequent movements. You will use the utmost diligence in obtaining very frequent and very trustworthy news from England, which you will transmit to me continually. In the absence of any better way, the course you have adopted of learning what the French ambassador writes is a good one, although if you can send a confidential person to the English ports, who may ascertain about the armaments and other things, you must do so. The danger of sending such reports in writing may be got over by couching all information in mercantile language, which may be used as a cipher to signify anything agreed upon.—Tortosa, 29th December 1585.

Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 21.

418. Documents headed "Those who are going for the EARL OF LEICESTER."*

Sir William Stanley, knt., will have a regiment of 1,500 men.
Sir Henry Harrington, knt., will have a regiment of 1,500 men.
These two go from Ireland with their companies.
Sir Robert Germain knt., will have a regiment of 1,300 men.
Sir Thomas Shirley, knt., will have a regiment of 1,300 men.

Two other persons of quality will have regiments amounting to 3,000 men. There will be 30 captains, with about 100 men in each company. They have been ordered to make ready with all speed to join the Earl.

The master of Grey will also go from Scotland with 600 men.

* On his expedition to the Netherlands. The list is given *in extenso* on the next page, as I have been unable to find a copy in the Leicester papers or elsewhere.

1585.

The earl of Leicester has sent to the Turk at Constantinople to come to an understanding with him.

Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 19.

419. List of gentlemen forming the train of the Earl of Leicester on his expedition to the Netherlands.

——	Horses.	Servants.	Ships.	Tonnage.
				Tons.
Knights :—				
Sir William Russel -	7	12	Thom of Linne - -	80
Sir Robert Germain -	25	47	Floure of Comfort -	100
Sir Arthur Basset -	7	10	„ „	
Sir Thomas Shirley -	16	30	Sea-rider of Ampsteede -	80
Sir Henry Barkeley -	8	10	Fortune of Amsterdam -	60
Sir John (?) Harrington	4	4	„ „	
Sir Robert Stapleton -	3	7	„ „	
Esquires :—				
Hurleston, Treasurer -	0	0		
William Knollys - -	10	22	Antony Jone of Ipswich	100
William Basset - -	7	8		
George Digby - -	11	17	Golden Rose.	
Richard Ward - -	8	18	Antony Jone of Ipswich	100
John Picton - -	7	11	Comfort of Linne - -	70
John Wattes - -	8	10		
George Farmer - -	19	19		
Michael Harcourt -	11	11	Fortune of Tergoure -	52
Thomas Arundel - -	6	6	Thomas of Linne - -	80
Buttler - - -	8	10		
Robert Sidney - -	6	10	Swan of Berel - -	36
Captain Selby - -	2	2	Flying Hart of Linne -	60
Thomas Parker - -	3	3		
Nicholas Dormer - -	10	8		
Edward Jobson - -	3	3		
Hugh Barrington - -	3	8		
— Umpton - -	8	10		
The Earl's gentlemen :—				
Attye, Secretary - -	4	7		
Hugh Chomley - -	6	7		
Bould Marshal - -	5	8		
Walter Lewson - -	9	11		
George Fearn - -	2	2	Mathew of Linne -	60
Thomas Staferton -	3	3		
Walter Persons - -	3	2		
William Clarke - -	3	3		
Thomas Catesby - -	6	6		
William Noeles - -	8	3	Golden Sampson - -	60
Thomas Chalenor -	2	2	Golden Swan - - -	60
Francis Bromley - -	3	4	Daniel of London -	60
Thomas Leyton - -	2	5	The Davy - - -	60
Francis Clarke - -	6	6	Mathew of Linne - -	60
William Herne - -	3	3		
John Solwood - -	3	4		
William Persons - -	2	2		
Roger Bruerton - -	3	3		
Edward Bourser - -	1	1		
Ralph Hubberts - -	7	10	Golden Hagge - -	50
Clement Fisher - -	3	7	Golden Crowne - -	60
Thomas Dennis - -	6	5	Crab-joint - - -	60
Henry Jones - -	7	9	Daniel of London	
Ambrose Butler - -	2	2		
Weston - - -	3	4		
George Turbervil - -	4	6		
Skipwith - - -	4	2		
Walter Tooke - -	1	2		

1585.

——	Horses.	Servants.	Ships.	Tonnage.
Earl's gentlemen—*cont.*				Tons.
Richard Acton	3	3		
Charles Acton	1	1		
Davy Holland	1	1		
Edward Deluin	2	4		
John Glacier	1	2		
Edward Borrows	3	6		
John Britton	4	8	Flying Hart of Hull	60
William Greene	2	2	„ „	
George Boothe	3	3		
Edward Stafford	4	3		
William Gorge	6	6		
Richard Broume	3	2		
John Wake	2	3		
Edward Watson	4	5		
John Wotton	2	3	Golden Crowne.	
George Brooke	5	4	Double Spread Eagle	62
John Hinde	4	3		
Walter Helmes	3	3		
Dimmock	2	2		
Edward Cave	2	2		
Christopher Goldingham	2	2		
Francis Fortescue	3	2		
Humphrey Stafford	1	1		
Thomas Price	2	2		
George Tyrell	6	7		
Sebastian Osburtun	2	2		
Thomas Cothington	1	2		
Zouche	1	2		
Saint Prince	1	2		
Ashbye	1	1		
Robert Hill	2	3		
Edward Yorke	6	9		
Thornax	4	4		
George Bingham	1	1		
Nicholas Pointz	6	6		
William Waigthes	1	1		
John Lewes	1	1		
Walter Goodier	5	3		
Babbington	2	2		
William Heydon	3	2		
Whetstone	3	3		
George Noel	4	3		
Christopher Wright	4	3		
George Kenet	3	2		
William Snede	2	2		
Threntham	2	2		
Rowland Selby	1	1		
Skille	1	1		
Arthur Note	2	2		
Antonio Flowerdew	2	2		
John More	2	2		
Cumpton	3	3		
Richard Floyd	1	1		
Thomas Chatterton	2	1		
Hampden Paulet	4	3		
Knight	1	1		
Edward Gray	1	1		
Hobson	2	1		
Henry Barker	1	2		
Edward Sumner	3	4		
Buckle	2	2		
Lewkner Miles	1	1		

1585.

	Horses.	Servants.	Ships.	Tonnage.
Earl's gentlemen—*cont.*				Tons.
Thomas Smith -	8	6		
William Higat - -	3	3		
John Carrel - - -	2	2		
Allen Morgan - -	2	2		
Richard Honey - -	1	1		
William Gostlet - -	8	2		
John Lee - - -	8	8		

1586.

8 Jan. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 31.

420. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

On the 29th ultimo, I wrote to your Majesty by a Frenchman confirming my previous advices of the representations made by the English ambassador to this King (of France), as to the danger which might result from continuing this war,* having regard to the house of Guise, of which it behoved him to be as suspicious as she (Queen Elizabeth) was, as they were his greatest enemies, and were upheld by him who was the enemy both of God and of England. She undertook that the prince of Bearn would accept reasonable conditions, and would obey him (the king of France) as a good brother and loyal subject should. But if the contrary happened, she could hardly avoid helping the Huguenots, and checking the aggrandisement of the Guises. The ambassador dealt at length on this, and the King replied that he would discuss the matter with his mother, and would then give an answer through Secretary Pinart. During the next three days the ambassador talked on the matter with Secretary Villeroy, and subsequently Secretary Pinart went to him with the King's answer. This was to the effect that he, the King, was as much master of his realm as the Queen was mistress of hers, and that her intervention between him and his vassals was uncalled for. He was quite strong enough, moreover, to prevent the exercise of any other religion than the Catholic in his country. These replies are given by common agreement, for the purpose of throwing dust into the eyes of the Nuncio and other ministers here; and the truth is that, as the English ambassador here says, the French ambassador in England actually requested the Queen, in the name of his master, to take the step she did; which he (the English ambassador?) told the Huguenots he was sorry to do, as Bearn was informed that it would not be beneficial to them for the Queen of England to offer

* In the previous year Henry III. had been coerced by the Guises and the princes of the League, to sign the infamous treaty of Nemours, depriving the Huguenots of all religious toleration. This was followed by the fulmination of the papal bull against Henry of Navarre, the young prince of Condé, and all "this bastard and detestable race of Bourbon." They and their heirs were to be deprived of all their principalities for ever, and any persons who recognised them were to be excommunicated. Henry of Navarre at once replied to this by a proclamation as haughty, if not as violent, as the bull. The man who calls himself Pope Sixtus, he said, is himself a liar and a heretic. Henry and his cousin Condé then took the field with the Huguenots, and at this juncture the present letter was written.

1586.

her mediation in this fashion. The news is confirmed by her having sent the son of a bishop to Germany, to cause the retention of the money destined for the levies, in the confidence that peace would be concluded without need for them. The negotiations still continue, and most of the ministers represent them as being unavoidable, whilst the King and his mother assure the Nuncio that they will not consent to peace, except on the condition that no other religion but the Catholic shall be exercised in any part of the realm.—Paris, 8th January 1586.

8 Jan. **421.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 32.

Since my last reports with regard to England, letters dated 25th December have been received, advising the going of the earl of Leicester in great haste to Holland, in consequence of the news reaching him that the Spaniards are bogged near Bois-le-Duc. I send herewith a list of the people who went over with him. Both from England and Zeeland the news is confirmed of a great mortality amongst the English. They write from London that the Queen has issued a proclamation, ordering all Spaniards resident in the country to leave it within a given time, both men and women, and that her subjects are to have no communication with those of your Majesty for eight months, under heavy penalties. I have no confirmation of this, and consequently am not certain about it, except that previously a large number of ships had been sent out by Englishmen in the names of Frenchmen and Scotsmen. I have made fuller inquiries about the 500 Spaniards, who I wrote to your Majesty were prisoners in England. The smallest number of them are in London, as they are mostly scattered about the various ports on the coast, where their ships have been brought in after being plundered. A parliament had been held in Ireland, and orders had been given by the Queen for the principal Catholics there to be arrested. The earl of Ormond writes from London that he is going back to Ireland much discontented, in consequence of his having been eight months there without the Queen's having granted him any favour or recompense for his services.

News from Scotland report that the King was in the hands of the rebels, who had entered over the English border, and things were again in their former position. Claude Hamilton who is here and about to leave for Scotland had been restored in honours and estates.—Paris, 8th January 1586.

1 Feb. **422.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 43.

With regard to English affairs, I can only say that the Queen continues to urge this king (of France) to break with your Majesty. I am informed by letters from there of the 14th ultimo that on the 4th of that month the Queen, having received news that your Majesty was arming, ordered the Lord Admiral to put all her ships in readiness, saying that not only should your Majesty find her fully prepared, but she would even send out to meet your fleet. She proposes to the Catholics to relieve them from the fine of 20*l.* a month for not attending church, on condition that they provide

1586.

a certain sum every year for the support of the war in Holland and Zeeland. She has brought 700 of her foot soldiers from Ireland, and 300 horse to send to the war. No one is to refuse to obey orders in Holland under pain of death, whilst those who return from there without leave are to be hanged, and this will be carried out rigorously.

They had just martyred a priest in London, whom they had arrested whilst he was saying mass, and at York they had martyred another for having helped to leave the country a gentleman who had received him in his house, eight other persons having been executed for complicity in the same case.

Pinart's young son-in-law,* who I wrote to your Majesty was to go as ambassador to Scotland, has gone thither, and Claude Hamilton has also left.

The fathers of the Company of Jesus who are in Scotland by orders of his Holiness, and are effecting much good work, are greatly pressed owing to the poverty of the country, and have not the wherewithal to obtain the proper church ornaments and chalices for the celebration of mass, and the other things they require for divine service. They are also unable to buy the "*Christian Doctrine*" and other religious books, and they beg me to supplicate your Majesty to be pleased to grant them some alms for these purposes, and aid them in their holy work, as they recognize that your Majesty has been the chosen instrument by whose hands it is to be consummated. I am making every possible effort to find a person who will send me reports from England as your Majesty wishes, but I have hitherto been unsuccessful in getting a fit and trustworthy man for the duty.—Paris, 1st February 1586.

Postscript.—After closing this letter I have heard by letters from England, dated 20th ultimo, that the Queen's ships were being fitted out with all speed. Their number is only 22 or 25, most of the others being old and useless. They also advise that an account has been taken of all the merchant ships and vessels belonging to private persons in the country, and the result is to show that the Queen will be able to collect on the 1st March 200 armed ships, including her own 25. There was no other news.

1 Feb. Paris Archives, K. 1564 . 44.

423. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Referring to what I said in my last, to the effect that the King had ordered Don Antonio to be paid 1,000 crowns for two months of his pension, they have only been able to get 100 crowns of it, as the collector said he could not pay them any more by reason of poverty. I understand that some of the friars who follow Don Antonio are going to take the money to him in England. He is said to be living near London, and has sent

* Charles de Prunelé, baron d'Esneval and vidame of Normandy. His very interesting correspondence whilst on his embassy is still preserved in the archives of his family at their chateau of Pavilly (Seine-Inferieure), and much of it was published in 1858 as appendices to *M. Chéruel's "Marie Stuart et Catharine de Medici."*

1586.

Custodio Leiton hither. The people who are with Don Antonio are writing hither, saying that they (the English?) are not so wealthy as was thought here.

This King and his mother are proceeding with Don Antonio in their usual way, as I have previously described. They seem not to wish to lose him, but still there are no signs of their undertaking anything serious in his favour.—Paris, 1st February 1586.

Note.—A letter of the same date from Mendoza to Idiaquez, the King's secretary, mentions the departure for England of Captain Duarte Pacheco, who had not been able to speak to the writer lately. During the previous months many mysterious references had been made in the correspondence, principally to Idiaquez, to this person, who had offered to perform some great service in England or elsewhere, presumably the murder of Don Antonio.

17 Feb. Paris Archives, K. 1564 . 50.

424. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

The English ambassador has had audience of the King, and urged upon him on no account to allow any grain to be exported from here to the (Spanish) Netherlands, where people, he said, were dying of famine, and his mistress would thus soon be able to end the war there. I am told that the King replied that he had not given permission for grain to be sent, which is quite true, although, at the request of prince of Parma, I had asked him to do so, but he decidedly refused me the passport.—Paris, 17th February 1586.

17 Feb. Paris Archives, K. 1564 . 51.

425. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since I wrote last about England, the Queen-mother has received news from there that the Queen had been for four hours speechless, and as if dead, in a swoon, this being an indisposition to which she is occasionally liable. The fitting out of the Queen's ships there is being pushed forward, and she has been informed that I, with the connivance of the Christian King, have three ships ready on the French coast to bring the king of Scotland away from his country. This has caused her to order some of her armed ships to go to the ports on the Scotch coast. These letters from England are dated the 29th ultimo, and they also relate that news had been received there that, after the arrival of the French ambassador in Scotland, four nobles of the country had risen in arms and were demanding that the celebration of the mass should be allowed, but little credit is given to this assertion here, although it comes from the house of the French ambassador in London. They also report that troops were being raised in Scotland to go over to Holland and Zeeland, which would seem incompatible with the other news, but there is no certainty about it.

Don Antonio was still near London, and Custodio Leiton is expected here hourly.—Paris, 17th February 1586.

Note.—Letters from Mendoza of 28th February mention that an Italian had arrived in Paris to negotiate, bearing letters from the

1586.

Queen of England, he having had private conference with Secretary Pinart. It was said he had been sent to murder the duke of Guise.

The English ambassador was highly offended because, at an interview with the King, Mendoza was summoned first to the royal presence. "When I passed through the room where he was," says Mendoza, "he turned his back upon me, looking daggers."

24 Feb. **426.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

I have received your Majesty's letter of 2nd January, and as Luis Donara is still in Florence, and I do not know when he will return, I have been obliged to adopt the third alternative of the three your Majesty lays down, Doctor Allen having used his efforts with the Pope, and his Holiness being so full of the English affair, as your Majesty will have seen in my previous letters.

Bearing in mind the evil result to so great a business that any mistake might produce, I thought necessary in my last audience to give to the Pope a summary of the representations I had made to him on your Majesty's behalf, accompanied with a note to each clause setting forth the ultimate decision arrived at. The summary was all in Spanish, which the Pope understands well, and was given in order that he might read it over and confirm it. As regards the money, I did not think well to go any further than to promise that I would convey to your Majesty what he said. I took him the summary in blank, and have it now in my possession, with his remarks in the handwriting of Cardinal Carrafa thereon, so that it will serve as a memorandum of the whole affair.

With respect to the question of the commander, I thought best not to raise any doubt, as the expedition will be controlled by your Majesty, who could naturally appoint whom you pleased; and the Pope is very well disposed towards the prince of Parma, whom he praises highly for refusing the submission of the islands on the terms I mentioned to your Majesty.

The last time I saw the Pope he said the Guises had sent word to him that there were rumours there (*i.e.*, in France) about this league for the English enterprise, and begged him not to have anything to do with an enterprise unless they were included. His Holiness says that he replied to the effect that there was nothing going on in the matter, but when there were he would let them know. He promises, however, not to do so until your Majesty thinks it may be done without inconvenience. Cardinal Sanzio is trying to persuade the Pope on behalf of these gentlemen (the Guises) that the present is an inopportune time for the English enterprise, but that the matter of Geneva should be taken in hand, as that would benefit their affairs in France.

I begged him very urgently that the matter might be kept secret, and he pledged himself so emphatically to do so, that I am not without hope that he may fulfil his promise. He said he would not mention it to any man alive, and begged me not to speak of it to any of his ministers, until a necessity for it arose. He then decided to take Cardinal Carrafa into the secret, and handed to

1586.

him the book and correspondence of Allen,* who so far as I can judge, has acted very well in the business.

Notwithstanding all my efforts, I have so far failed to convince the Pope that your Majesty's principal motives in taking up this affair are not those of revenge for personal injuries, or the state of affairs in Holland, and the need for ensuring the navigation to the Indies. I have plied him with every argument and apprehension, as set forth in the statement enclosed, but in addition to his natural tenacity and his buckler of precedents, I have been much hampered by the news that pour in from all sides of the preparations being made by your Majesty for the expedition. The more we hear of this the harder it will be to deal with his Holiness, as the ardour he showed in the business and the desire to do some great thing have already cooled with the money malady. He recently sent me a letter which they write to him from Portugal, saying that amongst other prizes the corsair Drake had captured a very important vessel from the Indies; the reason for showing it to me being to prove how needful it was for your Majesty to remedy this state of things. In the event of this negotiation being carried forward, I beg your Majesty to send me very precise instructions on all points related thereto, and to tell me the convenient season when each point should be broached, because if the enterprise is to be undertaken early, there is no time to spare in setting about the deprivation of the king of Scotland and the investiture of the person who is to succeed him. The objection to doing this at once is, that it would make the affair public and would thus damage the reputation of the enterprise; but to defer it would be endanger the result of the affair altogether. There will be difficulties, too, in getting the Pope to do it secretly, and in keeping him firm afterwards. The course your Majesty may choose shall be forwarded with every possible care and zeal.

I did not touch on the matter of the cardinalate for Allen, as your Majesty's remark that it should be proceeded with at the same pace as the enterprise is a very wise one. The priest says that it would be of the greatest influence in supporting the spirits of the Catholics, and I have given him a very loving message in your Majesty's name, without saying a word that may lead him to hope for the early execution of the enterprise. I have also given strong encouragement to the Jesuit† (who is the man moving in the matter of the cardinalate), to believe that your Majesty will do what is necessary for the fulfilment of his wishes, but I give him no pledge. As this poor man (Allen) is in want, I think it would not be bad if your Majesty gave him some help, say 1,000 crowns, until he is made Cardinal, or even 500. I say this because I consider it very important to oblige this man, as he must be the one to lead the dance, and will have great influence with the Pope in settling the question of the succession, as your Majesty desires.

* Probably Allen's book "De Persecutione Anglicana," which was written for the purpose of inflaming the minds of Catholics against the Queen. Dr. Parry confessed that the perusal of this book had inspired him with the idea of the crime for which he suffered.

† Father Persons.

1586.

Allen has written a book against the queen of England, of which I send your Majesty a summary enclosed. I do not send the book itself as he has only one copy. He talks about printing it, and it is considered that it will be well to publish it some months before the enterprise, as they think it will stir up people in England. If your Majesty sees any objection to the publication and will instruct me, I will try to stop it.

Allen and this Robert (Persons) are inclined to produce a pamphlet in reply to the manifesto of the queen of England against your Majesty. I will keep the matter pending until I have your Majesty's instructions, and when the pamphlet is written I I will send a copy, and your Majesty may decide in whose name it should be published.—Rome, 24th February 1586.

427. ENCLOSURE with the aforegoing LETTER.

Document headed: "Reply of His Majesty to the exhortations "which have on several occasions been addressed to me, "on behalf of his Holiness, urging him to undertake the "submission of England to the Holy See, and his Holiness' "answers thereto."

His Holiness gives infinite thanks to God for making him the instrument for thus moving His Majesty, to whom he gives many blessings for the zeal with which he is disposed to aid an enterprise so worthy of a Catholic King.

First point.—Although His Majesty has been approached on this matter several times by his Holiness' predecessors, he has been unable to persuade himself as to the earnestness with which they would support him in it, as his Holiness emphatically promises to do. The favour his Holiness shows him and the desire of his Holiness to give him every satisfaction move him now to undertake the matter, notwithstanding the great importance of finishing previously the affair of Holland and Zeeland, and the other difficulties which present themselves to the enterprise at present.

His Holiness fully approves of his Majesty's proposals in this respect.

Second point.—The object and pretext of the enterprise must be to reduce the country to obedience to the Roman church, and place the queen of Scotland in possession of the crown, which she well deserves for having remained firm in the faith through so many calamities.

His Holiness highly approves of this, and considers it very desirable that the religion of the country should not be entrusted to the king of Scotland, for the reasons given by His

Third point.—His Majesty says that the matter would become more difficult if undertaken after the death of the Que en (of Scots), if she were to be succeeded by the king of Scotland her son, who is a confirmed heretic, and any arrangement he might make consequently would be doubtful and liable to recision. Besides which he has sucked this poison, and is necessarily

1586.

Majesty. With regard to a successor to the Queen, his Holiness will agree to whatever His Majesty thinks best in the matter, and will do what may be necessary.

surrounded by suspicious people like those who have reared him; whereas to consolidate the Catholic religion there, it is necessary to have a very steadfast person in the faith, and His Majesty therefore considers necessary that a proper person should be chosen at once, *in order that the maternal love of the queen of Scotland may not mislead her into thinking that she may fittingly introduce her son into the succession, and put him into possession of the realm.*

On this point his Holiness at first was in favour of converting the king of Scotland, but in the course of the conference the many difficulties in the way were pointed out to him, and he then inclined to look out for some Catholic who would make a fit husband for the Queen, and who might be appointed prince, so that if the Queen should die without children the case would be provided for. This was answered by pointing out to him the risk that would be run to the Queen's life, by reason of the desire of her husband to have issue by her, and the difficulty in finding an English Catholic fit for the position. If even one such could be found he might have many relatives who were not well affected, and against whom he would not dare to act. In addition to this, there are in that country, as elsewhere, passions and factions, apart from religion, and those of a different party to the new King, and even his own friends, would be very impatient at seeing an equal step over their heads. For this reason they, and even his own kinsmen, would pay him but little respect, and so private resentment prejudicial to religion might arise, which could not be repressed and punished as it deserved. The Pope tried so far as he could to minimise these difficulties, and press the advantage of a native prince, and I could get no further with him on the point than to leave him still unconvinced. He ended by saying that there would be time to think over this, but your Majesty will see that I tied him down in the reply to agree to your Majesty's wishes on the point. He read the reply over, and had it in his own possession, but said nothing against this.

I did not venture to enter into further particulars, in fulfilment of your Majesty's orders to get the question of the contributions settled first. When I have to press him about it, I think of making use of Allen.

His Holiness is quite convinced that your Majesty is not thinking of the succession of the crown of England for yourself, and told Cardinal d'Este so, as I relate further on; I did not say anything to the contrary.

He is very far from thinking that your Majesty has any views for yourself, and when the matter is broached to him he will be much surprised. However deeply he is pledged to abide by your Majesty's opinion, I quite expect he will raise some difficulty, and I send some remarks on this point enclosed in my own hand.

The question dealt with below as to the re-imbursement to the

1586.

Pope of the aid he may furnish, may probably provide a bridge to get over this difficulty. We can say that, as a return for your Majesty's contribution, the succession to the English Crown shall be considered as a dowry for the Infanta Doña Isabel ;* and even if we promise only to hold it until your Majesty should be paid in full, principal and interest, for all the expenses incurred by you in the enterprise, or in respect thereof, it would come to the same thing; because in a few years the amount would grow to such an extent that it would be impossible for them to get enough money together to pay it.

Your Majesty will consider the question. I will not move without your Majesty's instructions, although I look upon it as an important point, and of no very great difficulty, as the burden of the amount to be returned to the Pope will have to be spread over some years, and the greater part of it would naturally belong to the queen of Scotland.

I have not opened out more clearly about the deprivation of the king of Scotland, in order that the Pope might not talk about it, which I think might be inconvenient, as publicity is not desirable, and the terms of the proposal and reply include the point of deprivation and all others.

I thought well to add to what I said to the Pope on the question the words I have underlined†, in addition to what your Majesty wrote, as I thought necessary to mask that postern.

His Holiness, although he looks upon any aid given to such an enterprise as being well employed, is sorry to say that he cannot comply with the demand of his Majesty, inasmuch as he found the Papal treasury much exhausted, and the revenues to a great extent anticipated ; so that he is unable to burden his means with a sum greater than has ever been contributed by any of his predecessors to any enterprise in the interests of the Catholic religion. He offers, however, to contribute 200,000 crowns, as soon as the fleet for the English enterprise shall have sailed, and another 100,000 immediately after the troops shall have landed in the island. At the end of six months he will give another

Fourth point.—Your Majesty, as a result of the long wars in Flanders, is so exhausted and your subjects so hardly pressed, that, although you would willingly undertake the whole enterprise without asking his Holiness for anything, the affair is so extensive and the necessary preparations for encountering the resistance so great, that his Holiness will have to help to the extent of 2,000,000 in gold ; the cause being so good a one, the money will be well spent, and will be of great service to the Apostolic See, and to christendom at large. Your Majesty will also not begrudge the large sum you will have to spend, seeing the satisfaction you will feel at being the instrument, once more, of bringing that country into obedience to the Holy See.

* The Infanta Isabel Clara Eugenia, Philip's daughter by his third wife, Elizabeth of Valois. She was afterwards sovereign of Flanders and wife of the Archduke Albert.

† *See* italics on preceding page.

1586.

100,000, and if the war lasts more than a year, his Holiness will contribute 200,000 crowns for each year. The war shall be considered to last until the person who is to have the kingdom is placed into possession of the same, and the contributions shall be paid, either in the form of cash, or partly in the form of cash and partly in a corresponding number of paid Italian troops; which troops his Holiness will pay, as is customary in all important enterprises, but he will also not fail to incite and encourage all Italian princes to aid in so glorious and holy an expedition, and, if it succeed, as it is hoped, by God's help it will, his Holiness intends to restore the twenty jurisdictions which existed in the country before the apostacy of Henry VIII.

I did not enter into discussion as to the proportions, to avoid difficulties of accounts, and also as it is inexcusable that the matter should be mixed up with Flanders. Although in the demand the total expenses of the enterprise were estimated at 4,000,000 and I asked for 2,000,000, and in my written communication stood out for that sum, I said verbally that my last instructions from your Majesty allowed me to bate the demand to 1,500,000.

His Holiness said not a word about the Grand Duke's entering into the enterprise at present, although he expects great help from him and the Venetians, as soon as the affair is published. He fears that to communicate the matter to him, at the present stage, would bring about the same difficulties as before; but with the frustration of the Grand Duke's aim of getting command of the expedition, I expect but little from his liberality or from that of the Venetians. In order, therefore, to get his Holiness to open his purse wider, I suggested that what they gave might be applied to lighten his contribution. He did not make much of this, and I think he was right, because even if he gets anything out of them, he will have to buy it for more than it is worth.

I have not availed myself of the offer made several time on behalf of the English Catholics, that they would pay the cost of the enterprise; as it may be of effect with the Pope, at the last moment, to turn the scale; and I have likewise kept Allen in reserve with a similar object; so that after I have used all my own resources, these two levers may probably move his Holiness a step onward.

What I think would greatly influence him would be to persuade him, or tell him, on your Majesty's behalf, that if he do not help to such an extent your Majesty will abandon the enterprise and throw the blame upon him all over the world. Allen could then be set on to him. It is true I have already hinted as much to him, but it will be a very different thing if he be told so decidedly in your Majesty's name. However tenacious he may be in the matter of money, this could not fail to frighten him; but I only suggest this course if a larger immediate sum is to be got from him, because if he is given time to pay, I have no doubt at all that he would find at least a million, as he thinks he is quite fulfilling his part if he gives much more than any of his predecessors have ever done on similar occasions.

1586.

With regard to burdening the Spanish churches, I have said nothing, and only lightly referred to it in relation to the demand of the Grand Duke for Algeria, when I, wishing to undo the Pope's offer, said that your Majesty had not taken any notice of the 300,000 and 500,000 of subsidies and other things—avoiding special mention of the Toledo revenues, in order to give him nothing to take hold of. Carrafa told me in great confidence, that speaking about the first payments being made at once, the Pope had raised the question of security for your Majesty's not abandoning the enterprise and keeping the money. He says he gave a fitting reply. Although, at first, I suggested that a large proportion should be paid at once, to defray the cost of beginning the preparations, still in order that I might not appear to be accepting in principle an offer so much lower than your Majesty's demand (even though it is the largest sum ever given by his Holiness) I have not cared to dispute about these instalments.

It occurs to me that a good way to assure his Holiness, whilst not showing the object, or our knowledge of his doubt, would be to represent to him that, in order to hide the purpose for which the money was wanted, a feigned purchase should be made in Naples with a secret deed setting forth the real purpose, and the transaction should be nullified by the execution of the enterprise. I have no doubt that by these means he could be persuaded to anticipate the payment of 300,000 at least, and perhaps even 500,000 or more, if he were paid interest for it, or part of it, until the instalments were due; as these 500,000, although the war may not last long enough for the whole sum to be payable, will in any case become your Majesty's property.

In order to secure us, in case of the Pope's death, considering his age, the College of Cardinals might be asked to bind themselves, when the time arrives for making the matter public, and the (church) collections in Spain and Naples might be pledged, as well as the 200,000 of the crusade tithe.

In order not to trouble your Majesty by repeating all the colloquies which passed between the Pope and myself about the money (which was the point upon which most of the time was spent) I will only state here the principal arguments used on both sides, so that your Majesty may consider what others could be used to influence his Holiness. The Pope's contention was, that it was necessary for your Majesty to exact satisfaction from this woman, which would also settle the Holland and Zeeland business at the same time, and ensure you for the future against so bad a neighbour. He urged that the enterprise would be infinitely easier than that of Holland and Zeeland, whilst the coasts of Spain and the Indies would thus be saved from the depredations of the corsairs. He calculates the expenses at a very low figure, and says that in Pius V.'s time this enterprise was estimated to cost only 400,000 crowns, and cites as an example that Pius V. only spent 200,000 crowns during two years of the league, whilst the various aids he (Sixtus V.) had sent to the king of France in money and paid troops did not cost above 260,000 crowns. He adduces several other examples, and produces accounts to prove his

1586.

assertions. He points out also the extreme need of the Apostolic See, nearly all the revenues of which are sold; and alleges the great scandal that would be caused by his raising money in similar ways to those adopted by other Popes, which, he says, please God, he will avoid.* He says that the sum now in the Treasury must be held by any Pope in case of sudden emergency to the Holy See. The Grand Duke, he says, only estimated the necessary cost of the Algiers enterprise at 400,000 crowns, and even this amount was to be raised in subsidies spread over two years. This has done no good, nor have the reports current from all quarters that your Majesty was making great preparations for this enterprise.

My arguments to meet the above and encourage the Pope to help us effectually, were to the effect that if he really wishes to aid the enterprise it could be carried out speedily; without pledging myself as to time. It was not, I said, at all inexcusable, as he thought, on your Majesty's part, that whilst the Holland and Zeeland affair was still unsettled you should not consider yourself bound to bring England to submission, seeing that the Queen had not committed any unpardonable offence against you. I have hinted to him that the Queen is not very far from submitting even now, and that her policy is solely to ensure your Majesty's letting her alone, and I pointed out that if this opportunity is once allowed to pass, and your Majesty comes to an agreement with the Queen, English affairs will be eternally excluded, and must never be thought of any more, whilst the door will be shut on German matters, and France settled. I said that what had moved your Majesty mainly had been his Holiness' own persuasions; but that seeing now that he had cooled towards an enterprise which he had formerly so strongly championed, your Majesty was sure that the same thing would happen in any other affair he took up. Your own revenues were fully employed, and there would be other members of the league from whom his Holiness could obtain some assistance. The great cost of the enterprise would, I said, be caused by the need for your Majesty to have a great force to hold your own in Flanders, to carry on the Holland business, to guard against any attempt against you on the part of the French and German heretics, who will certainly be on the alert; and above all to provide the forces necessary for the enterprise itself with safety, and a great fleet strong enough to resist those of England, Flanders, and France. I told him that so great would be the service to God, and so great the honour he would gain in the world, that if he lived for 20 years and never did anything else he would leave a great memory behind him. I ended by asking him whether he thought it worse to give an account to God and man for having spent a little too much on such an enterprise, or to let it fall through altogether for want of liberality, which would be a sorrow

* His predecessor, Gregory XIII., had entirely emptied the papal treasury, and had sold nearly every office in his gift for years to come. For an account of the wise financial measures adopted by Sixtus, by which, without oppressing his subjects, he speedily restored his treasury, see Dumesnil's "*Histoire de Sixte Quint*" and "*Storia della vita e geste di Sisto Quinto*," by *Father Tempesti*.

1586.

to him for ever, and would cause him a loss of prestige which he would hardly recover. I told him he would look upon his million in the castle* as dust and ashes if he missed this opportunity, and that the offer he made would seem very small to your Majesty, which I thought would have the effect of cooling you in the business. I said that when his Holiness learnt from the Grand Duke himself what your Majesty asks for the Algiers business, he would see how different it was from what the Grand Duke had given him to understand.

After I had left the Pope, he added that remark about giving part of the subsidy in money and part in men, which I am sure will not do, seeing the difficulty and publicity to which it will give rise.

He also said to me verbally, the last time I saw him, what I have mentioned about the jurisdiction of the Apostolic See in England, so that the queen of Scotland and the person who was to succeed her might be made sure of before they were put into possession of the realm. After I had received the paper I spoke to Carrafa, and said that I understood your Majesty would not allow the queen of Scotland to fail in doing what was done (in England) in your Majesty's time, and that with respect to the remark about King Henry there might be some questions difficult of solution as to his position before he was schismatic, but I would report the whole matter to your Majesty.

Although his Holiness has always been careful to take this course, he will do so more strongly in future, as this new important reason is now added. If the Christian King should try to throw any impediment in the way of the enterprise, his Holiness will make the necessary demonstration.

Fifth point.—The quarter from which the principal obstacles may be expected being France, especially if the King makes peace with the heretics, as he is anxious to do, it will be necessary for his Holiness to stand firm by the allied princes, encouraging and animating them to refuse to allow peace to be made on any terms, however much the King may try to persuade them to it by feigning advantageous conditions, as he will do in order to free himself from embarrassment and be able to obstruct the English enterprise, in which case it will be necessary for his Holiness, both with his authority and his spiritual weapons, to take measures to remedy the evil.

I thought best to insert this last clause, so as to afford me an opportunity for future action in favour of the allied French princes, when need for it may arise, and also in order to have the point set forth in writing as I had verbally agreed with the Pope about it.

In the last audience I had (which was to-day) he told me that Cardinal d'Este had spoken to him yesterday on behalf of the king of France, and the latter promised to carry on the war against the heretics, and to force the execution of the edicts, but was desirous of

* The castle of Sant'Angelo, where the Pope's bullion was kept.

1586.

making known to his Holiness that on all sides your Majesty was making great preparations. Although it was reported that the object of them was to undertake the enterprise against the islands, it was, he said, evident that they were really directed against England, and he begged his Holiness, on no account in the world to consent to such a thing, as France could positively not tolerate the Spaniards setting foot in England. His Holiness says that he assured the Cardinal that he had no alliance with your Majesty in this business, and reproached the King for considering the vicinity of an heretical Queen a lesser evil than the vicinity of your Majesty; when, moreover, he said the question of the enterprise came to be discussed (which was far from being the case now), the object of your Majesty would certainly not be to stay there. He said the only thing he regretted was that he was not able to move your Majesty to the enterprise; he wished to God he could, for in such case he would not be drawn from it by anything he (the king of France) might say. The king of France, he had no doubt, would be one of the first persons to rejoice, seeing the advantage it would give him in the reduction of the heretics, and avoiding the necessity for him (the Pope) to make the demonstration he should be obliged to do if he (the king of France) proceeded in a different way, and so on with many other reproofs addressed to the King and the Cardinal himself.

The duke of Guise, through Cardinal Sanzio,* has assured his Holiness that, even though the King might wish to make peace with the heretics, they will not agree to it. The thing most to be feared is that the King, being so very desirous of peace and to prevent the English enterprise, may give his word to the heretics not to take any action against them, and so induce them to submit to a peace which might be acceptable to the Catholics and the Pope.

6 March. Paris Archives, B. 1564. 56.

428. Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

In answer to the king of France's message by Captain Pardin to Don Antonio, the latter has sent Custodio Leiton with letters for the King and his mother begging them to pardon him for disobeying their wishes as to his coming hither, as he considered things in this country were hardly settled enough to afford him due security. His intention was, however, always to depend upon France. He, Leiton, has also approached the Queen-mother to know what help Don Antonio may expect from here, as the queen of England is very much inclined to help him with resources and ships, and he was anxious to know what he might look for from France. The Queen-mother replied that, as regards his coming at present, he did well to defer it, as they were on the eve of a general peace, and if this were effected she could assure him that her son and herself would aid him in a way that would prove that he had not depended upon them in vain. She dwelt at great length upon this point, as did also the King and Joyeuse.

* Cardinal Sanzio was the principal representative of the League in the Sacred College.

1586.

Don Antonio's eldest son has gone to Flanders with six men, under the pretext of having fled from his father, to go to the earl of Leicester. The truth is that his father ordered him to go, and the queen of England joined in the order. Leiton says the Queen is not spending a groat at sea, but keeps on the alert to see whether your Majesty arms. She has an arrangement with the king of Denmark to aid her if your Majesty threatens her.

Leicester has ordered that no men in Holland and Zeeland are to take the field, but are to remain on the defensive and hold their own. Leiton reports that Don Antonio and his people have been very comfortable hitherto, as the Queen caresses and makes much of him, giving him 1,000 or 2,000 crowns at a time. At Christmas-tide she presented his sons with a great quantity of silk and cloth of gold.—Paris, 6th March 1586.

6 March. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 51.

429. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Antony Pointz, an English Catholic gentleman, and the brother of a very wealthy Catholic who recently died, was constantly in communication with me when I was in England, as was his brother, although less so than Antony, as the latter had been a soldier under Colonel Julian Romero in Flanders. The earl of Leicester carried him to Holland with him to serve in the war, and whilst he was there the queen of England ordered him to return to England, as she desired to send him hither (to France) under the pretence of his being a religious refugee; in order that he should ask me for letters of favour for your Majesty and request some assignment from Flanders, which would enable him to go to your Majesty's court and discover about the fleet which your Majesty was preparing, and whether it was coming to invade Ireland, Scotland, or England this year. He was to gain all the information he could on this and other points, and was promised that if he were dexterous in the business, and succeeded in deceiving me, he should not only have a company of 300 men of those who are to be in Flushing, which had already been given to him, but further extraordinary favour should be shown him. He undertook the commission, and the Queen gave him warrants for 300 crowns for the cost of the journey, 100 in England and 200 payable in Lyons, which he has shown me. He informed me of all that had passed, and said his only wish was to serve God and your Majesty, and, as he had been known to me for so long, he begged me to write to your Majesty his intention and he would go to Spain. In order that I might be doubly assured, he said we might send someone with him from the frontier to the Court, where he might be given such information as your Majesty desired to have sent to England. By this means, and with a false letter which your Majesty could give him to the prince of Parma, he might appear to carry out the queen of England's orders, and after a short stay in Flanders could go over to England, where he would give such information as your Majesty wished. He would then return to Zeeland, the prince of Parma having communicated with him as to the service he might render there. He has frankly placed all this before me; he is a

1586.

Catholic, like his brother, as I was assured by a Jesuit whom he harboured for six months in his house, and who administered the sacraments to them whilst I was in England. He has on other occasions proved himself to be a man of spirit and resolution, and I doubt not, if he return to Zeeland, he will perform some signal service to God and your Majesty, because he points out to me very sensibly that until the Queen and the English grow sick of the war, and a larger number of (English) Catholics shall have gone over to Holland in the hope that there they may enjoy freedom of conscience, and so serve your Majesty there as to lead you to bring their own country to the Catholic religion, nothing serious can be attempted. I will give him a letter for your Majesty, as not only do I see no objection to this, as he is desirous of being accompanied through Spain, but that it will be a great service to send him and let him carry out his plan. It is very beneficial for your Majesty to have such men in Holland, and they should not only be welcomed but sought. He tells me he does not desire anything until his service is rendered, and is quite sure your Majesty will not let him starve. It will be well for your Majesty to order a grant to be given to encourage him in his desires. He is a man of 34 or 36 years of age, of good disposition, lean, and well built, with a fair beard, and he has between his eyebrows a slight scar at the root of the nose. The little finger of his left hand is contracted.*

Postscript.—As Pointz has to go to Lyons to receive the 200 crowns, I have thought best not to give him the letter to your Majesty, but rather a passport and an order, so that on his arrival in Biscay he may present himself to Garcia de Arce, or, if he goes to Barcelona, to the Viceroy.—Paris, 6th March 1586.

6 March. Paris Archives, K. 1564.58.

430. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The only news from England is that the fitting out of ships is still going forward, and that Englishmen continue to flock over to Zeeland, where, they say, great quantites of them were dying of a flux of blood. The earl of Leicester had assumed the superintendence of the clergy there, and had made himself head of the Church, as the Queen did in England. The Queen is said to be annoyed at his going so far as this, seeing that heretics generally will be displeased at it.

* In a letter from Leicester to Walsingham, 17th March (Leycester Correspondence), he thus complains that Pointz should have been sent to Spain :—"Touching Pointes "of whome you wryte I am sory he is sent any other waye. I delivered him an "hundred poundes and he promised me to have gone into the enemyes campe. . . . "Perhaps you will not very plainly understand whome I meane ; hit ys Anto. Poyntz "whome I sent over to gyve you knoledge how I had imployed him to the enemyes "camp, a matter of most nede for me and I marvelled that I hard (heard) not from "him within these iiij days. My nephew Phillip told me he received a letter from "him that you had sent him into Spayn, whereof I am hartyly sorry, having greatly "disapoyntd me, having not one to suply that place nowe and a great tyme lost also, "that you dyd not at first gyve me knoledge of yt." To this Walsingham replied on the 1st April :—"Touching the party that is gon to Spayne whome your lordship "wyshed rather to have ben imployed amongst the malcontentes, yt grewe of himselfe "uppon a conceypt that being recommended by the kyng of Spayn unto the prince of "Parma he shall be better able to serve your lordship's torne."

1586.

I understand that the earl of Leicester is suspicious of St. Aldegonde and other Ministers who have been with the rebels from the first, and it is even asserted here that he has imprisoned them, but of this I am not sure.

The Queen had made three new members of the Council of State (Privy Council), namely, Cobham, warden of the Cinque Ports, Lord Buckhurst, and the archbishop of Canterbury. The king of France has news that the queen of England will not allow the ambassador sent by him to Scotland (to communicate) with the French ambassador in England.* When Pinart read the despatch to him, the former said that this was not the way to preserve peace with France.† Some people think that these words were serious, but they were not, as Pinart is more devoted to the queen of England than any other Minister in France.

They have martyred in England two priests who had been exiled and had returned to labour in that vineyard. They suffered with holy firmness. God be praised for thus giving them strength and spirit to return, for there are more priests in England now than ever there were.—Paris, 6th March 1586.

30 March. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 65.

431. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Letters from England dated 12th, advise that the Queen had sent Master Heneage of her chamber, to Holland to see the earl of Leicester. Some people thought the object was to reprehend him for certain things, others that it was to inform him that Lord Grey was going over with troops, and to arrange for Leicester's return.‡

Four of the Queen's ships fully armed were at the mouth of the Thames. The others were said to be still in course of preparation, but it is asserted that only four of them were seaworthy, all the rest being old and rotten. Some new vessels were therefore being built with all speed at a port at the mouth of the Thames in Kent, at Plymouth, and other places. The Queen has also some armed merchant ships, but with no intention at present of undertaking any particular voyage, they being simply ready awaiting the Queen's orders. Nine thousand mariners also had been notified all over the country to hold themselves in readiness in case of need. Some of the ships are constantly sallying under letters of marque to plunder, as the Queen is quite ready to grant such letters against your Majesty's subjects.

* As an instance of the care with which Philip read the despatches, the decipherer had omitted the above words in brackets, and the King has put a marginal note pointing out the omission.

† The king of France, writing to his ambassador in Scotland, Baron d'Esneval, 9th March, instructs him to address the Queen's ambassador (Randolph) when he should arrive in Scotland,—"Comme de vous mesmes, vous plaindre à luy du peu de "moyen que vous avez de m'escripre par la voye d'Angleterre, et à mon ambassadeur "y résidant, combien que la royne d'Angleterre l'ait tousjours eu et l'ait encores en "mon royaume. Ce que j'ay faict dire en semblable a son ambassadeur residant ici "et escript au sieur de Chateauneuf en faire instance envers la royne d'Angleterre et "ses ministres principaux."—Lettres d'Esneval in Chéruel's "Marie Stuart et Catharine de Medici."

‡ A copy of Sir Thomas Heneage's instructions and the correspondence relative to his mission will be found in the "Leycester Correspondence" (Camden Society).

1586.

She was sending Master Randolph, her master of the posts, on a mission to Scotland to press the King to allow the 5,000 men to go to Holland, whose going over to aid the States has been under discussion for some time past. It may be supposed that the French ambassador there (*i.e.* Scotland) will not help forward this design as he began to oppose the raising of these men as soon as he arrived there.

A Scotch ship whilst passing Greenwich fired a salute, and the Queen happened to ask where she had come from. She was told that the vessel had just arrived from Spain, whereupon she ordered the master to be summoned and asked him from what port he had sailed, and what news he brought. He said he had come from Lisbon, and that your Majesty was preparing a great naval force. He had seen especially 27 galleons in Lisbon, which were not ships but floating fortresses. The Queen enquired what was the reported purpose of this armament, and he replied that some people said it was for Rochelle, others for Flanders, and others for England. When the Queen heard this she turned to Secretary Walsingham, who was present, and said a few words to him which the ship-master did not understand; after which she threw a slipper at Walsingham and hit him in the face, which is not a very extra-ordinary thing for her to do, as she is constantly behaving in such a rude manner as this.—Paris, 30th March 1586.

28 April. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 73.

432. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.
[EXTRACT.]

(Acknowledges letters of 17th and 28th February, 6th and 30th March, and 1st April.)

I can well believe the difficulty you will find in obtaining trustworthy reports from England, and that you will have used every effort in this respect as you say; but it is a matter of such great importance at present that reports should be obtained, that I must again enjoin you expressly not to be satisfied with the news you may be able to glean from the French Embassy in England (although that is a good way too), but by every other channel to seek information, sending men specially by the intervention of Muzio (*i.e.* the duke of Guise) and through the Scots ambassador, if you are intimate with him, as I think you are. They will be sure to have men whom they can trust, and some pretext for sending them, without even the men who go knowing that they are being sent at your instance. The most important thing of all is, that you should ascertain and report about naval armaments, in what ports, and to what extent, preparations are being made; if at the expense of the Queen, or on account of the merchants or Companies; the length of time for which victuals are provided; what men are being shipped on board, these being concrete points from which we can deduce the intentions they have in view. Be also very particular in reporting whether any of Drake's ships have arrived in England with intelligence of what had taken place at Santo Domingo; and whether they were sending him aid, as I am informed from Lisbon (copy of which report I now enclose). You will pay great attention

1586.

to this point, as you will see its importance; and I shall also be glad to hear what effect is produced there by the sailing of the fleet, which you will have heard is to be taken out by the marquis of Santa Cruz. You will make every effort to discover whether the offers made by the Queen-mother to Don Antonio, in case a general peace is concluded, are merely compliments, or with a desire to wean him away from England back to France again, or whether there is anything serious behind it. Try to find out also whether the Queen-mother and the queen of England might not come to some understanding on this point, in the afore-mentioned case of a peace being made.

If Antony Pointz comes hither he shall be received in accordance with your advice, although it is quite possible that he may have used all these subterfuges in order to have a better pretext for coming, and learning what is going on here. We shall write to the prince of Parma; but it will be well for you also to advise him, so that he may be on the watch and see Pointz's hand.—The Pardo, 28th April 1586.

Note.—In compliance with constantly repeated requests for money from Mendoza, a credit was sent with the above letter for 12,000 crowns, accompanied by a note in Idiaquez's hand, telling him to send 4,000 crowns of this amount to the queen of Scotland, "on "account of the 12,000 granted her years ago, which in future shall "be paid to her, as has been promised to Englefield who has pressed "the matter for her. He says you may safely send the money by "the man who collects her revenue in France."

11 May. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 79.

433. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

Biron has assured some of his friends that the King is hatching a secret plot which no one has been able to fathom, although, he says, it must come out within the next six months, as things cannot last as they are, with the putting of an army on a war footing after treating for peace. When his (the King's) mother pressed him the other day about the marriage of the princess of Lorraine, he told her not to trouble herself further in the matter, as he had obtained what he wanted, and would now very shortly be able to overthrow some of his enemies and avenge himself upon others.* There is indeed no person of judgment who doubts that the King is plotting something with Secretary Villeroy, and that Belièvre is in league with them. The Grand Chancellor and other Ministers complain also that for the last two months the King will not listen to business of any sort, and although he sits up nearly

* This doubtless refers to the intrigues now known to have been in progress at the time between Henry III. and the king of Navarre, who was at the head of a Huguenot army against the League and the Guises. It was proposed that Navarre should openly profess himself a Catholic; and the expressions employed in the present letter would seem to point to an intention on the part of Henry III. even thus early to avenge himself personally upon the duke of Guise as soon as he should have strengthened his position by gaining over the Huguenots. The whole intrigue fell through later in the year, when at an interview between the Queen-mother and Navarre at the castle of St. Bris near Cognac, Henry de Bourbon refused to change his religion.

1586.

every night writing memoranda in his own hand until two in the morning, he burns them all the next day. They say that all he writes is about the religious orders, and the ceremonies to be observed by the monks in his monasteries. As he changes every hour, and from many other indications, Muzio (*i.e* the duke of Guise) tells me that the Chancellor assures him that the King's reason is unhinged, and it is feared he will shortly lose it altogether. They are more apprehensive of this, and its possible evil result, than of his otherwise poor health. The English ambassador in audience the other day, warned him in the name of his mistress that the Guises and the Catholic princes were in close communication with your Majesty, and that if he did prevent them by making a peace they would take his crown away from him. He replied that he knew it well, but that things had gone too far and he could not stop them now. He said there was no better remedy than for Bearn to become a Catholic, by which all his claims would be assured.

I have asked Muzio whether he had any man in Normandy who could be sent to ascertain the condition of naval armaments in England. He replied that it would not be convenient to send anyone from Normandy, but he would give me a man who should go with letters for the French ambassador (in England) on a pretext of some affair of the queen of Scotland, and I might send anyone I liked with him in the character of a servant, who could stay some days in London and obtain information of the preparations, as it would arouse suspicion for him to go round the ports, and the ambassador would not aid him to do it. Muzio thought it would be better to send an Italian than a man of any other nation, but as I cannot find any such man at present fit for the task (pressing as the matter is, in view of the armaments), I have not asked Muzio to provide me with the messenger and letters. Another reason is that I have not a groat to give them, and I am quite sure that neither Muzio's man nor the other one will be satisfied with a trifle. I therefore again humbly supplicate your Majesty to send me funds for my extraordinary expenses, as I have not been paid a single penny for the whole 10 months that I have been here.

Charles Arundel, an English gentleman, to whom your Majesty granted eighty crowns pension a month, in respect of the queen of Scotland, was constantly in the house of the English ambassador here, when he was in Paris, which Muzio assures me was at his instructions, as the English ambassador* was needy, and he, Muzio, had given him 3,000 crowns. In return for this the ambassador gave him certain information through this Charles Arundel, to whom I gave letters for your Majesty when he went to Spain. I did this at the request of Muzio, and as he took with him very much more money than he stated, I have some suspicion that he may have gone at the instance of the English ambassador, in order to discover something in your Majesty's court, by which means he

* Sir Edward Stafford.

1586.

would be sure of obtaining the favour of the queen of England. This may be concluded from the extreme care with which she obtains intelligence by every possible means of your Majesty's designs, and although I have found nothing at all to inculpate Arundel, it will be advisable for your Majesty to send him and the rest of them away from your court.*

The King and his mother have rejoiced extremely (and so particularly has Epernon) at Drake's action at Santo Domingo and elsewhere, about which they say a thousand absurdities.† The French ambassador in England writes that the rage of the English for plunder is for ever increasing now that they see your Majesty is not arming, and this King and his mother are blowing the flame all they can. They are also helping the Flemings so much, that, upon my asking for a passport at the request of the prince of Parma for the salt that had been sent from Spain for Flanders, where it was much needed, and had been detained in Calais, they roundly refused me, although I promised that in case of salt being wanted here (where there is an abundance of it) I would have an equal quantity to that now detained sent hither within four months. I then asked for permission for the s hips bringingsalt from Spain to discharge at Calais, and send the salt overland for the three leagues to Flanders; and this they also refused with the greatest roughness in the world.

They have also influenced the English Catholics here to write to those in England on no account to trust your Majesty or depend upon your aid, which, under cover of subjecting the country to the Catholic religion, would really aim at conquering their country. It is to be believed that they (the English Catholics) will take no notice of this, as they have sent a priest‡ to me, on behalf of the principal Catholics, to say that God has infused more courage than ever into them, and has opened their eyes to the fact that no time is so opportune as the present to shake off the oppression of the Queen and the yoke of heresy that weighs upon them, since most of the strongest heretics were now absent in Zeeland. They say that, as I have never yet deceived them, they beg me to tell them whether your Majesty had determined to help them to take up arms when they decided to do so. I replied in general terms, speaking of your

* There appears to have been no ground for this suspicion of Charles Arundel, who subsequently became the principal intermediary between Mendoza and the English ambassador in Paris (Stafford). Charles Paget writes to the queen of Scots, 31st March, that Arundel had been gained over by the English and sent to Spain by them to spy out the naval preparations there.—(Hatfield papers, part 3. Hist. M.S.S. Com.).

† News had just arrived that Drake had completely sacked and spoiled Santo Domingo, and had "left the island on the 22nd January with all the riches of the "island, having also taken five great galleons. He had found great provision of oil, "wine, rice, and 350 brass pieces with powder and shot. He took away with him "1,200 English, French, and Flemish, who were in prison there besides 800 captives of "the country." An account of Drake's action will be found in the Colonial Calendar Addenda, 1574—1674.

‡ This was John Ballard, who was introduced to Mendoza by Charles Paget. *See* letter, Paget to the queen of Scots (Hatfield Papers, Part III., p. 141), and Thomas Morgan to the queen of Scots (same, p. 147), by which it will be clearly seen that the writer was then cognisant of Ballard's errand, namely, to propose to Mendoza the murder of Queen Elizabeth.

1586.

Majesty's goodwill towards them, and encouraging them in their good intentions, and I sent the priest back well posted in what I thought necessary, and told him to return to me with full details, as in so important a matter we must have more than generalities.—Paris, 11th May 1586.

11 May. **434.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 81.

As confirmation comes from all sides of the armaments in England, I have decided to obtain intelligence about them by means of sending an Englishman to London, a man who is recommended to me by Paget as being thoroughly trustworthy. He has already left, and takes with him credences for friends of mine in London, and also other letters from Charles Paget requesting them to dispatch men to all the ports to inquire fully into the armaments, and report the result under cover through the French ambassador in London. If they cannot do this they are requested to send back this man fully informed verbally. I have also sent specially to the priest who came to me from the English Catholics to delay his return hither for a week, in order that he and his friends might take similar steps. I have also asked the Scots ambassador for some Scotsman for a like task, and he has promised to find me one with the same diligence as he always displays in your Majesty's interests, sending me as he does instant advice of everything, even at midnight. In acknowledgment of this, and of the fact that every interview that Iñiguez and I have had with Muzio has been arranged by him, the letters all being sealed with his own hand, I did not think it would be too much to make him a present, but, as he is a man who could only be offered a very large sum in money, I took the opportunity of his having greatly admired a tapestry bed of mine, and I had it dismounted and sent to him. The value of it is 380 crowns, and I have considered it advantageous to your Majesty thus to mark your approval of his services. Charles Paget also is doing his best to serve your Majesty here, and both he and Lord Paget, his brother, well deserve the pensions your Majesty has been pleased to bestow upon them.

An English priest, whom I know well for a good soul, and who is now at Rouen, and used to administer the sacraments to the countess of Arundel, has informed me that, much as he is indebted to that family, his first duty is towards his conscience, and he feels himself bound to say that Charles Arundel had gone to Spain by orders of the queen of England, in order to discover what was being done there, she having supplied him with money for the purpose. This confirms my suspicion, and your Majesty should order him to return.*—Paris, 11th May 1586.

11 May. **435.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 82.

Since my last advices about England I have heard that the earl of Leicester (who has himself addressed as "your Highness") is

* In the King's hand: "It will be well to send him away, and give him fresh attendants."

1586.

again pressing the Queen to send troops, and that she would order the raising of the men mentioned in the statement I send enclosed, which will reach a large number if she carries out the intention. Master Randolph was also pressing in Scotland for the raising of 4,000 Scotsmen for Zeeland, the money being provided by the queen of England. This is confirmed by fresh letters from Scotland, but as the money had not come nothing had been done.

Letters from England, dated 31st March, report that the Queen had ordered the recall of those who were sailing under letters of marque, the object being for them to await in port news of Drake, and then to proceed accordingly. Letters of 15th and 21st April confirm this, and add that, when the news arrived of Drake's having sacked the city of Porto Rico, in the island of Santo Domingo, some 20 ships had left the ports of Chichester, Exmouth, Weymouth, and Dartmouth, to unite in Plymouth. Some of them were of 250 and 300 tons burden, and they were being fitted out with furious haste by the means of Bernard Drake, uncle of (Francis) Drake, for the purpose of their going out to the help of his nephew, the intention being, it is said, to sack the island of Cuba as he had done the island of Santo Domingo. The report is that they will sail at the end of May, and will take victuals for six months, but I have been unable yet to learn what men they take.

Sir Harry Cavendish, son of the countess of Shrewsbury, was also making ready. He served as Colonel of the Flemish rebels in the time of Don John, and is now fitting out seven ships in the river at London. The earl of Cumberland was fitting out three, one of which was of 600 tons and another of 300, which he had purchased of merchants, his professed intention being to go to the Moluccas. It is said that he also would sail at the end of May. I have spoken to a person who has recently come from London and have seen these ships, and, when I asked for what length of time victuals were being provided and the strength of the crews, the man told me that he was unable to say, as at the time of his departure it was not decided, only that they were being got ready in a great hurry in consequence of the news of Drake's exploit.

Things were quiet in Scotland, and the King, who was in Edinburgh, had ordered Claude Hamilton, who went from here, to remain always near his person. He had also liberated Lord Morton, who had been arrested as a Catholic.

I send herewith a document published by the Lord Admiral of England, to the effect that the only prizes taken from your Majesty, which will be considered lawful, are the ships containing stockfish. I have fresh advices from England, dated 21st, which confirm the rumours of the fitting out of the afore-mentioned ships, but assert that the Queen is not assisting in the preparations, which were being undertaken entirely by private persons. In order to complete the 20 ships which Bernard Drake said he would take out, Don Antonio offered to provide four. It had been impossible to discover exactly whether they would really leave at the end of May, how many men they would take, or for how long a time they were to be provisioned.—Paris, 11th May 1586.

1586.

Postscript.—After closing this letter advices have arrived from the French ambassador in England, dated 28th ultimo, saying that the Queen had ordered all French Catholics to leave the country within six days. No one was allowed to enter her chamber except her own sworn domestic servants. The people of Holland and Zeeland had offered to fit out twelve ships to join those of the queen of England.

11 May. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 83.

436. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

With regard to Don Antonio, I have to report that he is in London, and that the Queen has given him 3,000 crowns to pay certain debts. She has also assigned him a yearly pension of 8,000 crowns, of 10 reals each,* which amounts to a little more than the 6,000 sun-crowns they gave him here. The French King and his mother greatly praise the English Queen's reception and treatment of him; whilst, at the same time, they keep feeding him on the hope of the great things they will do for him after they have concluded peace. There is nothing serious in it yet, however, and they only wish to keep him in hand in view of eventualities. I cannot hear of any close understanding between the Queen-mother and the queen of England to help him in common either in any particular enterprise or in arming ships. Sampson wishes to retire for the rest of his life to Spain or Portugal, and begs for money for his journey and maintenance.†—Paris, 11th May 1586.

12 May. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 86.

437. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

I beg you to have the following very carefully deciphered and put it into His Majesty's own hands. It is written and ciphered by me personally. I am advised from England by four men of position who have the run of the Queen's house, that they have discussed for the last three months the intention of killing her. They have at last agreed, and the four have mutually sworn to do it. They will on the first opportunity advise me when it is to be done, and whether by poison or steel, in order that I may send the intelligence to your Majesty, supplicating you to be pleased to help them after the business is effected. They say that they will not divulge the intention to another soul but me, to whom they are under great obligations, and in whose secrecy they have confidence.—Paris, 12th May 1586.

Note.—In another letter of the same date to Idiaquez, Mendoza mentions the arrival in Paris of a German sent by the king of Denmark to Philip II.; but as he fears this may be a trick of the queen of England, "to scent out what is passing in Spain," he wishes to put the King (Philip) on his guard. In an autograph

* The "real plata," or silver real, was worth within a fraction of 5*d.*, so that the "crowns" in question would be equal to about 50 pence each.

† In a note to this the King writes, "Let what is proper be done in this respect also, "but still, if possible, it would be better to provide for him in Paris." Sampson or Sanson (Antonio de Escobar) was a Portuguese agent in France, ostensibly representing the interests of Don Antonio, but really a spy for Philip.

1586.

note to this the King says, "This man cannot have come, and I do not know what his object can be."

14 May. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 89.

438. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA. [EXTRACT.]

I have pressed you most urgently to give reports from England, especially as to the fitting out of ships, their destination, whether they are going to the Indies, and all other particulars, such as the number of the ships, their strength in men, etc. You will understand how important this is to guide me as to the route to be taken by my fleet which is to sail under the marquis of Santa Cruz, and I once more enjoin you to obtain this information for me. If possible, also, I should like to know what news they have of Drake, and what orders they are sending him as to his retreat, or if aid is going to him, and by what route. This is of great moment, and if you can possibly obtain the intelligence, send it on to me by all means, flying, and continue the same care in future.—Toledo, 14th May 1586.

15 May. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 90. Latin.

439. GEORGE, EARL OF HUNTLY, to PHILIP II.

As nothing distinguishes your Majesty more than the help you extend to other princes, which is especially proved by the kindly interest you have ever shown in the case of my Queen and her son, apart from your earnest zeal for the Catholic faith which is acclaimed through all Christendom, I venture to address the present letter to your Majesty.

As our King is at present, by the intrigues of his insidious sister, the queen of England, in the power of his enemies, I, together with other nobles, have taken counsel together, and by the advice of the duke of Guise, have decided to beg your Majesty to aid us in placing him in his former liberty and restoring the Catholic faith in the realm. For many reasons, a successful issue may confidently be anticipated. The queen of England and her policy are not popular even in her own country, and I, and others of my kin and faith, with the most potent men in this country, appeal fervently to your Majesty to help us in this holy work of vindicating the liberty of our King and the integrity of our Catholic faith now utterly down-trodden in our country. Not only will your Majesty gain by so doing immortal lustre for your name, but solid advantage for yourself. Begs full credence for Robert Bruce, a nobleman of proved trust and a good Catholic, and prays for a prompt answer to their prayer.—Elgin Moraviæ, 15th May 1586.

Majestatis Vestræ Catholicæ, Humillimus et obsequentissimus servus. Georgius, Comes de Huntlye.

20 May. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 91.

440. LORD CLAUDE HAMILTON to PHILIP II.

A letter, similar in effect to the aforegoing, mentioning besides Huntly, Morton, and the writer, Crawford and Montrose, as joining in the appeal.—Edinburgh, 20th May 1586.

1586.
20 May. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 92.

441. JOHN, EARL OF MORTON, to PHILIP II.

A letter similar in effect to the aforegoing.

The Catholic religion in Scotland is totally collapsed, and the only hope of a revival is the aid of an armed force from without. —Edinburgh, 20th May 1586.

Note.—It would appear from a remark in a subsequent letter from Mendoza to the King that these three letters from the Scottish nobles were written in Paris from the dictation of the duke of Guise, Robert Bruce having taken with him to Paris the papers in blank, signed at the bottom by the three nobles in question, who left the whole matter to be managed for them by the duke of Guise. The particulars of the help they demanded will be seen in other letters included in this Calendar. *See* note page 595.

20 May. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 93. French.

442. The QUEEN OF SCOTLAND to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

By your two last letters of 10th February and 26th July 1585, which only reached me on the 20th April last, I have been pleased to learn of the good choice that the Catholic King has made in sending you as his ambassador to reside in France, in accordance with the request I formerly made to him. I have been so strictly guarded during the last 18 months here, that all secret means of intelligence failed me, until last Lent, when Morgan contrived to open the present one. As I have received nothing else yet, I do not know how he will have proceeded in the promotion of our designs, and I am perplexed as to the best course to adopt here. William (Paget) has been instructed by me to convey to you certain overtures from me, and I beg you will impart to him freely what you think can be obtained from the King, in order that I may not importune him if you think I am not likely to succeed. There is another point, however, upon which I have preferred to write to you privately, in order, if possible, that you may communicate it to the King without any other person learning of it. Considering the great obstinacy of my son in his heresy, for which, I can assure you, I weep and lament day and night, more even than for my own calamity, and foreseeing how difficult it will be for the Catholic church to triumph if he succeeds to the throne of England, I have resolved that, in case my son should not submit before my death to the Catholic religion (of which I may say that I see but small hope, whilst he remains in Scotland), I will cede and make over, by will, to the King your master, my right to the succession to this (*i.e.* the English) crown, and beg him consequently to take me in future entirely under his protection, and also the affairs of this country. For the discharge of my own conscience, I could not hope to place them in the hands of a prince more zealous in our Catholic faith, or more capable, in all respects of re-establishing it in this country, as the interests of all Christendom demand. I am obliged in this matter to consider the public welfare of the Church before the private aggrandisement of my posterity. I again beg you most urgently that this should be kept secret, as if it becomes known it will cause the

1586.

loss of my dowry in France, and bring about an entire breach with my son in Scotland, and my total ruin and destruction in England.

Pray thank from me the King my brother, for his kindness and generosity to Lord Paget and his brother William, whom I trust most affectionately he will continue to favour for my sake, and to grant some pension to poor Morgan, who has endured so much, not for me alone but for the common cause. My experience of him enables me to assure you of his entire fidelity, and his sincere behaviour as an honest man in all with which he has hitherto been entrusted. I also recommend Foljambe to you as being worthy of some aid, in addition to the allowance I have granted him out of my poor dowry, which I am sorry is not large enough to satisfy them all as I should like, and they deserve.—Chartley, England, 20th May 1586.

Note.—This letter is included in prince Labanoff's collection.

30 May. Paris Archives, K. 1564 . 101.

443. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I have received letters from England dated 20th and 22nd instant, advising the arrival there on the 7th of an ambassador from the king of Denmark, with three great ships well armed with 300 men. He had not yet seen the Queen, but his mission is understood to be to ask her the reason why she was making war upon your Majesty, and taking under her protection the Netherlands. He is to point out to her how much better it would be for her to come to an agreement on reasonable conditions; but if your Majesty refused such conditions, he, the king of Denmark, would be the first person to join her in making war upon you. At the date of the report no ships had left England, and the preparations are, as I have previously mentioned, all on account of private persons. Eight large ships were being got ready for sea at Norwich, which, although they were ostensibly in the names of merchants, were really under orders from the Queen, and were specially for an enterprise of Don Antonio, who signified to the Queen his intention of going with them in person. These eight ships would not be ready to sail under two months. By next letters I will advise tonnage, and the crews and stores they take. A muster of mariners had been called in London of the sailors who work the little vessels they call *boats* there. There were 250 of them, and the Queen ordered them to go on board of two galleys, which they did, to fight the Dunkirk ships. Lord Sidney* father of Philip Sidney, had died on the 17th, and it was believed that Philip Sidney would consequently return from Flushing to England.

On the 1st May the Queen sent Mildmay, one of the Privy Councillors, to Scotland with 4,000*l.*, to be paid there on the conclusion of the offensive and defensive alliance with the King, who is to receive 6,000*l.* a year pension from her, on condition of

* Sir Henry Sidney, formerly viceroy of Ireland, who had married Lady Mary Dudley the sister of Leicester.

1586.

his banishing the earl of Arran and the rest of his party from Scotland. To ratify the terms of the treaty the earl of Rutland and Lord (?) Randolph had been appointed Commissioners, and were to be at Berwick on the 20th July.* The French party in Scotland were still objecting that this treaty could not legally be entered into without the intervention of the king of France.

The king of Scotland had sent to ask the queen of England for some money for the raising of 4,000 Scotsmen to be sent to Holland and Zeeland.—Paris, 30th May 1586.

9 June. Paris Archives, K. 1564 . 106.

444. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In accordance with your Majesty's orders that I am to write by various channels, I send the present letter by the ordinary merchant-post which start from Rouen. Although it is slow I have not lost any despacthes sent by it yet. I have been trying for months past, as your Majesty now orders, to ascertain whether Drake had instructions from the Queen to undertake any particular enterprise agreed upon beforehand. As, however, they consider him a man of such great experience in this navigation, by reason of his previous monstrous robbery, I understand that he did not take precise orders from the Queen, except to plunder as much as he could, to enable her to sustain the war in Flanders, leaving the details entirely to his discretion. When I was in England, this was the offer that Drake was always making to the Queen, namely, to go out and rob your Majesty's fleets, whenever she pleased to provide him with ships for the purpose. The idea of landing and establishing himself on shore and awaiting reinforcements from England was one that the Queen's Council, and the English in general, regarded as extremely difficult of execution, because of the impossibility of their carrying merchandise for trade, their ships being, as usual, three-quarters loaded with victuals, so that even for shorter voyages than this the cost would be prohibitive. If the expedition, moreover, were composed of ships fitted out by separate private persons, they would have no confidence in one another, no assurance that each one would not leave the rest to plunder on his own account, and disappear as soon as he took a prize.

Notwithstanding what I say, I have written again to England, asking that every effort may be made to elucidate the point. I have no fresher news than that contained in my last, to the effect that no ships had left up to that time, although the English ambassador here has declared that 20 ships had sailed to reinforce Drake, since the reception of the news of his exploit at Santo

* The principal articles of this offensive and defensive alliance were that both parties were bound to defend the evangelical religion in either kingdom. They were mutually to protect each other from invasion, and Elizabeth undertook that no steps should be taken to derogate in any degree from the claims of the king of Scots to the English crown. (*See* Spotswood, p. 351.) Baron d'Esneval, the French ambassador to Scotland, who had tried unsuccessfully to frustrate the conclusion of the treaty of Berwick, was shortly afterwards recalled.

1586.

Domingo. There is no truth in this, except that private pirates have left some of the ports, each on his own account to rob as best he might, some going to Newfoundland to plunder the fishing boats. It has been impossible to ascertain whether the Queen has received news from Drake by a vessel sent by him, as no men from such a ship have been seen,* nor has anything been heard of it, except the information sent from Seville, and that given by some French ships which were at Santo Domingo and have arrived at Havre de Grace with hides, sugar, and cochineal. They (the French) report that Drake found that all the people of Santo Domingo and Porto Rico had fled to the mountains, having saved most of the treasure of the country, and that on Drake threatening to burn all the houses they came to an agreement to pay him 50,000 crowns as a ransom for them.

News comes from Rouen that they hear from London of the sailing of 20 ships to join Drake, four of them of 500 tons each, but they do not say who was in command, nor which port they sailed from, nor the day of departure, which proves the news to be untrue. It was probably founded on the intelligence I sent, of the four merchant ships that had left the Thames to join others in Plymouth. —Paris, 9th June 1586.

24 June. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 110.

445. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

My last news from England, dated the 11th instant, advise the continuance of the preparation of ships, although there was a lack of sailors, in consequence of so large a number having gone with Drake and private pirates, as well as those employed in the Flushing communications.

I am informed that Don Antonio is in great alarm at seeing how desirous the Queen is to come to terms with your Majesty, and my confidants have been telling me for months past that she had been approaching the prince of Parma on the subject. I reported this to the Prince, but he denied it, saying that people who sent such intelligence could not have much understanding. I communicated this to my agents in England, who again asserted the truth of their statement, and said that a servant of Cecil's had gone to Calais on the matter; Graffina,† a Genoese merchant, afterwards going to see the prince of Parma about it, with a Fleming named André de Loo whom I know.

On the 11th the Danish ambassador was in England, and the Queen writes to her ambassador here, telling him to spread the news underhand, that he (the Danish ambassador) had come from

* The Queen does not seem to have received official or direct news of Drake's exploits at Santo Domingo and the Spanish Main until the arrival of Richard Hawkins at Exeter on the 22nd July. (*See* letter from Fitz and Hale to Lord Burleigh of that date, Hatfield Papers, part III).

† Agostino Graffini had formerly been employed in the great commercial house of Spinola in London. By a letter in the "Leycester Correspondence" from Walsingham to Leicester, dated 21st April (1st May), it would appear that the first approaches had been made by Parma to Graffini. This, and the subsequent peace negotiations undertaken at the instance of Parma, were simply feints to put the English off their guard whilst the naval preparations were being made for the invasion of England.

1586.

his master to recommend her to make terms with your Majesty, for which purpose your Majesty had bribed the king of Denmark. This report is accordingly current here, but the French see plainly how burdened she is with the war, and how desirous she is to become reconciled with your Majesty.—Paris, 24th June 1586.

24 June. Paris Archives, K. 1564.112.

446. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to JUAN DE IDIAQUEZ.

I forgot to tell you that Captain Vasco Duarte (Pacheco) shot at the English ambassador here, and others, and then disappeared. I only gave him 20 crowns at different times, holding back until I received His Majesty's instructions as to how I should treat him.

The four men who had taken the resolution, about which I wrote to you on the 11th ultimo, have again assured me that they are agreed that it shall be done by steel when opportunity occurs. One of them is confessed and absolved every day, and says that there is no need for the others in the business at all.

A cataract has completely blinded the writer's left eye, and on the recommendation of surgeons and oculists he has decided to have it couched with the needle when the weather becomes warmer. He cites the case of a lady friend whose sight had been improved by a similar operation.—Paris, 24th June 1586.

24 June. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 113.

447. UNSIGNED Advices from LONDON.

Philip Sidney, a relative of the earl of Leicester, has been pressing the Queen urgently to let him return to England, but his petition has been firmly refused, and his wife has therefore made ready to join him. With regard to the information you ask me to send you respecting the naval preparations being made here, I can assure you that there are none, and no appearance of any being made, as we all of us here believe. There recently arrived here an Englishman who assured everybody that the king of Spain was making no naval preparations, as had been said, but that he only had some old patched up ships in Biscay, and some similar ones in Lisbon. Nevertheless they (the English), not feeling very confident of such news, have decided to send four or five little vessels to cruise off the coasts of Spain, Portugal, and France, to see whether they can discover any signs of warlike preparation. They have also a large ship in commission to cruise on the English coast and elsewhere to watch the coming and going of others. She is very well manned and found for her purpose, but at present there are no other preparations here. As soon as I can discover anything I will not fail to report it, unless in the meanwhile I may be in Holland, where I hope to perform some good service. I also hope shortly to be able to visit you in person. The Queen and Council have been consulting recently as to the establishment of a regular annual trade to the Spanish Indies, an arrangement by which the English merchants will constantly maintain 50 war ships fully provided with all munitions, and the Holland and Zeeland merchants will maintain an equal number on their part, so that they count upon

1586.

having 100 vessels always at sea for the voyage to and from the Indies. Nothing can be definitely settled, however, until the result of Drake's voyage be known, and the affairs of Holland decided, although our people are like old hounds which scent their prey from afar, in order to turn everything to their own advantage. So far as matters in Holland are concerned, they are happening every day more contrary to the intentions of the earl of Leicester. I mentioned to you in my last letter that the earl of Cumberland had ordered seven or eight ships to be fitted out, as well as others. It is now certain that these ships will first direct their course to the coast of Brazil, and afterwards to the Indies. The vessels are in excellent order, well provided with men and all necessary stores for the voyage. The delegates* for the conclusion of the alliance with Scotland have left, and the affair is now looked upon as settled. Great desire is felt here for the ending of the disturbances in France, and it is said that the King will make some arrangement with his subjects, such as was made before. It is quite certain now that the earl of Leicester is in very bad grace with the Queen, and is quite unable to effect a reconciliation with her or to obtain what he desires for his maintenance, as she looks upon him with great suspicion. He has made great efforts to be allowed to return and justify himself to the Queen in all things, but as he has been unable to obtain her permission he can only prosecute his enterprise with shame and dishonour, at the risk of losing the whole country, seeing that the town of Grave is lost,† so that I hope that, what with the suspicions of the Earl, entertained by the Queen, and what with his own failure, we shall soon be able to learn the aims of both of them with regard to Holland and Zeeland.—London, 24th June 1586.

26 June. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 114.

448. Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After closing the two general letters I send to your Majesty, the letter written to me by the queen of Scotland was deciphered and is enclosed herewith. As I consider it important‡ that no time should be lost its reaching you, I made it worth the while of this Frenchman, the bearer, to delay his departure, although, as I am in bed with my eyes bandaged, having this morning been couched for a cataract in my left eye, and being forbidden by the doctors to speak much, I shall not be able to say very much on the matter. I must observe, however, that for several months past, as I have previously reported, a very bad understanding exists between the queen of Scotland and her son. From what I could gather in England, I am convinced that this is caused by the over-weaning

* These were the earl of Rutland, Thomas Randolph, and W. Eyre.

† The loss of Grave was a serious blow, both to the cause of the Netherlanders and to Leicester's generalship. On the 31st May (9th June) the Earl sent Sir Thomas Heneage with the news to England. In a letter to Walsingham of that date Leicester "trusts that the traiterous losse of Grave shall not gether anie ill opinion of vs here; "for my part I have a cleare conscience." As a matter of fact both he and Count Hohenlohe had been completely out-generalled by Parma. *See* "Leycester Correspondence," and Strada. *De Bello Belgico.*

‡ *See* letter from the queen of Scotland to Mendoza, dated 20th May 1586, page 581.

1586.

ambition of the son, and I have consequently continued to write to the Queen to the effect that, if she be not quite certain that her son is a sincere Catholic, all that was done in his favour would bring the greater danger upon her. She saw this clearly in the matter of the association of the King with her in her rights, which she proposed to him, and he cast aside offhandedly. I also pointed out how little she had to thank the French for, because when your Majesty tried to obtain more liberty for her they threw obstacles in the way by every possible means, and drew closer than ever to the queen of England. Moreover, failing the queen of Scotland and her son, your Majesty is the direct legitimate heir to the crown of England. Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, was in the habit of saying that the duchy of Lancaster had been unlawfully usurped from your Majesty, and it is by that line that your Majesty's claim to the crown is established, as will be seen clearly by the genealogical tree of the kings of Scotland which was drawn up by the bishop of Ross, and sent by me last year to your Majesty.

William and Charles Paget are not at present here. When the former returns I will learn from him what message has been sent by the queen of Scotland in credence, and will immediately advise your Majesty, with the answer I send back, which will be in general terms, encouraging her, and expressing due acknowledgments for the trust she reposes in me, which of itself would oblige me to treat the matter with the secrecy she enjoins, even though my own great desire to serve her did not impel me thereto.

At the request of the duke of Guise and myself, the prince of Parma granted an allowance of 30 crowns a month to Godfrey Foljambe, as it is important in your Majesty's interests to keep the queen of Scotland well pleased, and it will be well for your Majesty to order the grant to be confirmed, and the Prince authorised to pay the allowance even whilst Godfrey is here in France. I think also that your Majesty should grant 40 crowns a month to Morgan, to be paid here, as he is the person who is most in the queen of Scotland's confidence, and with very good reason, as he is extremely faithful and intelligent. She mentions this in her letter, and it is further proved by his having found a way to communicate with her, although for the last year and a half he has been a prisoner in the Bastille here. Through his channels in England he has been able from his prison to write to the queen of Scotland after all means of access to her had been closed.* I well know what a subject for pleasure and rejoicing it will be to her if your Majesty will show such a favour as this to Morgan. Even apart from this, he thoroughly deserves it, in consideration of the information he gives me, both as regards English affairs and about the other prisoners in the Bastille, with whom he communicates, and amongst whom there are persons of importance, whose questions to him throw light on many matters. I wrote to the queen of

* Morgan's letters to the Queen at this period will be found in the Hatfield Papers, Part 3. The means of communication opened up by Morgan were connived at by the secret agents of Walsingham, and the letters all copied. Hence the discovery of the conspiracy and the ruin of the queen of Scots.

1586.

Scotland some time since, asking her to appoint the person who was to receive the 4,000 crowns for her. I must send this unsigned as my eyes are bandaged.—Paris, 24th June 1586.

30 June. **449.** UNSIGNED Advices from LONDON.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 115.

Since the earl of Leicester was daring enough to take the government of Holland and Zeeland in his own hands, the queen of England has regarded him with much disfavour, and has continued to hold a very bad opinion of him. She has, moreover, near her person many who are constantly trying to incense her the more against him; and since Grave was taken, the Earl has greatly lost credit here, as they look upon him as a very cowardly man. This has made the Hollanders themselves mutinous, on account of certain news that had been spread amongst them, namely, that the queen of England had made up her mind to abandon them, and make her peace with the Catholic King. The Earl was much frightened at this, seeing the condition of those who surrounded him on the one hand, and the suspicion of the queen of England against him on the other, and he thought of retiring to England. He only wrote to the Queen, however, by Thomas Heneage, praying Her Majesty to write and banish such an idea as this from the minds of the Hollanders, and assure them thus that she approved of his government. In order to persuade the Queen to this, the Earl has promised to maintain the war with the taxes drawn from the country itself, on condition that she will continue to contribute the 1,000 horse and 5,000 foot in accordance with her original promise to rescue the countries of Holland and Zeeland. He also requested permission to draw from England all the troops who were willing to volunteer for the war, and if she would not allow this, at least to let him raise men at his own cost, and that of the Hollanders, which troops might be brought from Scotland, Germany, and elsewhere, as might be found convenient. After the Queen had considered these requests, she decided to grant them; and she wrote to the Hollanders to-day saying that she would keep her word in all things, and approved of the government of the earl of Leicester. She also assured them that she would make no peace with the Catholic King, notwithstanding the news that reaches her from all sides of the great fleet which His Majesty is preparing, with the aid of various other Catholic Princes. They (the English) are not under any apprehension with regard to these preparations, but rather make fun of them, and I think well to let you know this, to comply with your request for full information on the point. We look upon it here as certain that the king of France will make peace with the heretics in order to disgrace the house of Lorraine.

When the Queen was going to chapel the other day, as usual in full magnificence, she was suddenly overcome with a shock of fear, which affected her to such an extent that she at once returned to her apartment, greatly to the wonder of those present. The confirmation of the alliance with Scotland is proceeding apace, and the delegates from both sides should meet at Berwick on the Border on the 18th instant.

1586.

Don Antonio is desirous of having a certain book printed, which he wishes to dedicate to the queen of England. It is to be filled with arguments intended to lead the Queen to aid him with 10,000 men for the recovery of Portugal.

As I have already advised, there are seven well found ships here bound for the coast of Brazil, amongst which is a barque of 60 tons belonging to Don Antonio, which is to guide them across the ocean. I have just heard that Lord Grey is to go to Holland with 10,000 men, but he is to hold them for the service of England whenever required.—London, 30th June 1586.

2 July. **450.** The QUEEN OF SCOTLAND to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 119. French.

The principal object of this note is to acknowledge the receipt of your last letters of 4th April, and to assure you that I do not in the slightest degree impute that the delay in the fulfilment of our designs is owing to any fault on the part of the Catholic King your master, my good brother, whose proceedings have always been so sound, both on the general ground of religion, and on those points which I have pressed as concerning my personal interests. I should be ungrateful, indeed, if I held any different opinion, and, since it is the will of God that I should suffer still, I am resigned to bend my neck beneath the yoke. On my conscience I do not regret this delay so much for my own sake, as for the affliction and misery in which I see daily plunged so many honest people in this country, for I resent more strongly the public calamity than my own. I have instructed my ambassador to speak to you, on my behalf, about the payment of some money advanced by Messrs. Paget, Arundel, and Morgan about three years ago, on the assurance of re-imbursement given to them in the name of his Holiness and the King your master. I beg you will endeavour to have them repaid, at it is not only reasonable but is important to me and my safety here, that they should have this money. God keep you in health.—Chartley, 2nd July 1586.

Note.—The above letter is published in prince Labanoff's collection.

16 July. **451.** The DUKE OF GUISE to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 121. French.

I have requested the Scots ambassador to communicate to you an enterprise of which for a long time past I have been laying the foundation with great pains, but have been unable hitherto to bring to fruition. I have now brought the principal Scots lords to the resolution which will be communicated to you, and which I am sure you will embrace willingly, seeing the goodwill you bear to the advancement of the Catholic religion. You will also not fail to recognise the advantage which may result therefrom to his Catholic Majesty, in any designs he may entertain on England. I have made an ample dispatch of the matter, and send it to His Majesty by a Scots gentleman who had been addressed to me by the said lords.* I have sent him from here direct, both on account of the

* Robert Bruce, of Bemie, sent by Huntly, Morton, and Claude Hamilton to Guise, with letters signed in blank by them for Guise to fill in and forward to the king of Spain. *See* note page 595.

1586.

road being safer, and to avoid his being discovered on his way through Paris. I also beg you to write a favourable despatch, and aid the matter to the best of your ability with your recommendation, etc.—16th July 1586.

July. **452.** DOCUMENT accompanying the aforegoing letter.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 121. French.

The Catholic princes and nobles of Scotland, in order to carry out the enterprise and resolution they have undertaken of re-establishing the Catholic religion in the country, driving out the English and liberating the King and his mother, humbly petition the Catholic King to grant them the following aid.

6,000 paid troops for one year only, to oppose the queen of England in case she should come against them. They (*i.e.* the Scots nobles) feel sufficiently strong themselves to overcome any opposition in the country itself.

150,000 crowns to meet the expenses of the raising of men and carrying on the war; which money as an evidence of their sincerity, they do not desire to be delivered into their hands, but that it should be deposited, so that they may draw against it as required, pledging their lands as security.

In order that they may be able to maintain their party, and oppose the designs of their enemies, they also pray His Majesty to be pleased to grant them such a further sum as he may think fit, for the two following years only.

By the grace of God, and the aid they now crave, and confidently expect from His Majesty, they are certain of being able successfully to carry through their holy enterprise.

They promise His Majesty that, in future, no levies of men against His Majesty, and in favour of the queen of England or others, shall be allowed to be made in Scotland.

They promise also to deliver into His Majesty's hands, at once or when His Majesty may think fit, one or two good ports in Scotland near the English border, to be used against the queen of England; and when their king is delivered from the custody of the rebels who force and hold him, they will make him again join the community of the church, to recognise the obligation he owes to his Catholic Majesty, and to enter into no marriage engagement except to the satisfaction of His Majesty.

18 July. **453.** The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 50.

[EXTRACT.]

With your last letter of 26th June, I received the copy of the letter written to you by the queen of Scotland, which I was very glad to read. She certainly has very greatly risen in my estimation, in consequence of what she there says; and has increased the devotion that I have ever felt to her interests, not so much because of what she says in my own favour (although I am very grateful for that also) as because she postpones her love for her son, which might be expected to lead her astray, for the service of our Lord, the common good of christendom, and particularly for that of England. You may send and tell her all this from me, and assure her that if she perseveres in the good path she has chosen, I hope

1586.

that God will bless her by placing her in possession of her own. You will add that I shall be very happy to undertake the protection of her person and interests as she requests, and you will be careful to keep the matter secret, in accordance with her wishes. If you have provided a good way of transmitting to her the 4,000 crowns which I recently ordered to be paid to her, you may send from the first money forwarded to you, which will be either by this courier or the next, an additional 4,000 crowns, and so on by instalments of similar amount, until the whole 12,000 crowns I granted to her shall have been paid.

My nephew the prince of Parma is being written to approving of what he did about Godfrey Foljambe, and telling him that when you advise him that it will be convenient to employ Godfrey in France he may be sent to you and paid his allowance. As the Queen also asks for an allowance for Morgan, I shall be glad to give him the 40 crowns you suggest, during my pleasure. You will pay him monthly out of the money in your hands, and put the amount to the account of extraordinary expenditure. As a way has been found of communicating to the Queen, you will do your best to encourage her, and convince her of the earnestness with which I long for the re-establishment of her affairs. You will report to me all you hear from her.—18th July 1586.

Note.—In another letter of the same date as the above, the King urges Mendoza again very forcibly to send him constant and trustworthy reports from England. "I do not gather from your "news that in addition to Drake's fleet, so many armed ships have "left England, as is stated in the relation of a German captain who "was a prisoner* amongst them, and recently arrived in Spain. I "send you a copy of his relation, in order that you may have copied "out the part of it which is true, and send it to me with all other "particulars you can learn of their armaments."

19 July. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 124.

454. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

The King and Queen-mother are quite convinced that the queen of England will come to terms with your Majesty, giving up anything your Majesty may like to demand, as she is not powerful enough to continue the war for any length of time. In order to prevent this they will not only promise her to make peace here, but they will use every stratagem they are able, to persuade her that they will not allow your Majesty to undertake the enterprise against England, which both the queen of England and people here say is the sole object of the fleet your Majesty is preparing.

* In the margin the King has written, "I do not understand that he was a prisoner of "Drake's, but of him whom he mentions in his relation (*i.e.* Richard Grenville). If this "be so the letter must be altered." This is an example of the extreme minuteness with which Philip followed the correspondence. The German captain's account here referred to is doubtless a long Latin relation of the events of Drake's voyage in the West Indies, which will be found in the Paris Archives (K. 1564, fol. 135). It is not reproduced here as its main points are summarised and commented upon in Mendoza's letter to the King, dated 7th August page 599.

1586.

It is still asserted that one of the great difficulties in concluding terms of peace here is to settle matters between the princess of Bearn and her husband.*

I understand that the Queen-mother lamented to Silvio the other day that M. de Le Nérac had stabbed to death in the chamber of the princess of Bearn, the son of an apothecary, the murdered man being so near the bed that it was stained with his blood; and what made the matter worse was that it was said to have been done out of jealousy.

I send herewith the advices I have from England given to me secretly by a Catholic adherent of the queen of Scotland who has gained entrance in the household of Secretary Walsingham† on the pretext of managing the money matters of his son-in-law. He will get everything out of Walsingham, who thinks he is a protestant. Catholic priests write that the seven ships fitted out by the earl of Northumberland (Cumberland?)‡ are really to give him a pretext to leave the country, as he is a schismatic Catholic, and they say he wishes to become reconciled to your Majesty and the Church.—Paris, 19th July 1586.

20 July. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 127.

455. SAMPSON'S ADVICES.

The Queen-mother was going to the prince of Bearn to treat of peace: and Leiton consequently asked her, as the protector of his master Don Antonio, to advise him as to the best course to pursue at present to forward his interests. She replied vaguely and with coolness, saying that she was going to try and arrange a peace, and, if she was successful, Don Antonio's affairs should be considered. When Leiton asked what would be the best course in the meanwhile, in order that he might be prepared to avail himself of the good offices that the king of France and she were disposed to extend to him, she said he had better let Don Antonio remain where he was, although it behoved him to look to himself, as the king of Spain was arming stoutly against England. It was true, she said, that some of his designs would be frustrated by Drake, of whom she had news; but she ordered Leiton not to repeat this or to mention that she had said such a thing, even if he wrote it to anyone, or she would be much displeased with him. She could tell him privately, however, that Drake had captured Cartagena§ and was fortifying it. When Leiton said that recent letters from England had made no mention of this, she said the news did not come from England, but direct from the king of Spain to her son and herself.

---

* Marguèrite de Valois, the wife of Henry of Navarre, had joined the League and raised a force against her husband. This conduct had naturally still further widened the already serious breach between them, especially as the king of France had taken the part of Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots against his own sister.

† Robert Poley, who had been introduced by Charles Blount to take charge of the affairs of Sir Philip Sidney, Walsingham's son-in-law. He was, of course, a spy of Walsingham's, and one of the principal instruments by which Babington's plot was divulged.

‡ George Clifford, earl of Cumberland, is doubtless the person referred to.

§ Cartagena de las Indias, now in the United States of Columbia.

1586.
22 July. **456.** The KING to COUNT DE OLIVARES.

The present letter will reply to yours about England, especially that of 24th February, which is the most important. Before proceeding further I cannot refrain from thanking you for the way in which you conveyed my reply to his Holiness. It was done with much prudence, care, and consideration, and in every respect as could have been wished.

It was of high importance to point out to the Pope the inconvenience of the king of Scotland, who is a heretic, succeeding to the throne of England, and to keep constantly before his eyes the advisability of choosing some Catholic, who on the exclusion of the king of Scotland should take his place, and it was equally important to keep his Holiness in that opinion, binding him to agree to my choice of a successor to the queen of Scotland. Whenever you may have an opportunity of confirming him on these points you will do so.

It was also well done to put on one side for the present all mention of the person I might nominate for the succession; and, having in view what you say, I think it will be best for you to continue in the same course. You will, however, bear in mind that, if at any time the Pope, moved by his zeal, should talk about any other successor, you will remind him, before he gets wedded to his new idea, that he is pledged to agree to my choice in the matter, and so try to prevent him from breaking away, because upon this and the above-mentioned points it is most important that the Pope should not waver. I have therefore dealt with them in the first place, and enjoin great care in preventing any change in these respects.

The contribution of 500,000 crowns which his Holiness offers in money would be fair for an enterprise of less cost and extent, but as the present will necessitate immense expenditure, it is evident that a larger and more promptly paid sum than he mentions will have to be found. The 500,000 crowns, instead of being spread over a year, would have to be paid in advance for the preparation of the armada, and be supplemented by other grants to furnish funds for the prosecution of the enterprise. If the business is to go through, this cannot be avoided, and the contributions must be proportionate to so great and difficult an affair.

Before settling this point it will be well to disabuse his Holiness of the error under which he labours, that the robberies and insolence of the English will cause me to undertake the business on my own account, which may lead him to stint his aid. You will give him to understand that this is mere gossip hatched there (in Rome) by people who will have no hand in helping the business. I am well aware of what is best for me, and know the situation of England. I fully recognise how much it would grieve some people to see a change of government there, Christian zeal and a desire to see England Catholic not being so very strong in France and elsewhere as to outweigh other considerations. I am more bound to ensure my own dominions than to undertake foreign enterprise, and it is sufficient for me and my subjects to launch such navies as that which I have commenced, and please God will finish, for the

1586.

purpose of clearing the sea of pirates protecting the Indian coasts and the flotillas, with the treasure they bring, and ensuring the safety of Spanish trade, which I can do at comparatively little cost. This apart, I know that the English are dying to come to terms with me, and they are attempting to do so in many directions, offering to mend their ways for the future. This being so, and all things easy to my hand, I have no reason to covet more territory or more reputation than I have, for by God's goodness I have enough of both to satisfy me. Let his Holiness consider whether I, for my part, might not well withdraw from this enterprise, and avoid the expense and difficulty it will entail. I have been moved to it solely by my zeal for the service of God, the persuasions of his Holiness, and the belief that there would be displayed in his time more ardour and energy than in past times Unaided, however, and burdened with all the cost, he and all the world knows that I cannot go beyond sympathy, now less than ever, in doubt, as I am, about the coming of the Indian flotillas this year, and whether my treasury will bear the cost of extraordinary enterprises. By these and other arguments which will occur to you, you will try to dislodge the Pope from his opinion that I shall budge without a great deal of help from him, and if God inspire him to give the necessary aid you may promise in my name that I will do my share, but without pledging me on the point of time, because the mistakes there (in England?), the exigencies of my affairs, and the secret preparations necessary, may cause delay. You will have to adopt my pace, and get as much help as you can, both in cash and in new grants and concessions, by the time I may undertake the enterprise. I must, however, be left free as to the period, as it must depend on my own affairs, and *his Holiness will risk nothing thereby, as he is not asked to contribute his quota until the hour when the enterprise is to be undertaken.** You will conduct the affair in this way and with the utmost secrecy, as you will see how necessary it is nowadays when secrets are so hard to keep.

Until you have settled the above points you can suspend negotiations about the mode of execution, and the reimbursement of the expenses I may incur, either by the concession to me of the fresh grants, until my expenditure be covered, or by the English Catholics undertaking to reimburse me as they promised, giving me pledges in the meanwhile. I need only add that, if the Pope persists in offering troops on account of his contribution, you will try to show him what a noise this would make, and how much easier it is to raise forces and fleets in Spain, under pretext of the Indies, than to send troops from Italy, of which the object would

* The words *in italics* were erased in the cipher despatch sent, and the King has added to the draft the following note:—"This might be very inconvenient, on account "of the present negotiations with the prince of Parma, so you will tell the Count not "to say this. The other arguments are sufficient." It will be seen later that Philip required money to be paid in advance by the Pope in order to defray the cost of the Italian and other troops to be raised by Alexander Farnese for the invasion of England from Flanders.

1586.

be public. Let his aid be all in the form of money and expedients to raise money. You will manage it all with your usual judgment, and you will let me know what is done. Some of Allen's countrymen here are pressing greatly about his hat, and although it had been agreed that it would be better to defer the matter until the time approached for the enterprise, I should like you to give me your opinion about it, and I will in the meanwhile consider the grant you think should be given to him.—San Lorenzo, 22nd July 1586.

23 July. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 127.

457. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

There are letters from Scotland dated the 30th June, saying that, up to that time, they had not put into execution the levy of the 6,000 Scotsmen whom the queen of England wished to send to Holland, although some 300 or 400 had slipped over privately from Scotland to Holland. The rumour is current in the English embassy here that the Master of Grey is going over with 6,000 Scotsmen, the Queen having furnished him with the necessary funds.—Paris, 23rd July 1586.

23 July. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 129.

458. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Just as the courier was setting out I received the enclosed letter from Muzio (*i.e.* the duke of Guise), which caused me to detain him until I heard what the Scots ambassador was instructed to say to me. The substance of it was that Muzio, seeing the risk of letters written to your Majesty being seized and returned to France, he had decided to send him (Robert Bruce ?) by way of Burgundy after Juan Iñiguez, with whom he would doubtless go safely through Spain. He (the duke of Guise) had filled in the blanks sent to him by Lord Claude Hamilton, the earl of Morton and the others, addressed to your Majesty,* and had himself written very warmly on the subject. He begged that I would do

* *See* letters from Huntly, Claude Hamilton, and Morton, 20th May, page 580. When Huntly was charged in February 1589 on the information of queen Elizabeth with participation in this plot to introduce Spanish troops into Scotland and England, he stoutly denied his guilt, and was released after a short detention under arrest, as was also Claude Hamilton. The present marquis of Huntly in his Records of Aboyne (New Spalding Club 1894) thus refers to the matter: "Queen Elizabeth sent a letter to her "dear brother of Scotland accusing Huntly, who was his bosom friend, of a vile "conspiracy. In proof she sent copies of sundry letters alleged to be found when the "English captured Thomas Pringle, who it was averred was sent by Huntly to the "duke of Parma and the king of Spain. These precious letters were deciphered by "the arch-villain Philips, upon whose transcripts and forgeries the queen of Scots was "condemned. As in the case of the Queen no originals were produced, for the best of "reasons, they never existed; Huntly denied that he ever engaged in conspiracy or "treason, and protested that the letters were forgeries designed by his enemies to bring "him into disgrace with the King . . . . . but the forgers had been clumsy in their "work; the 'cooked' examination of Pringle showed but too clearly that all the "plotting had been on the south of the Tweed." Whatever may have been the case with regard to the particular accusations against Huntly on the evidence of Pringle, the present and following volume of this Calendar will contain abundance of indisputable evidence that Huntly was the leading spirit in the plot to dominate Scotland with Spanish troops and subsequently to enable Philip II. to invade England and depose Elizabeth. The letters in the Paris Archives calendared on page 580 are the original documents.

1586.

the same without a moment's delay by special courier, begging your Majesty to extend your customary favour to so holy an enterprise. The gentleman who takes the letters has been for some years secretary of the Scots' ambassador, and is a person who, he asserts, is worthy of all confidence. I send enclosed the heads of the instructions he has received from the ambassador, from whom I will ascertain whether the 6,000 soldiers to be maintained for a year are to be foreigners or not, a point which he was unable to elucidate. I will also enquire in whose hands the 150,000 crowns should be lodged. He told me that the Scotsmen promised to begin the execution of the business (as their messenger informed him) whenever Muzio gave word that the 150,000 crowns were ready, and they were assured of receiving aid. He made me take a note of this point, which seems to infer that the Scots nobles expected the aid to take the form of foreign troops, since no others could be sent from abroad. Probably Muzio did not like to state this in writing to your Majesty until he heard your intentions.

The Scots Catholics, he said, had discussed for a long time whether they should make this appeal to the king of France, seeing the long standing alliance between the crowns; but they finally adopted unanimously the opinion of the earl of Morton, namely, that they could hardly expect a King who did not strive to preserve the Catholic religion in his own realm to help them to establish it in theirs. I have been trying to get the full details of the business, and to come to close quarters with the ambassador, but he did not enlighten me much, which makes me think that the whole affair will have been left to Muzio.

In consequence of this gentleman (Robert Bruce ?) having declared himself strongly in favour of the jesuits, orders had been given for his arrest, if he attempted to embark from any port, and he was consequently obliged to go on board ship long before she sailed, the ambassador tells me at the beginning of April.

There is no confirmation from Zeeland or elsewhere of the news I mentioned in my other letter, of the going over of Scotsmen to Holland. The only intelligence on the subject comes from the English embassy here.—Paris, 23rd July 1586.

27 July. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 133. French.

459. The QUEEN OF SCOTLAND to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

You will have received in my last the acknowledgment of the letters from you which reached me through William (Paget), and since then your letter of the 19th has been delivered to me. It has been a matter of especial pleasure to me to see that my good brother the Catholic King is beginning to counteract the plots and attempts of the queen of England against him, not only on account of the good results I hope may follow to himself, but also especially for the maintenance of his reputation in christendom, in which I am so deeply concerned. You cannot imagine how the news of these exploits of the earl of Leicester and Drake lifts up the hearts of His Majesty's enemies all over christendom, and how much his long-suffering with this Queen had diminished the trust

1586.

which Catholics here had always reposed in him. I will freely confess to you that I myself was so discouraged at the idea of entering into new attempts, seeing the failure that had attended previous ones, that I have turned a deaf ear to several proposals that have been made to me during the last six months by the Catholics, as I had no ground for giving them a decided answer. But now that I hear of the good intentions of the Catholic King towards us here, I have sent to the principal leaders of the Catholics a full statement of my opinion on all points of the execution of the enterprise. To save time I have ordered them to send to you, with all speed, one of their number sufficiently instructed to treat with you, in accordance with the promises given to you in general terms, and to lay before you all the requests they wish to make of the Catholic King your master. I wish, on their behalf, and in dependence upon their faithful promise given to me, to assure you that they will sincerely and truly, at the risk of their lives, carry out their undertakings, and those entered into for them by their representative. I therefore beg you to extend full credit to him as if I had sent him myself. He will inform you of the means for getting me away from here, which I will attempt to effect on my own account if I am previously assured of armed aid. Thank God my health is at present better than it has been for the last three months. I thank you most affectionately for your good offices with the King in the matter of the 12,000 crowns which he was good enough to grant me for my deliverance, in which the money shall be employed, and for no other purpose, and I am only sorry that the other 12,000 for Scotland produced so little result. I had received advices from London that Señor Tassis had been authorised in this matter, but except upon very urgent need I am unwilling to importune in things of this sort, and I am therefore all the more grateful to you for your care about it, and recognise that to you principally I owe the granting of this sum to me. Please help me to express to the King my deep sense of the obligation I am under to him for it, and the good-will I feel to try and repay it, if I ever have the means; and I hope not to prove ungrateful to you personally. I have instructed my ambassador to receive the gentleman to be sent by the nobles. —Chartley, 27th July 1586.*

Aug. K. 1564. 22. French.

460. Robert Bruce to Philip II.

In the name of the nobles by whom he is sent (Huntley, Morton, and Claude Hamilton) urges upon the King the ease and desirability of bringing Scotland to the Catholic faith. He begs the King's aid thereto, in the form of men and money.—Madrid. No date.

1 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 138.

461. Charles, Earl of Westmoreland, to Philip II.

After I left Flanders to go and salute your Majesty I arrived here at the French court, and was obliged to remain here for some

* Printed in Labanoff.

1586.

months at the instance of certain persons whom I could not avoid obeying. During this time I exhausted the scanty resources I had for my journey, and although I have been trying by every possible means to get over the difficulty and proceed on my voyage, I have been unsuccessful, and venture to supplicate your Majesty (since I am of no use in Flanders for certain reasons, and from information that I have from England) to allow the pension I receive from your generosity, of 100 crowns a month in the Netherlands, to be paid to me here or in Italy, or any place where your Majesty may consider I may be most useful to you. There I will live and die.—Paris, 1st August 1586.

Note.—The text of the above letter is in the handwriting of Maldonado, the secretary of Mendoza, and is signed by the Earl thus "*Carlos de Westmerlande.*"

It is accompanied by another letter from the Earl to a similar effect, addressed to the King's secretary Don Juan de Idiaquez.

2 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 133. French.

462. The QUEEN OF SCOTLAND to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Just as I was dispatching the enclosed to you I received your letter of 16th July. As this means of communication, thank God, is now as safely established as formerly was the case, you may in future, if you please, write to me on all occasions when necessary. God restore the health of my good brother the king (of Spain), preserve his children, and send him all sorts of happiness and prosperity, which his devoted care for the general good of christendom so well deserves. He will have my prayers every day, if I can serve him in no other way. I thank you for your kind diligence in communicating to him what I sent you in my letters of May last. As for what concerns me personally, I am entirely assured that you will act according to your promise, and also with regard to those poor English gentlemen, whom I cannot help recommending to you directly, especially the liberation of Morgan, and the granting to him of some pension if you can manage to help him thus. I have already answered about the money you obtained for me. As I leave you and my ambassador to arrange for me to have the rest that is to come sent to me, I need not therefore prolong this letter.—Chartley, 2nd August 1586.

This letter and that of 27th July which accompanied it reached Mendoza in Paris on the 8th September 1886. It is printed in Labanoff.

4 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1564 . 140.

463. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Relates the storming of Nutz and the massacre of the garrison (1,200 men) with the loss of only three Spaniards.*

There was a double plot with the English at Gravelines. They (the English) offered 50,000 florins to the soldiers of the garrison to surrender the place, and the latter, pretending that they were

* A statement of the terrible atrocities which accompanied this engagement will be found in the Leycester Correspondence (Camden Society), page 368–70, but there is no mention of the affair at Gravelines above referred to.

1586.

without a leader, agreed to do so. On the 27th ultimo the English came to carry out the arrangement, and thirty of them were allowed to enter the place, and were then asked to pay the money agreed upon. They replied that the money was on board the ships, and that when the place was surrendered the money would be paid. When the soldiers of the garrison heard this and saw they would not be able to get hold of the money, they killed most of the 30 Englishmen who were in the town, and took the rest of them prisoners. At the same time they threw a force out of the town by another gate, and fell upon the English who had landed, killing over 250 of them without counting those who were drowned in attempting to get on their boats.—Paris, 4th August 1586.

6 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 142.

464. Document headed: ADVICES from SAMPSON.

There are fresh letters from England saying that the Queen was leaving Greenwich to go for a progress through the country, the object of which was understood to be to ask the people for money. Don Antonio was in London, needy and in want of money. No news had been received of Drake for some time, nor were any ships known to have sailed in numbers to plunder, although individual vessels may have gone.

No letters had been received from the earl of Leicester for three weeks.*

7 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 144.

465. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In another letter I reply to your Majesty's other despatches, and limit myself here to the statement of the German captain which your Majesty ordered to be had sent to me on the 18th July. The ships of Richard Grenville, on board of which he says he was pressed at Plymouth, are those which I mentioned to your Majesty as soon as I came to France were being fitted out by Raleigh, the Queen's favourite, to sail for the coast of Florida, which voyage was under discussion for two years before the ships left England, as I informed your Majesty. The ship that this captain says was captured from Captain Domingo with so large a treasure in gold, silver, pearls, cochineal, sugar, ivory, and hides, was one I advised your Majesty of months ago as having arrived in England, and that Raleigh himself had gone down to the port to take possession of her cargo, and not to allow it to be distributed amongst the sailors. I also reported to your Majesty that, as soon as the ships were arrested at Bilbao, the queen of England gave more than 70 letters of marque to merchants, under cover of which they had sailed for the purpose of plundering your Majesty's subjects. I have also written on several occasions of the many captains who were imprisoned in the English ports, they having been brought in on board of the prizes taken by the pirates. Even if I were in England I should be unable to ascertain when, where, or in what number these ships

* This must have been incorrect as there are many letters from Leicester to Walsingham, etc., during that period in the "Leycester Correspondence."

1586.

leave, as they sail from many ports, and pursue their voyage as chance or fortune may lead them, sometimes joining others and sailing in company, especially when they sail towards Newfoundland or the Spanish Indies, which is a long and perilous voyage, which they undertake in the hope that the ships they plunder will provide them with victuals, or at least with goods to barter with your Majesty's Indian subjects when they are short of stores. They give in exchange for victuals the merchandise they steal, so that the pirates are thus provided with food. With this assurance, for many years past, the ships have left the coasts of France and England to plunder on the route to the Indies, knowing full well that the traffickers on shore even make fires at night, in the creeks and elsewhere, as a signal for them to come and take victuals in exchange for merchandise, which they give at a fair price.* I learnt this when I was in England, and if it be not remedied by means of the most rigorous punishment, no matter how strong your Majesty's fleets may be, these pirates will never be extirpated. Your Majesty's officers have not in this respect acted with the energy demanded, and this can be gathered by the German captain's statement, as in Porto Rico, Isle of Santo Domingo, he says Richard Grenville was offered victuals for money. This is not legal trade with any foreigner, as your Majesty has prohibited all voyages to the Indies except by ships sailing from Seville. Since the capital town of the island offers victuals at a moderate price, it may well be believed that private traders will sell them as they do for the sake of making a large profit.

The statement that General Grenville sailed with 28, and Hawkins with 15, of the Queen's ships is evidently incorrect, as is also that to the effect that they had with them 5,000 men and a large number of nobles, because the Queen has not more than 24 ships of her own, and they, on the 20th ultimo, were in England and not ready for sea, except those which I mentioned in my former letters, and no such force of men could have been shipped without our knowledge here, or my informants reporting the fact. As he says that Drake took 4,000 men, when we know the number did not exceed 1,500, soldiers and all, it is clear that he exaggerates in both cases, besides which any one who knows England will understand that so many men could not be sent out of the country, seeing the demands made for men for the Netherlands. The Queen is making every effort to raise men for there, and yet she cannot send all the troops they want.

The ships of Sir Harry Cavendish which he mentions are those which I reported months ago were fitting out with the object of going to Brazil, guided by pilots provided by Don Antonio. Neither these vessels, nor those of the earl of Cumberland, had left on the 20th ultimo, although they were ready to sail. This is confirmed also by the reports furnished to me by Sampson.

I doubt the correctness of more ships having joined Drake than

* In the King's hand: "Notice! I believe this is true. It will be advisable to have it remedied. Remind me."

1586.

those he appeared to have when he was at Bayona, because all the private pirates will have flocked to him there attracted by the fame of his plunder, and knowing that his intention was to go on a thieving expedition. With regard to this I can only refer to what I have written in other letters on the matter, and again assure your Majesty that I strive my very utmost to elucidate what is passing in England in the matter of warlike preparations and designs. All the Hawkinses are born pirates, and when I was in England they fitted out ships to plunder even in sight of land. The strongest pirate always takes the lead, so I do not wonder at the captain's belief that there are other commanders in the Indies besides Drake. A French ship has arrived at Havre de Grace, into which an English vessel had transhipped some Spanish seamen, and one Alvarez, whom the English captured on a ship off Cape St. Vincent on his way from Havana with despatches for your Majesty from the Viceroy of Mexico. This Alvarez came to me and made the statement which I now enclose, saying that he had gone to the island of Havana with a captain named "something" de Acuña, who had served your Majesty in the war of Portugal. Letters from England, dated 20th ultimo, report that a vigilant watch is being kept on all the coast, both on account of the suspicions of your Majesty's fleet, and also to prevent the Catholics from leaving the country, and the English in the Netherlands from returning thereto, which many attempt, although those they catch are hanged.—Paris, 7th August 1586.

Note.—The long statement in Latin respecting Drake's voyage, referred to in the above letter, is in the Paris Archives (K. 1564. 135), but it is not reproduced here, as its contents are sufficiently indicated in Mendoza's comments.

7 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1564.

466. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I send your Majesty herewith a book which has come out. It contains many things well worth reading, but whilst it praises the zeal of your Majesty in the preservation and advancement of the holy Catholic faith, it states that the prince Don Carlos was tainted with heresy. The author of the book reminds me of the physicians' description of the action of nature, which out of its very soundness sends to a wound all the humour it finds, oblivious as to whether its presence will do good or otherwise. Although the author had such abundant good material at hand for proving your Majesty's ardent zeal, he has thought necessary to make use of the monstrous lie and fiction, which the heretics have invented.*—Paris, 7th August 1586.

8 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 148.

467. ADVICES from ENGLAND.

With regard to our news here, I have to say that Drake has arrived, although, as I hear, with but little treasure, his ships being loaded with merchandise, artillery, and plunder from the churches.

* In the King's hand: "I do not know whether the book came. It will be well to "learn where it was printed, so as, if possible, to amend its contents." The receipt of the book is acknowledged in the King's letter to Mendoza of 6th September, and instructions given as to how it is to be dealt with.

1586.

The best jewel he brings is a crucifix with figures of our Lady and St. John, covered with precious stones. He has received from the merchants of London, against bills of exchange, the sum of 60,000 sun-crowns to pay his soldiers, and has given to each gentleman who accompanied him 100*l.* sterling. The booty is divided between the Queen, who has one part, and Drake and the merchants the other, although the Queen's share was the largest.

They have decided that Drake, or someone else, shall immediately undertake another voyage, and everything will be very soon ready. A large number of horse, also, are being raised, but I do not know with what object, unless it is to enable the Queen to get money from her subjects.

The Treasurer governs the Queen in all things, and Leicester's party is daily declining. Leicester greatly wishes to return, but the Queen will not allow him to do so. He has taken possession of a woman (wife?) of Orange's, and treats her as his own. The earl of Shrewsbury has been reconciled with his wife at the Queen's intercession.*

Walsingham frequently shows some particular favour towards the Catholics, whilst the Treasurer, on the contrary, persecutes them more obstinately than formerly.

The earl of Rutland has returned from Berwick, having concluded the alliance with the king of Scotland, who is to receive from the Queen an annual pension of 6,000*l.*

The King's life-guard will be maintained by the queen of England out of a portion of this allowance, so that everyone will be devoted to her, and the King, so to speak, her prisoner.

It is impossible to imagine the alarm that has come over the whole nation at the idea of an invasion of the country, either from France or Spain. In short, all classes are dissatisfied. The ports are at present open for exit, although four days ago they were closed, and all departure from them prohibited. A French page who had embarked for France, said during the passage that he hoped before two months were over to see the king of France in England, and in consequence of these words he was brought back again. They found upon him a sum of 200*l.* in gold. I do not know what they did with him. This is all I can report for the present.

London, 8th August 1586. Unsigned.

10 Aug. **468.** SAMPSON'S ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 149.

They write that Drake had arrived in England, and Don Antonio's people are hinting in ambiguous words to their friends here that they may keep their spirits up, as they hope shortly to be able to send them some good news. Sampson infers from this that Drake's return may lead Don Antonio to attempt some disturbance by sea, such as making a descent on the coast of Portugal, as he is told by a canon of Coimbra, who went to England from Nantes when Juan Iñiguez was there on his way to your Majesty, that there are not 2,000 Spaniards in all Portugal, and

* See Hatfield Papers, part 3, Hist. MSS. Com.

1586.

that the Portuguese are very discontented. Although these are lies, yet they encourage Don Antonio's folks.

13 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 150.

469. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Some months since I wrote to your Majesty that some English Catholics had sent a priest to me to learn whether your Majesty would help them if they rose. As he did not descend to further particulars than this, I replied vaguely, instancing the promptitude with which your Majesty had always offered aid whenever an opportunity had occurred of forwarding so righteous a cause as the augmentation of the Catholic church. This, I said, was the motive of your actions, and I was sure that you would again proceed in the same spirit, if they on their part provided you with a worthy opportunity. In order to be able again to submit their intentions to your Majesty, however, I said it would be well for them to come to details with me, and clear up certain points which I considered necessary to convince me that the matter was serious. I told the priest what these points were, so that he might communicate them to his principals and obtain the information desired. The Catholics have now sent to me a gentleman of good family called Master Gifford with proper credentials; and the substance of his commission is what I have now to lay before your Majesty. My answer sent by the priest so greatly encouraged those who had started the plot, that they decided to sound the principal Catholics and also the *Schismatics*,* on the pretext that it was not possible for your Majesty to avoid revenging yourself upon the queen of England, for having so shamelessly taken the Netherlands under her protection, and having sent such a multitude of ships to sea not only to rob your subjects, but also to sack and pillage your dominions in Spain and the Indies. These things, they said, could not possibly be overlooked, and if your Majesty did not send a fleet this year to England, you must do so next year, or the year after. For this reason they agreed that it would be well that a unanimous understanding should be arrived at by them, so that they might be ready to receive your Majesty's forces; the coming of which would be a benefit and not an injury to them. They all adopted the idea most readily, and swore not only to raise their forces respectively, but, if necessary, to call them out whenever was thought convenient, 20 days before the arrival of your Majesty's fleet, and to co-operate therewith as they might be instructed to do. In order the further to prove to me their good faith, they sent me the names of the persons who had agreed to this, and a statement of the way in which they intended to proceed. This was to the effect that the *earl of Arundel*,† who is now a prisoner in the Tower of London, and

* In the King's hand: "I cannot understand how they can trust these, or what "security they can have for them. I do not know what difference there is between them "and the heretics. I believe it will prove the same as in Germany with the Lutherans "and the Gotha (?) heretics who are much the worst."

† In the King's hand: "Doubtless they are sorry for having spared his life the "other day. I do not recollect why they keep him in the Tower. It is, however, highly "important that he should be made much of." This, like all the King's marginal notes is almost illegible.

1586.

with whom they are in communication, and have kept fully informed, undertakes, with the assistance of a few men, to make himself master of the Tower, whilst Lord Harry Howard, his uncle, would raise troops and would be joined by Lord Thomas Howard, the Earl's brother. Lord Thomas is not a Catholic, but desires by any means to avenge his father's death.* Lord William, another brother of the Earl, a strong Catholic and very popular, would also join; the earl of Northumberland,† son of the Earl that died in the Tower; Lord Strange,‡ son of the earl of Derby, a young man with a great following; Lord Windsor, who has arms sufficient for 1,000 men, and who as he lives near where the queen of Scotland is confined intends to release her; Lord Morley and Lord Stourton of the province of Lancashire, who have all the nobility of the county on their side, as well as the commonalty; Lord Dacre§ who is a Catholic and wants to be made president of the Northern Province, and revenge himself upon the President, the earl of Huntingdon; Sir John Constable, a man of influence and large credit in the north, where all the people are Catholics; Sir William Courtney, a Catholic, who expects to be able in the turmoil to recover the earldom of Devonshire, which is his by right. He is a person of great weight and credit in the west, and promises to ensure the possession of the port of Plymouth; *Sir John Arundel and his son.*‖ The father is a prisoner in the Tower of London since the duke of Norfolk's rising, and has all *Cornwall*¶ at his bidding, as his family is much beloved. Lord Compton who is in mid-England; Sir William Stanley, a soldier of great experience, who has come from Ireland by the Queen's orders with 1,000 troops, mostly Catholics, to pass over to Flanders. They are now quartered in the neighbourhood of London. The Queen herself administered the oath to this colonel three times in one week, that he would be loyal to her; but as he is a Catholic he has found excuses for not going over quickly with his men to Flanders, in the expectation that your Majesty's fleet will arrive, and he will continue this course until news of the fleet comes. When he is obliged to go to Zeeland he promises to pass over on the first opportunity to the prince of Parma. Lord Montague** and all his house, which is the principal family in Sussex and has a great following. In addition to these there are Lord Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir Thomas

* In the King's hand: "They are all sons of the duke of Norfolk, whom the Queen "martyred." This was of course incorrect, Lord Henry Howard was his brother.

† "These are very strong Catholics." In the King's hand.

‡ In the King's hand: "The parents of this Lord Strange were not of much account, although of high rank."

§ "He is a strong Catholic and has much influence there." In the King's hand.

‖ In the King's hand: "I do not know whether it was one of these who was here the other day, but if not they were relatives."

¶ In the King's hand: "Cornwall is the part of the country nearest here."

** In the King's hand: "He was my master of the horse there and was subsequently "at Toledo. They are good Catholics, but this one is not very determined. One of "them is in Madrid, but I do not think his name is Montague." Sir Antony Browne, Viscount Montague, is referred to, and his son who was in Madrid naturally bore the family name of Browne.

1586.

Fitzherbert, Sir John Southward, Sir William Catesby.* Lord Vaux and those whose names follow his have not been informed of the business, as they are declared Catholics, and are consequently held prisoners by the Queen, and under very heavy money penalties; but it is confidently assumed that as others far less interested are joining the design they certainly will do so. Lord Gifford, a person of advanced age, is the father of the gentleman they have sent me, and he with the gentlemen whose names follow have agreed in the country where the queen of Scotland is confined. Sir Walter Aston, his brother-in-law, Wolseley Beedle, Ashley Fowler, Dracot, Carswick, Maxfield, and others of the county of Derbyshire; Babington, Langford Shirley, Fitzherbert, and others of the county of Worcestershire; Abington, the Throgmortons and Middlemotes, in Shropshire; Talbot Brooke, Corbet. *The captains James Bele and others in Ireland*† are also agreed to rise the moment they hear that the movement has begun in England. They have command of the Queen's troops in Ireland. Communications are also established with Claude Hamilton and the other Scots Catholic lords who agree to join the insurgents of the north the moment they rise. Considering the willingness with which those above-named and many others have offered to take up arms immediately they are assured of the period when your Majesty's fleet will arrive to help them; in case of the Queen's death they would probably do so even more readily, seeing the many evils which may result from the Queen's intimacy with the French. This, and the desire that your Majesty might promptly send them aid in their oppression, in order to take advantage of the present favourable opportunity, now that all France is in turmoil, and so many English heretic soldiers and sailors are in Holland and absent with the pirates; with discontent ripe, not only amongst Catholic schismatics, but also amongst heretics themselves, owing to the oppressive new taxes for the war and the stoppage of trade, and with the whole country anxious for a change of government, led Babington, who is a strong Catholic, a youth of great spirit and good family, to try to find some secret means of killing the Queen. Six gentlemen, servants of the Queen, who have access to her house, have promised to do this, as I reported to Don Juan de Idiaquez on the 11th of May for your Majesty's information. This gentleman (Gifford) tells me that no person knows of this but Babington, and two of the principal leaders,‡ and

* In the King's hand: "I think some of these names must be incorrectly written "and consequently I do not recognise them all." As the King supposes, the names are very much disfigured, doubtless by the decipherer, and in places can only be guessed at. Here, as elsewhere in the correspondence, an attempt has been made to substitute the real names, where they are ascertainable, for the distorted variants given in the original papers.

† In the King's hand: "That is the name of the eldest children of the Shrewsbury's "who had the care of the queen of Scotland They are Catholics and were trusted by "her, for which reason she was placed under the care of others who were not Catholics." The name of the countess of Shrewsbury's first husband was Bailey or Barley The name of the captain in question is given by Mendoza as Bele, which, phonetically, would represent Baily. An English captain in Ireland at the time is mentioned in the Hatfield Papers as Bartley.

‡ In the King's hand: "If the six gentlemen and himself know it, others know it."

1586.

it would already have been effected if they had not had their suspicion aroused by seeing the earl of Leicester armed and with a force in Zeeland, which they feared he might bring over to England quickly enough to attack them before they could gather their own forces or obtain help from your Majesty. This has caused them to delay laying hands upon the Queen, until they had reported matters to me, and received assurance that they would be succoured with troops from the Netherlands the moment they might desire it. As, moreover, they are most of them young men, and none of them soldiers, they desired that the earl of Westmoreland should be ready to embark with some other experienced captains, of any nationality, to help them immediately it might be necessary. The Earl, they say, is so influential a personage that his mere presence will suffice to raise all the north-country as he has the greatest following of any man in England. They will not ask for troops to be sent, unless they are urgently needed, and if I will give them my word that they shall at once have help from the Netherlands in case they want it, and that your Majesty will succour them from Spain, if required, they say that they will immediately put into execution their plan to kill the Queen. They beg me not to doubt this, as those who are to carry it out are resolved to do it, and not to await for a favourable opportunity, but to kill her, even on her throne and under her canopy of State, if I tell them that the time has arrived to put an end to her. As a security for this, they would send hither for me to send as hostages, to any place I pleased, a brother of Lord Windsor, and two other gentlemen, who should be held as prisoners until the business was effected. They would also, if I pleased, give me hostages for their rising against the Queen 15 or 20 days before any time which was signified to them as the date that your Majesty's fleet might be looked for. They said they wished to negotiate this matter with me only, in consequence of the confidence they reposed in my secrecy and safety, and because I had helped them in their troubles in times past, on your Majesty's behalf, at my own great personal risk. They would on no account discover the matter to the French, nor would they appeal to any other Prince but your Majesty, and they concluded by saying that, as they were all so deeply pledged in the business, it was necessary that it should be carried through very promptly, as all of them would be lost if it were discovered; and they prayed me most earnestly for God's sake to send them an instant answer.

I received the gentleman in a way which the importance of his proposal deserved, as it was so Christian, just, and advantageous to the holy Catholic faith, and your Majesty's service, and I wrote them two letters by different routes, one in Italian and the other in Latin, encouraging them in the enterprise,* which I said was worthy of spirits so Catholic, and of the ancient valour of Englishmen. If they succeeded in killing the Queen, they should have the

* In the Kings's hand: "They must have been very plain, and it would extremely troublesome if they were taken." The King's misgivings with regard to the secrecy of the correspondence were fully justified as copies of all the letters concerning this conspiracy were very soon in the possession of Walsingham.

1586.

assistance they required from the Netherlands, and assurance that your Majesty would succour them. This I promised them, in accordance with their request, upon my faith and word. I urged them with arguments to hasten the execution, and said that I had already given your Majesty information as to their resolution, and ended by thanking them for the kind opinion and esteem in which they held me, which was deserved, so far as regarded my goodwill towards their prompt liberation from tyranny and oppression. In addition to the letter, I made some other remarks which I thought they should bear in mind. First, that on the day they intended to kill the Queen, they should have a person ready at the moment to arrest Don Antonio and the Portuguese who are with him, and lodge them in the Tower of London, or some other secure place, by which they would greatly oblige your Majesty in a way you would never forget. They should try to delay Colonel Stanley and the 1,000 Irishmen near London, so that when the thing was done *he could seize the Queen's ships,** if they were not certain that the commander *Lord Howard would embrace the cause of the queen of Scotland.*† *They should either kill or seize Cecil, Walsingham, Lord Hunsdon, Knollys and Beal, of the Council,*‡ who have great influence with the heretics, as they are terrible heretics themselves, and I gave them other advice of the same sort. I can give your Majesty no further assurance with regard to this business than what I have already written, namely, that which these Englishmen promise, but of all the plots they have hatched these many years past none have been apparently so serious as this. They have never before proposed to make away with the Queen, which now is the first step they intend to take. As her punishment is so richly deserved it may be believed that God has heard the groans of the Catholics, and desires to bring it upon her swiftly, perchance by this means. Let Him dispose as He will, but if for our sins He should decree that it shall not succeed, there will be much Catholic blood spilt in England.§ Up to the present your Majesty had in no way been pledged in the business, except the risk of the 100,000 crowns, which have been given to the priests who have been going thither, and if secrecy be kept‖ there will be no risk in looking on and watching what comes of it. If the Queen falls, the country will submit without the effusion of blood, and the war in the Netherlands will be at an end, which will result in infinite advantage to your Majesty's interests and those of your dominions. If your Majesty sees no objection, you might have the prince of Parma written to immediately, in accordance with what I have said about his sending troops to England. Another dispatch

* In the King's hand: "This is the most important thing of all.

† In the King's hand: "He was very ardently in her favour when I was there."

‡ In the King's hand: "It does not matter so much about Cecil, although he is a "great heretic, but he is very old, and it was he who advised the understandings with "the prince of Parma, and he has done no harm. It would be advisable to do as he "says with the others."

§ In the King's hand: "Yes, that is what is to be feared."

‖ In the King's hand: "If any of the letters were taken it would not be easy to keep the secret."

1586.

might be written to M. de la Motte, governor of Gravelines, in my credence, so that arrangements may be made to facilitate the passage. These despatches I will retain in *my own hands until I see whether the business is going forward*,* in which case I will send them on, asking for the troops the Englishmen may require. It will not be advisable, up to that point, that another person should be informed of the affair, besides which it will be unnecessary as his help (*i.e.* the prince of Parma's) will not be wanted to kill the Queen, and if the English do not do this—and lay the first stone of the edifice—the troops will not need to be sent.

The earl of Westmoreland left Flanders with leave of the prince of Parma, in order to go and salute your Majesty; and the duke of Guise who was passing through Paris, at the time when he was being approached about the English enterprise, detained him in Paris. The poor gentleman in the meanwhile spent all the money he had for his journey, and is suffering great privations, indeed he would starve if he did not dine nearly every day in the house of the Scots ambassador or mine. I promised to send him (to England) but will not say a word to him until it be needful. He has written about his straits to your Majesty, and I have also mentioned the matter in my general letter. Although the English say he is a person of such great influence he is of no ability, but still as your Majesty maintains other Englishmen it will not be unadvisable for you to continue the pension you have allowed him for so many years.

I have had the English gentleman who came delayed here† as the French ambassador facilitated his passage across, in the belief that he came to bring money for the Catholics, and if he returned quickly it might give rise to suspicion that he is in some plot. I send herewith a statement of the English counties and their condition. I have drawn this up afresh, both from my own information, and from the intelligence given to me by a priest whom I sent round the country. No names are mentioned, as it would be dangerous to have them pass through many hands.

I have had this despatch waiting four days for a passport. This is the way they always hamper me.—Paris, 13th August 1586.

No date. **470.** Enclosure in the aforegoing letter.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 14. Document headed: "STATEMENT of the PROVINCES of ENGLAND and their present condition."

The province called Northumberland is a grazing country, full of cattle and sheep, but with little wheat. There are in it four gentlemen who could raise 3,000 men. The people are all Catholic or schismatics, and adherents of the queen of Scotland. There are six landing quays in this county.

In the province of Cumberland there are three gentlemen who are able to raise 2,000 men. Nearly all the people here are Catholics, and all are partizans of the queen of Scotland. There

* In the King's hand: "They would not be of much use then, if they were not advised beforehand."

† In the King's hand: "That was well done."

1586.

is only one port in this county. The land is much more productive than the aforementioned.

Westmoreland is rather mountainous, and not so well supplied with victuals, but still there is sufficient. This county is Catholic and devoted to the queen of Scotland. The earl of Westmoreland, who is here (*i.e.*, in Paris), will be able to raise the people. The bishopric, as they call it, of Durham is extremely fertile in all things. There are six gentlemen able to raise 2,000 men. All the people are strongly Catholic, and attached to the queen of Scotland.

The province of Eboracum (York) is extensive and well furnished with victuals. All the gentlemen are Catholics and schismatics, much devoted to the queen of Scotland, except the Lieutenant and six others, who are greatly hated. The principal gentlemen are eight in number, and can raise nearly the whole population of the county, whose number is infinite. I have not been able to ascertain the ports in this county for fear of discovery.

The county of Lincolnshire is full of all sorts of victuals, and is well supplied with horses. I only know of five gentlemen able to raise 2,000 men, but there are many well affected to the Catholic religion and of good repute. I have been unable to ascertain the ports for fear of discovery. The province of Norfolk is a very open country, full of sheep and wheat, and abundant in all sorts of food. The majority of the people are attached to the Catholic religion, and there are 12 gentlemen who can raise 3,000 men. There are four ports, two of which are capable of receiving ships of large tonnage. The counties of Cambridge and Huntingdon are full of heretics, but are small. The county of Suffolk is also full of heretics, but, notwithstanding this, there are still gentlemen there who can raise 2,000 men. The county is very rich, but unfit for a fleet. There are four ports, two of which can harbour great ships. The counties of Essex and Kent I have been unable to investigate for fear of discovery. There are some Catholics and schismatics, but the whole population of these counties is infested with heresy. There are some ports, but they are very small and unimportant. In the province of Sussex there are six Catholics of good repute, but I have been unable to discover their strength for fear of discovery. The land is rich and the ports good, but the county is unfit for (the landing of men) from a fleet in consequence of the abundance of forests. The province of Hampshire adjoins and is full of Catholics. There are four gentlemen strongly Catholic and very powerful. The ports are good and victuals very abundant.

The province of Dorchester is very rich, and appropriate for the accommodation of a fleet. The common people are well disposed for the greater part, and there are two gentlemen assured who can raise 400 men. There are four good ports in the county. The province of Devonshire is very rich, but rather mountainous and interspersed with woods. There are six schismatics who will be able to raise 2,000 men, and all the people in the county would be willing to follow them. There are many ports on the coast, of

1586.

which two are very good. The province of Cornwall is narrow and long and very mountainous, and two vessels will be able to blockade it entirely. It has four ports and is very rich. There are three Catholic gentlemen who are able to raise 1,000 men, and the people are very well disposed. There are many heretic gentlemen, but they are greatly hated. The province of Somersetshire is also wealthy. The people are heretical, but, notwithstanding this, there are five Catholics who can raise 1,000 men. The province of Wiltshire is also rich, aud here, too, there are five Catholics who can raise 800 men. The people are favourably inclined to the Catholic religion. In the province of Berkshire there are five Catholics of good repute who are able to raise 2,500 men. The whole population is well disposed, and the county a rich one. In the province of Buckingham there are four Catholics of good repute, but I have been unable to ascertain their strength for fear of discovery. In the province of Hertford there are Catholic gentlemen who will be able to raise 1,500 men, and the whole of the people are well disposed towards the Catholic religion and the queen of Scotland. In South Wales and North Wales the gentry and common people are much attached to the Catholic religion and the queen of Scotland. The land is rather mountainous, but still very rich in cattle and sheep ; there is plenty of wheat, and the ports are numerous and good. The county of Stafford is that in which is situated the prison of the queen of Scotland. The gentry and common people are strong Catholics, and all are devoted to the queen of Scotland. Sir Amyas Paulet, who has the custody of the Queen, is a stranger, and has not the means of raising a single man. He has 40 men of his own with him, drawn from the archers of the guard. The province of Derby is very good for victuals, and the people are well disposed. There are four gentlemen who are able to raise 1,000 men. The county of Nottingham is very fertile, and the people well disposed in religion. I only know of four gentlemen who can raise 1,000 men. The province of Lancaster possesses good ports, and all the gentry and common people are much attached to the Catholic religion and the queen of Scotland.

13 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 151.

471. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

The ships which I have mentioned as being fitted out by Sir Harry Cavendish and the earl of Cumberland I am informed sailed from England on the 22nd ultimo. There were seven of them, the tonnage of which I have previously advised. One of them is of 500 tons burden and they are very well equipped with ordnance, stores, and provisions. Their crews fall short of 1,000 men as there is a great lack of seamen in England. I am informed by a person who saw them in Plymouth that the design is to try to get to the Indies by the coast of Brazil and the Straits of Magellan. They are accompanied by seven pirate ships from Flushing, of whose tonnage and armament I am unable to send any account to your Majesty, as my correspondent says they joined the expedition out out at sea.

1586.

The Queen has ordered all her ships to sail at once fully provisioned for the month of September, but I am informed that they cannot be ready until the 20th instant at the earliest. She has also ordered 20 merchant ships to be got ready and that all pirates and corsairs now at sea should return to her ports. This is an indication of her desire to have at hand a large force of ships, in anticipation of an invasion from your Majesty's fleet, although I am informed that secretly the councillors are saying that they are in no fear of it, as they have intelligence from Spain that the preparations were going on very lukewarmly. News had arrived in England that Richard Grenville with seven ships had been captured by five of those of your Majesty.* They relate the affairs as follows: Your Majesty's forces, seeing that the English were their superiors in numbers, sent all their men below and pretended to take to flight. The English then gave chase and were encountered separately and captured. There is no certainty of this news except that it is sent from England.

There are many letters from London dated 3rd instant, giving particulars of Drake's arrival in Plymouth with 32 ships and a great treasure, and this is the news that is being spread all over the country. The merchants are bringing in an enormous number of hides, and they are already encouraged by Drake's return to talk about fresh expeditions. They say the Queen will make him a lord. There is a man here from Havre de Grace who says he saw Drake's ships in Plymouth when he left there.

The alliance with Scotland had been concluded, but "saving ancient treaties."

A French Catholic who recently came post from Scotland hither through England, asserts that he sees little hope of the king of Scotland's conversion to the Catholic faith.

Whilst writing the above I hear that letters from London, dated 7th instant, say nothing about Drake's arrival, which they would certainly do if it were true. This makes me think that they may have invented this news, a common trick of theirs, to divert people's minds from the taking of Nutz and other reverses.—Paris, 13th August 1586.

25 Aug. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 159.

472. Sampson's Advices.

Leiton and Escobar went to the German ambassador's house to hand him a letter from Don Antonio by way of congratulation. They found two archers of the King's guard at the door, who would not admit them until they told them who they were, and then called one of the King's stewards who has the care of the lodging and entertainment of the Ambassadors. He came down to the courtyard and asked them what communication Don Antonio had sent them, and how it was that the Ambassador's arrival was already known in England. A secretary of the ambassador's then came up and made a sign for them to be silent and go away, and as they took their leave he had an opportunity of saying to them that they (the German

* In the King's hand: "I do not know what ships these could be. I do not believe it."

1586.

embassy in France) were treated like prisoners, and had no liberty to speak with those who came to see them, as the King's steward was there keeping a strict watch upon them, and taking note of all their actions. This, he said, was because the king (of France) did not trust them, and he (the Ambassador's secretary) requested them (the Portuguese) therefore to give their message and letter to the steward, which they did.

When they returned for the answer the steward was not there, and they did not see the Ambassadors, but only the said secretary, who spoke fairly to them and thanked them, but in reply could only say they (the Ambassadors) were sorry for Don Antonio's ill fortune. A French ship had come from Newfoundland and reports that they had fallen in with the Spanish fleet off the Azores lying in wait for Drake, of whom they asked news, letting the French ship pass freely. Don Antonio writes to Leiton and Escobar on the 7th that Drake had arrived off the coast of Scotland,* but gave no particulars. He says that as the Queen had deferred his business until Drake's return, he now confidently expects to be in Portugal by Christmas, because with Drake's ships, and many other ships and men who would join him, he would have a fleet large enough to enable him to land in Portugal easily. With regard to certain news sent to him from here about the queen of England's negotiations for a settlement with the prince of Parma, Don Antonio writes very confidently that he is sure the Queen will never make such an arrangement, because in conversation with him on the subject she said she would rather lose her crown than do so.

The English ambassador here has letters from England announcing Drake's arrival, but saying nothing about the booty he brings.—Paris, 25th August 1586.

27 Aug. Paris Archives, lx. 154. 161.

473. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

I wrote in my last what I had heard of Drake's arrival, and that letters from London, dated the 7th, said that he had been forced to land on the Scotch coast to avoid your Majesty's fleets, whilst the other advices were equally certain that he had arrived at Plymouth. Accounts differ with regard to the number of his ships, but they generally agree that he brought 17 small vessels and two pinnaces, having abandoned or lost his largest ships.

I understand that the English ambassador here has letters announcing Drake's arrival at London, and that he (Drake) plumes himself greatly on the fact that, notwithstanding that news was sent to Santo Domingo by your Majesty, warning people there of his coming 18 days before he arrived, and they had plenty of time to prepare for their defence, he still sacked the place, and he says people may judge from that what he will be able to do elsewhere with more ships and men.

For some time the English ports had been closed, which has prevented me from getting fresher news than those I now send. Accounts all agree that Drake does not bring any great sum of

* In the King's hand: "This is probably guess-work. I do not believe he would appear on the Scotch coast."

1586.

money, and some people say that the Queen has given orders for money to be supplied to him secretly from the Exchange, in order to encourage the people. This information seems to be confirmed by what Italian merchants write from London on the 4th (which by the new style is the 14th), saying that, although Drake had really arrived there no money was forthcoming.—Paris, 27th August 1586.

29 Aug. **474.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

In accordance with your Majesty's letter of 22nd July, I spoke to the Pope on English affairs, trying to show him that your Majesty was not forced to undertake the enterprise, unless you were well supported, although it is preaching in the desert to enforce such a doctrine in a country where revenge is so deeply implanted in the heart, that it is not forgotten for centuries. They talk so much here of the great and growing excesses of the queen of England towards your Majesty's dominions, that people here cannot believe that you do not thirst for revenge as they would. The Pope is as much touched with this humour as others are. Your Majesty will have learnt what passed with him on the first day, and I sent to Carrafa the summary enclosed. Since then I have not approached the Pope, as according to his temper this is the best way to deal with him in matters that will bear delay. The last clause was written in order to fortify and confirm his Holiness's promise about the succession to the queen of Scotland, although it is fenced around with the limitations and circumlocution, which your Majesty will perceive in the notes. To gild this clause, I inserted the acceptance of the Pope's views, to which I thought your Majesty would raise no difficulty.

I told Cardinal Sanzio that your Majesty had ordered me to listen to Martel, or to whom else might be deputed to speak to me on account of the allied princes of France, and to help them in their pretensions. He sent to me the man who represents the duke of Guise here, who opened the matter with me, and promised to let me have a copy of the instructions which were given to Martel for the mission to your Majesty, with other documents relating to the business. The affair will be promptly disposed of by the gracious compliance of your Majesty in the request made to you, which I gather to be your Majesty's intention.

This servant of the duke of Guise repeated to me what had passed with the Pope, and his cool reception of this new proposal from Scotland for clerical aid, contrary to what I had previously heard, namely, that the Scotch Catholics desired help either in the form of money, or the certainty that the queen of England would be diverted. Your Majesty will know best, as the person* who came from Scotland is with you.—Rome, 29th August 1586.

* Robert Bruce of Bemie, who had been sent by some of the Scots Catholic nobles to Spain to beg for armed help from Philip II. The French party at the Vatican, supported by some of the more moderate English and Scotch Catholics, were urging the adoption of moral suasion only for the conversion of Scotland, and were opposed to the employment of armed forces under the control of the king of Spain.

1586.

5 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 67.

475. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The German captain's relation was always looked upon here as being too long-winded and minute, and your information on the same now proves more clearly than before that much was wanting in it. You will be most careful to send constant and full news of English movements and armaments, especially now that Drake has approached here. It is true, as you say, that when they began to report from England (his arrival) it was impossible for him to have arrived; but according to the news brought by a German hulk which has entered Lisbon, he would not be long after, as they say they sighted him on the 6th ultimo in the English channel. Your vigilance must therefore be doubled, and you must learn all they do and think there, reporting it to me very frequently.

The little book in French you send about the disqualification of heretics to succeed to the crown has been considered. You are right at being indignant at the false testimony it bears against one who was so good a Catholic.* It is not well to let so great a lie be current, and as the author is a Catholic, and probably known to Muzio, you will through him cause all the copies that have been printed to be re-called, and the objectionable part eliminated, after which the book may be re-printed and issued.—San Lorenzo, 5th September 1586.

5 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 68.

476. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

By your letter of 13th ultimo I am informed of the mission upon which Master Gifford was sent to you, and the reply you gave thereto. As the affair is so much in God's service it certainly deserves to be supported, and we must hope that our Lord will prosper it, unless our sins are an impediment thereto. It would appear to be based on a solid foundation, and to have the countenance of many Catholics, but as it is difficult to keep a secret entrusted to so many people, it is a cause for anxiety that it should be so widespread, and that even the schismatics have been let into the secret. I cannot understand how Catholics can trust them, or what security they can have for them. Let me know specifically the points upon which they differ from the English heretics. But still, considering the great importance of the matter, if God bless it with success, and that perhaps the time at length has arrived when He will strike for His cause, you did well in welcoming and encouraging the gentleman who came, and those who sent him, to persevere in their enterprise. It was wise also for him not to return quickly to England, and so arouse suspicion. The warnings you sent thither as to certain other executions which you thought should follow the principal one, were well advised; only that if your letters should perchance be seized, it might cause the secret to be endangered and imperil the whole business. It is to be hoped that you did not sign them, and sent them by safe hands, so that God will protect them for the end in view; but, nevertheless, for

* Don Carlos, who was stated in the book in question to have been tainted by heresy.

1586.

the future it will be best to confide such matters only to the credence of trustworthy persons who will convey them verbally rather than write them. I merely mention this point as everything else was well done.

I recollect some of those whom you mention as being in the plot, and in other cases their fathers.* A business in which such persons are concerned certainly looks serious; and in the service of God, the freedom of Catholics, and the welfare of that realm, I will not fail to help them. I therefore at once order the necessary force to be prepared for the purpose, both in Flanders and here in Spain. It is true that as the whole thing depends upon secrecy and our preparations will have to be made without noise, the extent of the force must not be large enough to arouse an outcry, and so do more harm than good, but it shall be brought to bear from both directions with the utmost promptness, as soon as we learn from England that the principal execution planned by Babington and his friends has been effected. The matter has been deeply considered here, with a view to avoiding, if possible, the ruin of those who have undertaken so holy a task, and as a consequence all the rest of the Catholics in the country, which would be a great pity. In order not to increase their danger by arousing suspicion at the movements of my forces or fleets, which suspicion at such a time might cause the Queen to put an end to them before they could carry out their intention, it is considered unadvisable that my force in aid should be moved until the principal execution has been effected. By that time the necessary preparations will have been made in Flanders, Lisbon and other ports of Spain, for the prompt sending of support to them, and of this you may assure them. The same reason (*i.e.* of the avoidance of suspicion) militates even more strongly in England itself, since the safety of the Catholics, now that things have reached their present stage, depends solely upon secrecy, which in its turn depends upon promptness in the execution of their design. Make this truth clear to them, although they cannot fail to know it already. Send Gifford back himself with the message, if he be still with you, as he has been there long enough now to go back without suspicion; if not, send some other safe trustworthy man. Show them the danger they are in until they ensure themselves by swiftly carrying out the principal execution, by which means their own safety would be secured, and their power in the country established, whilst aid would then at once be sent from here. Exactly the contrary happens, and they are cutting their own throats if they delay or fail, and you will therefore urge despatch and caution, upon which all depends. You will in this way support and forward their design with all earnestness, and especially promote their intention of at once liberating the queen of Scotland and acting in her name, as she will probably have a large following. Refresh their memory, too, about the other

* The original draft contained the word "many" instead of some. The King has ordered this to be altered as it now reads, as he says the only person of them whom he recollects to have known personally is Viscount Montague.

1586.

executions you mentioned, and also as to taking possession of the ships* and about Don Antonio and the Councillors, as it is all very important for the settlement and security of affairs afterwards.

It would be rather late to advise the duke of Parma after the affair has been carried out, because if he is not prepared beforehand he could hardly send the help as promptly as is necessary. As, on the other hand, it is most unadvisable to go on spreading the secret abroad, I have decided to write to him in the way you will see by the copy of the letter, in which both points have been provided for. You will send him the despatch, and in due time he will give the orders to M. de la Motte.

I have read the letter written to you by the queen of Scotland, which is as good as usual. Her deep Christianity makes me hope that God will surely help her. You will already have assured her that she will find in me always an earnest desire to help in all that concerns her, as my efforts to come to her aid will prove.

The statement you send of the counties of England and their forces has been read. If these forces be united and declare themselves, they will be of considerable importance; but it is clear that this, like everything else, depends upon the one act which is to be the commencement. When this is done, it will be possible for them all to raise one voice and the way will be smooth, whilst if the intention is discovered before it can be carried out, each one will be destroyed separately and no union will be possible. As all hangs upon this, and the cause is God's own, we must hope that He will favour it. You will keep me well posted on all that happens, by means of private letters, treating of this matter alone, and do not allow a single hour to be wasted.

I approve of the allowance to the earl of Westmoreland being continued in Paris, as he is better there than elsewhere at present. You may tell him you have orders to pay it, and do so with the rest of the pensions to his countrymen. A fresh credit of 8,000 crowns shall be sent you for this and other purposes. You did well in sheltering him when he came to you, and he will, doubtless, when the time arrives, lend his support where it may be required. —San Lorenzo, 5th September 1586.

5 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 65.

477. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

Since the other letter to you about England was written, it has been thought advisable to send you two letters for the prince of Parma. The first one is simply to prepare the ground, and this, if you think well, you can forward at once, without appearing to know what it contains, and I think in the interests of secrecy this will be the best course. The other letter you will keep in your own possession until, by God's grace, you receive intelligence that

* In a marginal note in the draft the King has suggested that the following passage should be added: "It is therefore very important that the Admiral Lord Howard, who is I believe a relative of the Norfolk's, should be gained over." A sub-note states that this passage was incorporated in the letter.

1586.

Babington has carried his intention into effect, In such case only will you send this letter to the Prince, so that he may be able with all speed to furnish the aid required without awaiting fresh orders from me; this second letter, as you will see by the copy, containing the fullest instructions for the purpose. If the case does not happen you will on no account send the second letter.—San Lorenzo, 5th September 1586.

Marginal note in the King's hand :—"All this must be duplicated and even triplicated, as it is so important."

6 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 69.

478. Secretary Idiaquez to Bernardino de Mendoza.

His Majesty has instructed you in his letter about the principal business, that his second letter to the prince of Parma must remain in your hands until after the first stone of the edifice has been laid, as you say. The King has ordered me again to urge you to be most careful not to send the letter, or to give any hint of the purpose for which the preparations are to be made, until you are quite certain that the thing has been effected. You will report how the whole matter stands when the principal act has been done.

I remind you also as to your remark about seizing Don Antonio and the Councillors. As an attempt to capture him by horsemen in the way suggested might fail, it will be in all respects safer to reject the instrumentality offered, and serve him (Don Antonio) like the rest. Let the proper people know this, and tell them to be sure not to neglect anything that may afterwards give trouble, as this may be an important point for them.

Juan Iñiguez wants to find a trustworthy man, a Frenchman, whom he can send to England about Don Antonio's affair, and tells me that you said you would find him one, if you were so instructed from here. You may consider such instruction to have been given, and provide the man, unless you think this new plan is more likely to succeed, in which case you can wait until you see how it turns out, and delay Iñiguez in the meanwhile.—San Lorenzo, 6th September 1586.

6 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 165.

479. Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Since my last letters to your Majesty I have advices from England dated 20th ultimo, new style, saying that Drake had brought with him 18 ships in very bad condition, very little money, but a large quantity of hides, sugar, and ginger. The Queen had ordered him to put to sea with seven ships well armed and to sail for Spain, with the object, it was understood, of discovering the designs of your Majesty's fleet.

The earl of Arundel's imprisonment had been made closer than before, and fresh guards have been placed over his wife. Master Babington had been arrested, but he escaped the following night in his shirt. They arrested at the same time a secretary of Hatton's, a strong Catholic, and they say also that Master Gifford had been taken for having shot a harquebuss at the Queen. The matter is related in various ways, some accounts stating that the shot had

1586.

killed another person who was following the Queen. Little dependence can therefore be placed upon it until fresh advices are received. The French ambassador in England writes that the Queen had a fortunate escape, but without giving any particulars or saying whether they had actually made an attempt upon her or a plan for a rising had been discovered.

The Queen was arranging to send troops to the Isle of Wight to fortify it, for fear your Majesty's forces might attempt to effect a landing there.

Postscript.—Since I wrote the above a courier from England has arrived, who left there on the 26th ultimo. He reports that arrests continued to be made in consequence of the discovery of a plot against the Queen. It was not true that a harquebuss had been fired at her. I have not been able to learn more, as the courier only arrived at this moment.

I also hear the Queen has sent troops to garrison the place called Milford Haven, in the west country, near Bristol.

6 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 166.

480. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

Doubts of the peace in France between the King and the Huguenots being concluded.

The archbishop of Nazareth* is favourable to the Spanish cause. He (the Nuncio) had been pressed by the archbishop of Paris and Belièvre to tell them frankly whether the Pope would be pleased for the English enterprise to be undertaken by your Majesty. He (the Nuncio) had answered that the only interest of his Holiness in the matter was the conversion of the country to the Catholic faith, and that this end would shortly be attained by some means, and it was equally welcome to the Pope no matter whose was the hand that did it, your Majesty's, that of the king of France, or anyone else. This quieted them without his appearing partial. Nazareth

* This was Fabio Mirto Frangipani, who had been recently appointed Papal Nuncio in Paris under somewhat peculiar circumstances. The jealousy of Henry III. towards the League and the Guises and his favours to Henry of Navarre were ascribed by the Catholics to the weakness of the Nuncio Giacomo Raggazoni. By the intrigues therefore of the Guise party and the Spaniards at the Vatican the Nuncio was recalled and the archbishop of Nazareth appointed in his stead. As the new Nuncio was a Neapolitan and consequently a Spanish subject, Este, Medici, Gonzaga, Santorio, and other anti-Spanish Cardinals objected to the appointment, and the French ambassador pointed out to the Pope that the presence of such a Nuncio in Paris could only add to the King's embarrassment. Sextus V. flew into a great rage and said that whilst he had breath in his body none but himself should appoint his Nuncios. Nazareth was therefore sent to France, but on his arrival at Lyons was met by a peremptory order of the King to leave the country at once, which he did and returned to Rome. The Marquis de Pisani, the French ambassador, was instructed to explain to his Holiness that by the concordat the king of France was precluded from receiving as Nuncio a Spanish subject. The ambassador found the doors of the Vatican closed against him, and he was ordered to leave the Papal States within a week. He replied that they were so small it would not take so long as that to evacuate them, and left the same evening. The weak Henry III., however, was terrified at the boldness of his ambassador and ignominiously submitted, prayed for the Pope's forgiveness, and himself begged that Nazareth should be sent as Nuncio. As will be seen in this correspondence, the new Nuncio became, as from the first was intended, merely an obedient tool of the Spaniards.

1586.

approves of the Queen-mother having gone to treat for peace, as he thinks that otherwise the King will be obliged to undertake the war with energy, and if peace be effected it will be so scandalous that the confederate Princes will be forced to take up arms again. Nazareth is in secret intelligence with them, and Muzio (*i.e.* the duke of Guise) has written telling him to write warmly to the duke of Nevers about his going to see Bearn and Condé, after he had been urging the Pope so much to declare them schismatic.

Babington, whom I have mentioned, is the leader of the plot about which I wrote to your Majesty. Master Gifford offered on his own account to kill the Queen more than a year ago, although he knew nothing of the conspiracy of the six Catholics, notwithstanding that one of them bears the same name as himself. I have no news of the arrest of any of these, although, as I write to your Majesty, the affair being so widespread I fear it will not be possible to conceal it.—Paris, 6th September 1586.

Note.—In a cipher letter of the same date to Don Juan de Idiaquez, Mendoza mentions that he had news from London dated the 26th ultimo, saying that at that date great bonfires were being lit in the streets for joy at the discovery of a conspiracy against the Queen.

9 Sept. **481.** COUNT DE OLIVARES to the KING.

On the 29th ultimo I sent your Majesty the summary I had given to the Pope, drawn up from the contents of your Majesty's letters, with some alterations to suit his humour, and, as I reported, I was afterwards for some days without speaking to him. I have subsequently had two audiences, and have conferred with Carrafa several times, at length on the business, and at last managed to bring him to the terms stated in the enclosed paper, of which I retain the original signed by Cardinal Carrafa, your Majesty not being pledged in any way. This end has been assisted by the Pope's having been informed, I expect by the Nuncio, that your Majesty was not thinking of undertaking the enterprise. It will be well to maintain the Nuncio in this opinion.

There was a great deal of pro and con about the first clause, but I do not repeat it to your Majesty, as the substance of it all was the same as I wrote to your Majesty on the 24th February, in the margin of clause 4, namely, to exaggerate the recent abuses on the part of the English, against which I urged the facility with which your Majesty could come to terms with them, and consequently that the enterprise was not needful for your Majesty. They were at last brought to admit this, although they did not really believe it, such is the regard in which vengeance is held here. No more can possibly be got from them on this point, and it is of no use to refer to it again, but we must accept their admission such as it is. With regard to the money, the previous arguments were gone over again as detailed in the said paper, and there is no need for me to repeat them here. After a great deal of discussion they have agreed to the terms set forth in the enclosed paper. This is a gain to us in four particulars: First, we get 200,000 crowns more,

1586.

because although in the previous offer there was something to a similar effect, it was saddled with a condition as to time which made it valueless—for God forbid that two years after the army landed the country should still be undelivered to the person who is to rule it, which was the condition upon which your Majesty was to earn this 200,000 crowns.

The periods for payment of all the instalments have been much shortened. We are also to have security, which is a great point gained and may open the door to some ecclesiastical concessions, although the document was moderated by me in view of the limitations the Pope introduced into his conversation on the matter, and their urgent assertion that the (Spanish ?) clergy is already greatly burdened (although it was clear that some such terms must necessarily be conceded to us). I also moderated what your Majesty wrote to me about the clergy, and merely said that the subjects of these and all other countries were also much burdened.

I am inclined to think that, notwithstanding what the Pope says about his purse and concessions, that if the enterprise were undertaken in a favourable year as much as 1,500,000 crowns might be got. I told his Holiness verbally what your Majesty will see in my despatch in the note to clause 4 ; and it also might be possible to get from him a good part of the 500,000 crowns paid in advance to fit out the fleet, as your Majesty wishes, if your Majesty gave security in goods or otherwise that the Pope should be reimbursed if the expedition was not undertaken.

The prolongation of the grants in order that your Majesty may be repaid for the other expenses of the enterprise is a new point, and I do not know how it could be arranged, but the Pope would readily agree to the English (ecclesiastical revenues) paying it, he bearing his part. His Holiness returned to the point of his contributing Italian troops, and I placed before him the difficulty of secrecy in each case. It ended in the way your Majesty will see by the paper, without my binding myself to anything, and if your Majesty has no need to raise many Italians for the enterprise, the question is settled ; but if you have to do so, it would be troublesome to dissuade the Pope from contributing them.

The question of the successor to the queen of Scotland has not again been referred to, but the words I got from the Pope, without his seeing the effect of what he was saying, and almost against his will, as reported in my dispatch of 24th February ; are now being confirmed, mixed up with the other points, in the memorandum now submitted, in which they are mentioned. I will watch this point with the care its importance demands and your Majesty directs.

I await the instructions on the other points which your Majesty says you were sending, and as my duty requires that I should state my opinion in the interests of your service, at the risk of my being considered too inquisitive, I venture to say that if this business is to succeed it should be done promptly, or else deferred. Even though its execution may depend upon certain events or information which may make your Majesty doubtful as to whether

1586.

it will be carried out or not, it is highly necessary that I should be thoroughly acquainted with all the details of the aims your Majesty has in view in the conclusion of the business, so that, as far as present circumstances and opportunities allow, I may direct negotiations here in accordance therewith from first to last. If I am entirely enlightened I can at once begin to weave the web around the Pope, and place my snares where necessary by reason of the constant changes and his small inclination to secrecy. By this means I will try, without pledging your Majesty a hair's breadth, to have everything ready for the moment when your Majesty may order me to put the screw on. The more time I have the better I can ripen and dispose things in our favour. In case your Majesty should be awaiting the taking of some place in Flanders, or the issue of some secret arrangement being made by the prince of Parma, I venture to point out to your Majesty how much more efficaciously could I work here, and how much time would be saved if the prince of Parma were to give me the countersign, so that I might through an intermediary draw the Pope on—by pointing out that this was the opportunity to send a despatch to your Majesty with a new and splendid offer—so that I could net him at once, without the loss of time and effort that would occur if I waited until after your Majesty had received the news. I will only instance the favourable way in which the question of the English succession is proceeding without the Pope even noticing it. By this means also secrecy and dissimulation will be more easily preserved, and it is very necessary in order to negotiate successfully with the Pope that everything should be settled here before he hears of the great preparations, or of your Majesty's reported voyage to Portugal, which he will look upon as a certain prognostic. It will also be very advantageous in the matter of his paying the money in advance, because although he will promise and will seek expedients, I consider it will be extremely difficult to get him to do it when he sees the matter has reached a certain stage. I am quite aware that in saying this I am exceeding the bounds of my strict duty, and that I am laying a burden upon my shoulders to which my strength is unequal; but my ardent wish that your Majesty should be satisfied with me, makes me shut my eyes to all else, in the certainty that your Majesty will judge me aright, and pity my shortcomings whilst you applaud my zeal.

With regard to Allen's hat, Father Robert,* who really is very prudent, intelligent, and zealous, urges strongly the advantage of not deferring this, as your Majesty says the Englishmen in Spain also do. The reason why I have hitherto inclined to delay the matter was because I did not think the enterprise would have been so long deferred, but as circumstances have caused this, I think it would be well not to delay granting the hat later than this Christmas. I had thought that the most secret way would have been for him (Allen) to disembark with the army, and have the hat sent to him there (in England), but he might go to Flanders secretly during the last few days, or to some other place your

* Persons, the jesuit.

1586.

Majesty might command, but it would greatly encourage the queen of Scotland and the English Catholics, and would lend them new courage to have this man at the side of the Pope. It would also be beneficial, because when the time came to press the business home, he could speak more frequently and efficaciously to the Pope about the subsidy, and his opinion about the succession will have more weight. These reasons for making him a cardinal are so strong that if all others disappeared, they would be sufficient. If he be given the hat soon, it will also do away with the danger that the Pope may appoint others at the same time, whilst if he includes him amongst those he intends to elevate this Christmas, the affair will look less mysterious.*

Your Majesty will recollect what I wrote about the Pope's desire that the request to give the hat to Allen should come from your Majesty. It is desirable in your Majesty's interests that we should be friendly with him, and, in view of this, seeing him in such poverty, I ventured to aid him with 100 crowns in February, and if he be detained here he must have as much more. He has been made to understand that the gift comes from your Majesty, and the limitation alone from me. If your Majesty do not order otherwise, these sums will be discounted from what your Majesty may grant him.

If your Majesty should be short of pensions, and should not scruple to grant him a church, his Holiness would not act as he usually does. Cassano or . . . . . which would be sufficient, are shortly to fall vacant, and should fall this time to a foreigner; and in the meanwhile your Majesty should provide for him, but your Majesty will recognise the great need for secrecy in this.

Father Robert tells me that they have recently received letters from the queen of Scotland, who says that she has had no possibility of writing hitherto, since they removed her. She charges them to thank your Majesty warmly for your aid and favour to her; and says that the proposal made to her formerly for her release, which might easily have been carried through previously, is not now possible, unless she can manage to win over some go-between, as she was now beginning to do. She prays, for God's sake, that the enterprise may not be delayed, as the present time is most opportune, seeing the confusion and dissatisfaction that reigns everywhere. She begs that her own personal risk may not be allowed to delay the execution, as that, she says, is of no importance, if in exchange what is fitting be done.—Rome, 9th September 1586.

Enclosed in the above letter there is a document in which the Pope, whilst declaring his poverty, undertakes to pay 700,000 crowns, 500,000 on the arrival of the armada in England, 100,000 six months later, and 100,000 after the lapse of another six months. Under certain conditions as to security the first payment

* The Pope did not include Allen's name amongst the eight new cardinals he promoted in December, there being already much opposition in the Sacred College to his lavish appointments to the dignity, but early in the following year 1587 Allen received the hat.

1586.

might, if the King wished, be paid in advance in the form of bills on merchants at Lisbon.

10 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 169.

482. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since writing my three letters of the 6th, a secretary of the French ambassador in England has arrived here, he having been despatched with great haste by his master on the 29th ultimo to inform this King of the discovery in England of a conspiracy against the Queen, in respect of which I mentioned in my last letters that some arrests were being made, although one of the prisoners named Babington had escaped in his shirt. It appears that they captured him again with several others of the principal leaders in the affair, and a priest named Ballard, whom the Catholics sent hither some months since. As some of the conspirators divulged what was going on, this caused the arrest by the Queen of two secretaries of the queen of Scotland, and the seizure of all their letters and papers; the two secretaries themselves being prisoners in Walsingham's house. It was feared in consequence of this that the queen of Scotland's life might be endangered, and it was to report this to the king of France and her Guise kinsman here that this (French) secretary was sent hither. Walsingham also writes to the English ambassador here, that never before in the Queen's time had so deeply rooted a conspiracy been formed as this, but that God had so cared for the life of Her Majesty as to allow it to be discovered miraculously. It was, he says, an affair of your Majesty conducted by me, as this priest said that he had come to speak with me, and learn whether if these conspirators rose your Majesty would succour them, which your Majesty naturally would do, even if they had not appealed to you as Catholics, considering that the Queen had begun war upon you. I have said this to some of those who have come to discuss the matter with me, and that I should feel no less injured by the Queen's considering that I would advise any of her subjects to conspire against her life, she being their sovereign and a woman, than at being thought capable of neglecting any possible means, even at the sacrifice of thousands of lives, of utterly destroying and conquering her country by the sword, and taking away her crown, with all the zeal which a good subject of my King should display against a power with which he was at war. I would, I said, never cease this course whilst the state of war continued. Drake is hurrying forward his preparations to put to sea with the ships I mentioned.—Paris, 10th September 1586.

10 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 168.

483. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

As the secretary of whom I speak in my general letter to your Majesty has arrived from England, I send off this despatch to catch the merchants' post which starts from Rouen. The whole of the affair that was being planned appears to have been discovered, some of the leaders having confessed. Of the six men who had sworn to kill the Queen, only two have escaped, namely, the favourite Raleigh and the brother of Lord Windsor. I am of

1586.

opinion that the queen of Scotland must be well acquainted with the whole affair, to judge from the contents of a letter which she has written to me, which letter I do not enclose herewith, as it is not ciphered, but will send it with my next. Doubtless, it is God's will to give England to your Majesty by the strong arm only, since He has allowed so much Catholic blood to be shed, as will be by the discovery of this business. There has been hitherto nothing said about my letters, but, even if they were discovered and printed, they are so worded that they may have another construction placed upon them easily.—Paris, 10th September 1586.

18 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 70.

484. STATEMENT made by the Master of an Easterling Ship which cast anchor at Lisbon on the 18th September 1586.

He was bound from his own country to Lisbon with a cargo of cordage and other merchandise, and touched an English port on the way, where he was well treated, as he said he was bound for France. He was told in England that Drake had arrived there, and as he had brought back great treasure he intended to fit out another expedition of 80 vessels, which it was said would sail during October.

After he (the deponent) had left England, and not far from the coast of Spain, he fell in with some armed ships from Rochelle, which captured him and sacked everything he had in his ship, his loss being 20,000 ducats. As they did not want his ship they let him have it, with sufficient stores for him to arrive at Lisbon, where he has made the present declaration.

Note.—In letters of 18th and 28th September, and indeed in most of the letters of this period from the King to Mendoza, the latter is urged in the most pressing manner to keep the King well informed as to what is going on in the English ports with regard to armaments, and as to the intentions of the Queen and Council. By means of money or with the help of Muzio (the duke of Guise) trustworthy men *must* be kept in England to send or bring sure information. The fact of the ports and passes being closed, instead of excusing this makes it the more necessary.

26 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1561 173.

485. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In accordance with your Majesty's reiterated orders, I have used the most energetic efforts to learn what is passing in England for your Majesty's information, but these disturbances render my endeavours less efficacious than I could wish. Both at Dieppe and Rye, as well as the rest of the ports, they have recently opened all the letters that pass, with the sole exception of the letters from the king of France and the queen of England to their respective ambassadors. The queen of England has ordered the arrest of all people who travel, even from one village to another, without permits from the justices. This can hardly continue, but whilst it exists there are very few men who will undertake the risk of going; besides which, in view of recent events, foreigners there are in such a state of alarm that they dare not write about their own business matters. It will be necessary, therefore, to give time for the cloud

1586.

to pass over before we can get intelligence. I am doing everything I can to open up communications, and in the meanwhile am sending your Majesty the information which I consider the most trustworthy gathered and compared from all quarters.

I mentioned in my last that the French ambassador in England had sent a secretary hither, but the accounts he gives and that written subsequently by the ambassador himself, are so confused, that it is very difficult to construct a clear and trustworthy relation from them of the events that have happened in England. The (French) King's Councillors said thus much to Madame de Montpensier, who went to beg them to urge upon the King at the present juncture to take such steps towards the queen of England as his close connection with the queen of Scotland demanded. The Councillors answered that they did not gather from the ambassador's letters in what respect the queen of Scotland was inculpated, nor what grounds there were for the trouble, so that your Majesty will see how difficult it is for me to say anything decided, except where the ambassador is confirmed from other quarters. The ambassador bases his letters upon Walsingham's assertion to him that the prisoners had confessed that, although the ambassador, Chateauneuf, was a good Catholic and an honest gentleman, they did not trust him or discover their design to any person other than Don Bernardino de Mendoza, which is the same song they have always sung in any similar case, inventing fictions like this with the object of persuading the French that it behoves them to draw closer to them (the English) and arousing their indignation against the queen of Scotland for appealing to your Majesty for help. They adopted the same course towards the former French ambassador when I was there, and especially at my departure, when they invented all sorts of chimeras with this end. I reminded the Scots ambassador of this, although he recollected it well, in order that he might point it out to this King (of France) and his Councillors. The King has written to his ambassador, Chateauneuf, telling him to take such steps as he considers fitting with the queen of England, for the purpose of ensuring the safety of the queen of Scotland, and to report to him (the King) whether it was necessary to take up the matter more strongly than this.

The arrest of the secretaries of the queen of Scotland took place in the following manner. Paulet, who was in charge of her, entered her apartment, and said that, as the weather was so fine she could if she desired it go out hunting. She accepted the offer with the pleasure that any prisoner would feel, and Paulet ordered the principal members of her household to mount for the purpose of attending her. When she had gone about a mile from the house Waad, the man who went to Spain, came and told her that he had orders from the queen of England to convey her to another castle, with her secretaries and other servants prisoners When the queen of Scotland heard this she proceeded, with great lamentations, to another house belonging to a gentleman, where she is now confined to a single room, without one of her own servants to attend her. Her secretaries and steward were taken to Windsor,

1586.

whither the queen of England has retired for greater safety. Waad went back to the queen of Scotland's former lodging and examined everything, breaking open the boxes and desks, and taking the papers he found in them. The ambassador Chateauneuf writes that Waad asserts that he had found a large quantity of ciphers buried in a garden, and amongst them the copy of a letter from me—a curious place to keep papers in, forsooth! but as he (Chateauneuf) is a new minister he considers it necessary to write whatever they tell him. They also affirm that the secretaries of the queen of Scotland have confessed, but no particulars are given of what they confessed. The report that comes from the English embassy here is to the effect that the secretaries have confessed that the Catholics had sent her intelligence of a conspiracy that they had entered into against the queen of England, but not that she had persuaded them to it.

As soon as the arrests were effected, the Queen (of England) wrote to the city of London thanking the citizens for their fidelity to her, and on certain vessels being discerned from Southampton near the Isle of Wight, either because of them, or by chance, a haystack caught fire, which caused the guards to set light to the beacons they have set up, consisting of barrels of pitch, to summon the country to arms. Upon this Lord Buckhurst, the Governor of the province, mustered his men to the number of four or five thousand, all armed and ready. Some people who have come hither from England, and were present at the scene, are never tired of recounting it with infinite laughter, describing the confusion and alarm of the English. The rumour reached London that 10,000 Frenchmen had landed and captured three villages. The fear was as great in the capital itself, and when the Queen wrote ordering that the city guards should be doubled and the citizens be prepared for defence, they said this is what comes of the war in Flanders. Some people say that this alarm was sounded in England in consequence of three ships having entered the port of Southampton to take soundings, which does not appear likely. The French ambassador has sent an account of Drake's voyage in Latin, which I enclose herewith. The account was written specially, and is accompanied by a portrait of Drake sent to Secretary Villeroy, who values it very highly, and copies have been ordered to be made from it for presentation to Joyeuse, Épernon, and other favourites of the King. The ambassador asserts that Drake did not bring 200,000 crowns worth of plunder from the Indies, and that he lost 1,000 men. The best jewel he brings is the cross from the great church of Santo Domingo, and the English ambassador here confesses to the Huguenots that the Queen had not received a single groat from the result of Drake's voyage, as all the booty was taken by the soldiers in the sacking of the place.

The Queen had ordered a great number of cattle to be slaughtered for salt meat to provision the ships with which Drake is to go back to the Indies; and letters from England of the 13th (which is the 3rd according to the English style) report that the decision as to Drake's sailing with seven of the Queen's ships to reconnoitre

1586.

the coasts of Spain and watch your Majesty's fleet has been changed, and orders have now been given for all of the Queen's ships to cruise in the channel, as sails have been sighted there. The preparation of the ships for Drake's voyage for the Indies, however, still goes on apace, but they could not be ready for six weeks. The Queen's councillors argue that if your Majesty's fleet do not invade them this month (September), it can hardly do so in so dangerous a winter month at sea as October; and they will prevent you from being able to invade the country next spring by the return of Drake to the Indies, whither your Majesty will be obliged to send a strong force of ships.

Secretary Walsingham, in his last letters to the English ambassador here, says that the priest Ballard had confessed that Charles Paget had brought him to speak to me, and that I had sent him to persuade the Catholics to rise in mass against the Queen. He also writes that four English ships had arrived from the Levant.

Sir George Especan (Peckham ?) and Sir Thomas Chaset (?), who are co-fathers-in-law and good Catholics, greatly attached to the queen of Scotland, and persons of great influence, had been apprehended and lodged in the Tower of London. It is said that rooms are being made ready in the Tower for the queen of Scotland.

The son-in-law of Secretary Pinart, who went as ambassador to Scotland, has returned hither through England and stayed in London for some days to speak with the Queen. He only reports from Scotland that the King is still in the power of the English faction, who are reported by last advices to be sending 1,500 or 2,000 Scotsmen to Holland under the Master of Grey.*—Paris, 26th September 1586.

27 Sept. **486.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 178.

The instructions your Majesty has ordered to be sent to me in the letter of 5th instant, as to how I am to behave in the English affair, and the reprimand which your Majesty deigns to administer for what I have done in the past, are so highly esteemed by me as a sign of your favour that I cast myself prostrate at your royal feet in gratitude for the grace thus extended to me, in the hope that my desire to serve you successfully may partly deserve your Majesty's goodness.† This ardent zeal to serve was the reason why I wrote the letters,‡ as I knew the humour of the English Catholics, and that it is necessary to ply the spur upon them directly they pledge themselves to such undertakings as this, and send them forward with a rush before they have time to cool and turn back, whilst at the same time keeping them in hand sufficiently to prevent them from precipitating themselves unless on solid grounds. To this must be added the consideration that the

* Baron d'Esneval's relation to the king of France respecting affairs in Scotland on his return from his embassy is printed from the papers of his family by M. Chéruel in his "*Marie Stuart et Catharine de Medici*," Paris, 1858. Much of d'Esneval's correspondence will also be found in Teulet, Vol. 2.

† *See* letters Mendoza to the King, 13th August, page 603, and the King to Mendoza, 5th September, page 614.

‡ The letters to England approving of the plot to assassinate the Queen.

1586.

business was very widespread, and it was to be feared that if any delay occurred it might come to light. This latter suspicion was well founded, as only four days after Gifford came over to France advice was received that the Queen's officers were in search of him, and two days subsequently Ballard was captured (that was the priest who came to me with general proposals), and his arrest was followed by that of Babington. It will thus be seen that, although I acted promptly in a matter so important for your Majesty's interests, my letters still arrived too late in London to be of any use, as the plot was discovered and the men prisoners.

I also considered it unadvisable that Gifford should return, and as they decidedly told me that they were so deeply pledged in the business that unless I instantly sent them an assurance, signed by my own hand, that they should be supported, they would all be ruined, I had no time to seek another confidant to take back the reply, even if such a one had been obtainable. It would have been very dangerous to trust the reply with a person upon whom I had no dependence, particularly at a time when they would certainly arrest every Englishmen going from here without a passport; the ports being so closely watched. This difficulty was obviated by my taking advantage of so safe a way of getting my letters to London, as was the forwarding of them through the man who sent the queen of Scotland letters. I wrote that as I had heard from their messenger of their resolution, and considered it holy and good, I would give your Majesty an account of it, and believed that you, too, would approve of it, with other general and vague expressions to the same effect, and if the letter had been shown to the Queen herself she would see that it was in answer to proposals that had first been made to me by Englishmen. The word "resolution" might be construed to mean the taking up of arms for the sake of religion, which your Majesty is bound to approve of, even if the Queen had not insolently broken the peace towards you, whilst the defence of Flanders, the recovery of Flushing and the release of the queen of Scotland, are such righteous aims as to be fully justifiable. The letters were, moreover, sent without superscripture, and with an English cover directing them to be sent to Flushing. The only result that could come from the discovery of my letters in England was the indignation which the Queen might feel personally towards me, which is not worth consideration, since God only gives life to subjects that it may be employed at all times, and in all things, which the interests of their sovereigns may demand. If my letters even are disclosed by the conspirators themselves, I do not see why that should have prevented me from writing them, since reasons of state demanded the step (the Queen being at open war with your Majesty), in order that her suspicions might be aroused as to the little confidence she could place in her own subjects, and to the fact that they were in communication with your Majesty's officers. This causes the French to be very shy of pledging themselves too closely to her, as they think she will have a difficulty in keeping her footing. That this is their feeling is shown in the present case, because as soon as the news came from the French ambassador

1586.

of the large number of the conspirators, and the English ambassador here, said the affair had been managed by Charles Paget and others here, Secretary Villeroy advised them secretly to leave Paris for a few days, thinking thus that they (the French) would oblige the Queen.

On another occasion the king (of France) authorised the servants of the English ambassador to arrest these men, as they did Morgan at dead of night. The fear that my letters might cause the Queen to persecute the Catholics in the belief that your Majesty was about to invade her country, may be met by saying that, although her cruelty might be greater than it is, she is so convinced already that you will attack her that she is hourly expecting to see your Majesty's forces. All sorts of people write from Spain that your Majesty's fleet is being fitted out for England, and even the General of the Minorites in Spain has sent word to his friars, and to a bookseller here, that the Armada was ready to sail for England, and directing them to pray to God for its success. There is therefore not a Frenchman who meets one of my servants, who does not ask him when the Armada is coming to England. The rumour has reached the queen of Scotland, as is proved by two letters from her which I received together on the 8th, and of which I send copies enclosed. It is also plain from these letters that the Catholics had informed her of their resolution, as she bespeaks credence for the man she will send to me. I have not replied until I see whether I shall have a way open after this business has blown over. I handed to her ambassador the 8,000 crowns that your Majesty instructed me to pay to her representative. I wrote to him (the Scots ambassadors) and enclose copy of his reply, saying that he had ciphered orders from his mistress (which he showed to me) to receive the money. He assures me that it shall be employed in setting her at liberty, and for no other purpose. He sends the gold to her at once in boxes of sweetmeats, as he has done before, and I understand that the object of this is that she should have it at hand, and so be able to avail herself of any opportunity which presented itself for her release. It is true, as things are now, that no such opportunity appears probable, as they have removed her to another castle and are keeping her very closely.

As God for our sins has not seen fit to allow the plans of the Catholics to succeed, it is an indication of His intention to bring the country to submission by force of the arms of your Majesty, upon whom He will confer the realm with many other crowns and thrones, to be followed after many years of life by an eternal crown in heaven for your services.

I kept back the despatches your Majesty sent for the prince of Parma, thinking it would be useless to send them now that the affair had been discovered. If the business had been carried through the Catholics were in such a position that they would not have needed hasty help.

Your Majesty asks me in what respect the Catholic schismatics in England differ from the heretics. They acknowledge the Catholic

1586.

religion as the true one, and profess it in their hearts, but their love for their property makes them obey the laws of Queen so as not to lose it, and leads them to listen to the perverse preachings, and in some cases to partake of the abominable communion. Apart from this, they always express a desire to be reconciled to the church, and for the country to be converted, and offer much help to that end. This causes Catholics to speak plainly with them, as they (*i. e.* the Catholics) are not so suspicious as they ought to be. There are a great number of these schismatics, who would undoubtedly join the Catholics and the cause of the queen of Scotland if the latter declared themselves, and they saw them fairly strong. There are also influential heretics so much attached to the queen of Scotland that they would follow her. They advise her of anything they learn which threatens danger to her.

In order to have a safer channel for my correspondence with England, when M. de Chateauneuf left here, I had him approached secretly by religious persons, and told how great would be the service he would render the cause of God if he allowed letters and money from Catholics here to pass under cover of his despatches. He willingly consented to this and has punctually fulfilled it without opening a letter.* The secretary he has sent hither is the person who ostensibly does it, in order that the ambassador may not be compromised; and as he is here, and it would be imprudent whilst this fury lasts to attempt communication with Catholics there, most of whom, moreover, are in prison, or have fled from London, I cannot send your Majesty such full reports from there as I could wish, though I am bravely helped by the Scots ambassador, and endeavour by every possible means to get all the information I can.

The earl of Westmoreland whose need is very great, has been informed by me of what your Majesty had ordered to be done for him. He humbly thanks your Majesty to whose service he says he has devoted his life and wishes to employ it where it may be most useful to you.—Paris, 27th September 1586.

28 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 75.

487. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

The Scotsman who you said was coming hither with letters from Muzio (Guise) and offers from some of the principal men in Scotland, has arrived here. His mission and the instructions and signatures he showed were all in agreement with what you reported, and the effect of them therefore need not be repeated here. Their intentions are no doubt good, but it is hard to believe that the country would be so easily converted to the Catholic faith, seeing how it is permeated with heresy. This fact, and also because we are less able to judge at this distance as to the time and juncture when anything good could be effected, than you who are nearer, has caused me to defer my decision on the business

* Aubespine de Chateauneuf, the French ambassador in England, was a strong Guise partisan.

1586.

until I have communicated with the prince of Parma, and have heard his opinion and yours upon it, having in view the present state of England and Scotland, and other considerations. With this answer, with fair words and a letter for Muzio (copy of which is enclosed), Robert Bruce is returning. As he informs us that those who sent him have also given an account of their good intentions to his Holiness, it will be well for you to advise them to try to obtain money aid from him rather than from me, as you know that so much is wanted here for necessary things that we can hardly provide it at all. Before a formal answer is sent to their proposal, however, I wish you to inform the duke of Parma what advantage could be gathered from the good will of these people, and whether, in case the English attacked them, they could hold their own even with the aid of the 4,000 men they request. Give him your opinion also as to whether the revolution they mention on the English border would serve as a diversion to attract Englishmen thither, and so diminish the number employed in affairs outside of the island. You will send me also similar information, and will likewise consider with the prince of Parma the answer best to be given to these people, accepting his decision upon the subject. In the meanwhile you will keep them in hand without giving any pledges or cause for complaint, and, at the same time, you will make much of Muzio's zeal in helping the Catholics in all parts. Tell him that I desire the good of the cause no less than he, but all these things must be undertaken only on solid foundation, and after the fullest knowledge has been obtained, which convinces us that success is probable, and as much more to the same effect as you think advisable.—San Lorenzo, 28th September 1586.

28 Sept. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 76.

488. The KING to the DUKE OF GUISE, sent by ROBERT BRUCE.

By your letter and the statement made to me by the bearer of it, who also carries back with him this reply, I have learnt of the present state of Scotland, and recognise the zeal which moves you to strive so sincerely for the promotion of our holy Catholic faith which zeal is greatly to be praised and esteemed. I may say the same with regard to the good intentions and spirit of the three earls whom you mention, but whose letters I do not answer to avoid bringing harm upon them if my letters should miscarry. You, however, may assure them how they have risen in my estimation, and that when an opportunity offers they shall see how deeply I am attached to them. As to their proposal, a portion of it is of such a character that it is difficult to decide or prepare for it here, and I have therefore decided to consult the prince of Parma about it, as you will more fully hear from him and Don Bernardino de Mendoza, together with all else which I may desire to communicate to you with reference to the business. Your goodwill towards me and my interests in general, is no new thing to me, and I thank you warmly for it, repaying it, as you well know, by my sincere attachment to you and your affairs.—San Lorenzo, 28th September 1586.

1586.

7 Oct. **489.** SAMPSON'S advices from ENGLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 192.

Captain Pardin has arrived here, having been sent by Don Antonio from London, which place he left on the 1st instant. With regard to the conspiracy against the Queen, he reports that up to the time of his leaving, none of the prisoners had been executed, because as they were about to execute them they discovered two more. One hundred persons are in prison, and Babington had confessed that he had reached the Queen's carriage with a pistol for the purpose of killing her, but that his heart had failed him. It is reported that they have discovered another conspiracy, arising out of the first one, namely, a plan formed by all the Catholic London apprentices, who were to rise and kill the heretics, which would have been an easy thing to do if they had known how to conduct such an affair. Thirty or forty apprentices had been arrested, when, on the following day, some threatening papers against the justices were found posted on the Lord Mayor's door. With this the persecution of the apprentices was stopped, and no further search was made. He (Pardin) reports with regard to Don Antonio's affairs, that the Queen is willing to pay his debts and give him a good pension. She makes much of him, and Drake visits him constantly. The time of Drake's departure was uncertain, but it was said that 20 or 25 ships were being fitted out for him to return to the Indies.

Pardin brings letters from Don Antonio to the King and Queen-mother, asking them whether they will promise to help him to go to Portugal, when they have made peace. Villeroy has received him very well, and give him hopes of aid.

8 Oct. **490.** CHARLES, EARL OF WESTMORELAND, to PHILIP II.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 196.

Thanks him humbly for granting him an extension of the pension he conferred upon him in Flanders as a Catholic English exile. Is in great need, having received nothing for two years, and supplicates him to allow him to be paid the back pension. He will pass all his life striving and praying for him.—Signed, Carlos Conde de Westmerlande.

Note.—The body of the letter is in the handwriting of Maldonado, the secretary of Mendoza. It is accompanied by a letter to a similar effect from the Earl to Don Juan de Idiaquez, the King's secretary, begging him to use his influence with the King in the petitioner's favour.

11 Oct. **491.** Statement of the Shipmasters Manuel Blanco of the "Buen Jesus," from Pernambuco, Brazil, with sugar and dyewood; Christopher Martin of the "St. John," from Brazil with a similar cargo; and Benito Martinez, of the "St. Mateo," also from Brazil.

Paris Archives, K. 1448. 73.

On the 30th September last at one o'clock in the afternoon, in 30° (north latitude) 30 leagues from the rock of Cintra, before they sighted land, they fell in with a number of ships on the outward tack, which they thought where a flotilla of Flemings from Lisbon or St. Ubes. When they approached a tender came alongside each of

1586.

their ships, and as the men that boarded them were Englishmen of the fleet, they (the deponents) surrendered. Blanco was conveyed to the flagship and Martin to the vice-flagship.

The commander of the whole fleet was John Hawkins, who is the man who escaped from the port of San Juan de Ulloa with his ship when the late viceroy of New Spain, Don Martin Enriquez, captured some portion of his fleet. He is a man of over 50 years of age. As soon as (Blanco) reached the flagship John Hawkins asked him whether Diego Flores had gone to the Indies with a fleet, and whether the marquis of Santa Cruz was in Portugal or Castile. The pilot (Blanco) answered that the Marquis was at Lisbon with the troops and his Highness,* and that he (the deponent) knew nothing of Diego Flores, only that when they left Spain a fleet was being fitted out in Castile.

John Hawkins said the Queen was raising a great fleet and that she had Don Antonio with her. If the Spaniards thought of taking England, the English would first come with Don Antonio and take Portugal. He said they had come now by the Queen's orders, as it was said that the king of Spain had seized much English property and many ships; but he, Hawkins, said he came unwillingly as he was tired of seafaring.

His fleet consisted of four great galleons of 800 tons each, belonging to the Queen which in appearance were like the great galleons of this country (*i.e.* Portugal). John Hawkins was kind to deponent, and left him plenty of clothes, &c. He showed him over the flagship, which was very well armed and fitted. He counted 44 great bronze guns, and was told that she carried 300 men. John Hawkins told him that besides the harquebussiers and bowmen, he had in the fleet 1,200 musketeers, and that the other ships were from 150 to 200 tons burden each. There were six tenders, the total number of vessels being 18.

The value of his cargo of sugar and dyewood was 12,000 or 13,000 ducats, and John Hawkins gave him (Blanco) a patent forbidding any other English ships from taking more men from his vessel, as the flagship had taken some of his and a passenger. There were other English ships about, besides the 18 mentioned, but as he did not fall in with them the patent was of no use. He saw four Rochelle ships, one of which again plundered him, but he at last arrived with his ship at St. Ubes where he left her.

The deponent was asked whether he thought this English fleet looked as if it were going to the Indies, or if any of the English said they were going thither. He replied that the fleet was excellently found, with new sails, and the hulls newly cleaned so that they sailed very well, but he only heard men say they were going to the islands, and especially to St. Michaels, there to await the ships from the Indies which were expected. He thought the fleet must have recently left England, because they had fresh apples and pears, and many sheep, sucking pigs, and the like.

Christopher Martin of the "St. John" deposed that they had taken

* The Archduke Albert of Austria, Philip's nephew and viceroy of Portugal.

1586.

him on board the vice-flagship, which was even larger than the flagship, and almost as large as our great galleon "San Martin."* The captain of the vice-flagship was a stoutly-built man of 60, good looking and hearty, but he did not learn his name.

The captain asked him whether he knew what fleets were being fitted out in Spain. He replied that he did not, as he left for Angola 18 months ago.

He then asked him whether there was a good harbour at St. Michaels? He said he had never been there. He (the captain?) replied that he knew of a very good one where men could be landed between two cliffs.

He asked him whether he knew anything of the Indian flotillas? He said he did not.

The captain said he wanted to meet the Portuguese fleet that went to the Islands, and he was going to await the Spanish Indian flotilla. He said also that the English fleet consisted of 24 ships, nine of which had been separated from the rest, but he did not know whither they were bound.

The vice-flagship was very well fitted, and carried 54 bronze pieces, all very large, and had 350 men. The outside of the poop of the vessel was much gilded with the queen of England's arms thereon, the other three great galleons being similarly decorated. He heard them say that they were fitting out a great fleet to come to Portugal, and that they had built one ship of 1,200 tons. He did not hear who was coming in this fleet, but they said that next year they would come and capture the ships from the Indies. They were very kind to him personally, but took his pilot (mate) from him. The captain told him that if he found what he was seeking he would at once let the pilot go. The sugar and dyewood they took from him would be worth about 9,000 ducats. He was also plundered by the four Rochelle ships as he came in company with Manuel Blanco. All the four great galleons belonging to the Queen were similarly armed, and the other ships and the tenders were also well manned and armed with cannon.

Benito Martin of the "St. Mateo" from Pernambuco, Brazil, said that three English ships overhauled and captured him on the 6th September. His cargo of dyewood and sugar was worth 10,000 ducats, and at the same time they captured another ship in his company, the cargo of which was worth 10,000 ducats. He heard them say nothing particular. The ships of Domingo Gonzales, Juan Cardoso, and Gregorio Alfonso, all loaded with wood and sugar, were taken at the same time. Their cargoes were worth together 50,000 ducats. Two ships from St Thomé are also missing, worth 50,000 ducats. The said Manuel Blanco, Christopher Martin and Benito Martinez signed their names to this in Lisbon on the 11th October 1586.

* The galleon "San Martin" was one of the finest vessels in the Spanish navy, and was subsequently the duke of Medina Sidonia's flagship in the Armada. She was of 1,000 tons burden and carried 48 pieces of ordnance.

1586.
15 Oct. **492.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the PRINCE OF PARMA.
Paris Archives, K. 1564. 201.

By the enclosed despatch from His Majesty, your Excellency will see the proposal made to him by some of the principal Scottish nobles some time since, together with the conditions they requested, and a copy of the letter I wrote to His Majesty on the subject. As this letter will speak for itself, I only need add here, in fulfilment of His Majesty's orders, my own opinion on certain points specified by His Majesty.

It would only tire your Excellency to recount how long I have urged this matter, and I will simply say in brief that ever since I going to England I have pressed it upon the Scottish nobles, and more recently upon Claude Hamilton, when he came hither exiled from Scotland and became reconciled to the church. He is a person of valour and understanding, devotedly attached to the queen of Scotland, and his family is one of great influence in the country. Your Excellency will recollect that the king of Scotland, for these reasons, was induced to recall him, and he took the opportunity of encouraging the other Catholics and pointing out to them how small had been the protection extended to him in France in the pursuance of their aims, assuring them that it would be useless for them to expect efficient aid in the fulfilment of their hopes from anyone but the Pope and His Majesty.

My design in bringing this about, was (according to my poor judgment) to convert that country (Scotland) to the Holy Catholic faith, which is a matter of inestimable importance and so closely connected with His Majesty's interests; that its predominance and extension in all parts cannot fail to be of advantage, especially in regard to the peace and quietude of the Netherlands, which reason has double force now that the queen of England has so shamelessly taken under her protection those rebellious provinces. All this is so evident that I need not further seek to prove it, but your Excellency is aware that in a thousand instances, the Scots in the service of the rebels have given you more trouble than any other foreign troops.

Seeing that, the Scottish Catholics make this move at the present time, which, for many reasons is the most favourable that could be, and intend to extirpate heresy from their country, it is quite evident that great apprehension will be caused thereby to the queen of England, who has so large a number of Catholics amongst her subjects, whom she oppresses, but upon whom, nevertheless, she will have partly to depend, whenever she tries to impede the Scottish designs, so many of the northern counties bordering Scotland being Catholic. She has already spent large sums in counteracting these designs, maintaining pensioners in Scotland even before the Queen left there, by whose aid the Queen was forced to escape from the country, owing to the civil wars which were fomented for the purpose. The queen of England looks upon herself as unsafe the day she has not in her favour the majority of the people of Scotland, and this she has hitherto managed to secure, as the English faction has been paramount,

1586.

and she has been able, through them, to subsidise so liberally the Flemish rebels with soldiers.

From what I have said, it will be seen how extremely important it is that His Majesty should, under some pretext, aid the Scottish Catholics in their objects, and how great an advantage may thus be gained in his interests. This is the first point upon which His Majesty orders me to give you my opinion.

The second point is whether the Scots will be strong enough, if they are given the pay of the 6,000 men they ask for, to resist any invasion of the queen of England. The Scottish nobles themselves in their first clause promise, with the help stated, to resist any such invasion, and their promise may well be accepted, when it is considered that even without any such assistance the Scots have encountered the English successfully in their various wars, without losing a span of land, and at times when the forces of England were much stronger and more united than they are now, and when the kings of England could depend upon their subjects, as this Queen cannot do now that suspicion and distrust reign supreme, and most of her best men are engaged in Holland.

The third point is whether the plan of the Scottish nobles may serve as a diversion to prevent the queen of England from sending so many of her forces to Flanders. This is evident, as when she sees in flames a country so close to her own, only separated from it by a mere brook, fordable in most places, she will, of course, fear that the sparks therefrom may set her own place alight, especially as the English Catholics will be sure to sympathise with the Scots, and the Queen will certainly conclude that there is an understanding between them.

To this consideration may be added, that now that England is at war with His Majesty, there is no sufficient store of money, men, or munitions, to sustain the war in Flanders, to man with extraordinary garrisons the Scotch and Border fortresses, and to fit out the ships with which they intend to plunder His Majesty's flotillas, and disturb his Indies, since their own commerce has been destroyed by His Majesty's prohibition.* From these points it may be safely concluded that the Queen would have to concentrate her forces at the place where the greatest danger existed for her country, and slacken her efforts where her own interests were not so directly at stake; and it may be reasoned, that if His Majesty (whom God has made so great and powerful a monarch) was diverted and troubled by the queen of England's sending Drake with his 1,500 shoeless vagabonds to the Indies, how much greater will be her perturbation when she sees the Scottish Catholics endeavouring to extirpate the heretics, and knows that their success would give new courage to the English Catholics to act in the same way.

Although these arguments are all in favour of His Majesty, it may be added that the present condition of France is such

* That is to say the prohibition of trade between England and Spain, and the confiscation of English ships and property in the latter country which had been decreed by Philip at the time the preparation of Leicester's expedition to Flanders in the late autumn of 1585.

1586.

that, even if the King were to forget his duty and endeavour to obstruct the Scottish Catholics in their righteous enterprise, he could not do it, as he cannot send troops, and the Huguenots will not by that time have disarmed. Still, however, the business is of such great importance that it should be managed with the utmost firmness and care, in order to obtain from it advantage without injury. The latter would certainly result if the Scottish Catholics were to be precipitate, as the heretic forces and the English would at once become more cohesive, instead of separating, as is desirable. For this reason I am of opinion that the Scottish nobles should be written to, saying that His Majesty highly approved of their zeal and the righteous resolution they had adopted, and then in general terms saying that His Majesty will not fail to aid them in the execution of their design, on the condition that it is undertaken on the solid grounds which are needful for the success of such an enterprise, and that they assure him, for their own sakes, that they will carry it through. He therefore wishes to know whether the pay they request for the 6,000 men is for the employment of Scots troops or foreigners? and if the latter, of what nationality? at what port they could disembark? and what personage should command them? They might also he asked if the Catholic lords have entered into this enterprise with the connivance of the King? and if not, whether it is their intention to detain him in a castle after the execution of the design? Whether it will be necessary, in order to get the King out of the hands of the English faction and of the preachers, to fall upon them sword in hand and kill them, or whether they will be forced to leave the country? because in the latter case, as they are so near England, they will go thither, and undoubtedly will obtain assistance to return, with the countenance also of their friends in Scotland. If the soldiers are to be foreigners will the Catholics declare themselves before their arrival, and will they be made masters of the fortresses of Dumbarton, Stirling, Edinburgh, and other places of importance in Scotland?

If the money is required for the pay of Scotsmen, how and where are they to be raised, and who are to be their leaders? What season of the year is considered most fitting for the execution of the enterprise? and if it be necessary for His Majesty to reinforce them, whether the troops should be sent from the Netherlands or Spain? and in what port they could disembark? These points must be necessarily cleared up before any armed action can be taken, or His Majesty afford them any specific help; and by this means we shall learn on what footing the Scotsmen are in this business. We shall be able to judge also whether His Majesty's help to them is likely to be beneficial. With regard to the affair being pressed forward promptly, or otherwise, no one is a better judge than your Excellency, who has upon your shoulders all the burden of the war, and can best calculate the pace at which it would be most advantageous to move. It is certain that, in order to prevent the war in Flanders from becoming chronic, it will be necessary to sting the Englishwoman either in Scotland or Ireland,

1586.

or both, if not resolutely in her own country. This now involves the dignity and prestige of the King, seeing the many insults she has heaped upon him, and the world will judge, if he fail to punish her, that he is unable to do so. If action be not taken against her, she will necessarily attack His Majesty; but still, withal, this business must not be undertaken without the assurance of being able to carry it through, and at a season when we shall run no risk of losing what we have gained in Flanders with the expenditure of so much blood and treasure. On this point, as I have said, your Excellency will be the best judge.

By sending such a reply as I suggest, according to my scant understanding, in which His Majesty accepts the proposal in principle, they will be pledged to us without our being bound further than the advantage to be gained may render advisable; and at the same time we shall be able to discover the ground and see whether a smaller sum of money and fewer men will serve for the execution of their plan, which is obviously as much for the service of God as for the advantage of His Majesty. Whilst he is at war with the Englishwoman, His Majesty should on no account fail to welcome the Scots, and keep them in a good humour, because whenever His Majesty wishes to invade her, any movement in his favour in Scotland will be of the highest importance, and, moreover, the Scottish intention is so holy a one that it may be hoped that God in his clemency will crown it with success.

I have thus laid before you Excellency my ideas upon the subject, and send my letter specially by one of my servants, who will bring back the reply which you think should be given to Muzio (the duke of Guise), as His Majesty instructs me not to give him any decided answer until I hear from you. I will try to keep him in hand in the meanwhile, but I pray for as prompt an answer as possible, so as to avoid the distrust of Muzio and the Scots.—Paris, 15th October 1586.

19 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 79.

493. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I quite understand that your not having sent full reports of English armaments lately, arises from the closing of the ports, and the renewed imprisonment of Catholics there, but now that the first rush is over, and the rigour probably relaxed, you must exercise extraordinary diligence in this matter, as I have often said. It is not only most important that we should know promptly what they are doing, in order to take the necessary steps, but in the absence of trustworthy news from you we get conflicting reports, which cause much anxiety, like those I now send you which reach me from Lisbon.* Let me know what you can learn about this, and pray in future exert the utmost energy in reporting to me all armaments prepared in England. Employ fitting men in the ports to see for themselves. Do this by the means formerly suggested, and let the men correspond in commercial terms, which

* *See* statements of the three shipmasters, 11th October, page 632.

1586.

may be made to form a cipher. They must inform you of all preparations direct, because to depend entirely on correspondence from London will sometimes be too long a process. In addition to this it is most useful for us to hear from there what news they have from Flanders. Your intelligence about the raising of the siege of Bergen was the first news we received of it here.—Madrid, 19th October 1586.

Note.—A letter of the 4th November again urges this point of intelligence from England in the most emphatic manner. "It is "now more important than ever. Even though the ports are "closed he must try to learn and transmit all he can about "armaments."

19 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 80.

494. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA. [EXTRACT.]

The copy of the queen of Scotland's letter to you also came to hand. I grieve for her trouble all the more for her invariable firmness in our holy faith, and her steadfast desire for its increase. I hope that God will help her. If you get an opportunity of renewing your communication with her, console her and encourage her from me. With regard to the matter of those poor Catholics, there is nothing more to be said, except to deplore their misfortune, for which they themselves are, no doubt, mostly to blame, in consequence of their being unable to keep the secret, and of having communicated it to so many people. It was inevitable that it should become known under the circumstances. You did well in not sending the letters to the duke of Parma when you saw how things were. As they are now useless you had better burn them. —19th October 1586.

20 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 81.

495. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

A Portuguese named Antonio de Vega will address himself to you under the feigned name of Luis Fernandez Marchone.* He may be trusted, and you may employ him confidentially, if you think well in supplying you with intelligence.—Madrid, 20th October 1586.

20 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 203.

496. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In accordance with orders, he has written to the prince of Parma about Scotland, copy enclosed (*see* letter of 15th October). I have not delivered the letter to Muzio yet, as the Scotsman has not appeared nor has Muzio pressed for a reply. I am afraid that there will be a great objection to persuading them (the Scots) to appeal to his Holiness for aid, as it will be necessary to explain to him the names of the leaders and the details of the plan. He (the

* This man subsequently came to London, ostensibly attached himself to the cause of Don Antonio (whom he usually refers to as his uncle in his correspondence) and served as a Spanish spy. He made more than one abortive attempt to plan the murder of Don Antonio during his stay in England.

1586.

Pope) will instantly tell Cardinal Rusticucci* (as Muzio's many experiences will prove to him), and Cardinal D'Este will know all about it directly afterwards. He will advise the king of France, who will inform the queen of England, and she will immediately write to the Scots of the English faction, telling them to make ready and seize the Catholics. Muzio is so cautious about it that he told Nazareth that he did not write anything to his Holiness that he did not desire the king (of France) to know, as the latter heard of everything through Cardinals Rusticucci and D'Este. Nazareth himself told me as soon as he arrived here, that in order to get over this difficulty he had left in Rome a nephew of his who is bishop of Gayaza, to whom he wrote confidentially what he desired to be conveyed verbally to those there.

I understand that the General of the Jesuits† spoke to the Pope about the members of the Order who are in Scotland, and of the great good they were doing, which would be greater if they were helped with money for ornaments, the printing of books, and other things. The intention of this was to see how his Holiness took it, and, if advisable, to tell him of the offers made by the principal Catholics. But he found the Pope very hard about the question of money, and ready to communicate everything to Cardinal Rusticucci, and consequently carried the matter no farther.

(Gives an account of the disorder and inattention of the king of France and the despair of his Ministers.)

I managed for the Scots ambassador to send a man to England, through the intervention of his mistress' councillors here, who have the management of her dowry. They were got to represent to the King that it would be advisable in her interests to send such a man, who might then stay in England and send reports of what went on. The King consented, and the gentleman left, but when he had only been in London a week M. de Chateauneuf, the ambassador, sent him back again, saying that it was most unadvisable for him to be detained there, in order to avoid giving rise to more suspicion in the Queen's mind than at present exists. I am therefore unable to advise your Majesty as fully as I should like. The man confirms the departure of Master Hawkins from Southampton with seventeen sail, but with small provision for a lengthy voyage.—Paris, 20th October 1586.

Postscript.—I close this letter on the 24th, having kept it since the 20th waiting for a passport. It will be impossible for me to forward my despatches with the necessary punctuality and secrecy, unless the management of the posts be given to Isuardo de Capelo, as I have written before to your Majesty.‡

---

* Cardinal Rusticucci had been made Papal Secretary of State on the elevation of Sextus V. He, in union with Cardinals D'Este and Medici, had been principally instrumental in raising his Holiness to the Pontificate, and shared with them their distrust of the Spanish party.

† Father Claude Aquaviva.

‡ Note in the handwriting of the King: "I believe that this was granted. I do not know why it has not been done." Isuardo de Capelo was the King's postmaster at Irun on the Spanish frontier.

1586.
20 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 204.

497. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

They have executed 14 of the English Catholic prisoners in England, the names of whom I enclose.* They all died as Catholics, confessing that they died for religion's sake, and saying that if they had as many lives as they had hairs on their heads, they would spend them all in the same cause. They did not incriminate anyone else. Ballard the priest was the first one they executed, and he exhorted all of them to be of good heart, since they who had been Catholics in life should prove themselves Catholics in death. When Babington's turn came the rope broke and the hangman cut him open alive, as is the custom, to take out his heart. They affirm that whilst the hangman was in the very act of tearing out the heart Babington was heard to pronounce the word "Jesus" three times. M. de Simier, who is hand-in-glove with the English ambassador here, says that he has letters asserting that Ballard confessed that he had seen Charles Paget and me, but that neither Paget nor I knew anything about their having conspired in England against the person of the Queen, and that even he (Ballard) was not aware of it. Since the execution, and in order to incense the people, they have published that the day the Catholics murdered the Queen, they intended to set fire to London, burn all the Queen's ships, and spike all the guns in the kingdom, whilst Babington was to marry the queen of Scotland the next day. The French ambassador writes that Cecil told him that he was present when Babington was tortured, and that he had confessed to him alone with great secrecy, that the queen of Scotland had promised to marry him. This is a very badly invented lie, as Babington was married already and was a good Catholic.

On the 14th the English ambassador had audience of this King, and stated the causes of complaint his mistress had against the queen of Scotland in the matter of this conspiracy. The King replied to him in a long speech, signifying that he could not avoid helping the queen of Scotland for many reasons, and especially as she had once been his sovereign. If he forgot this, even the queen of England would think badly of him, and he should judge of her friendship towards him by the way she treated the queen of Scotland at this juncture. He dwelt at length on this point, and after the audience he again sent by Gondi to beg the ambassador, personally to use his good offices in her favour. He replied that he would comply with the request, not as English ambassador but as Edward Stafford. I cannot learn that the King has taken any other steps, except to write to his ambassador. The latter sent one of his servants hither with letters dated 14th instant, reporting that Lord Admiral Howard and Lord Hertford had gone with a force of infantry and cavalry for the purpose of bringing the queen of Scotland from the place where she was to another castle in the

* The names do not now accompany the letter, but they were Babington, Savage, Ballard, Barnwell, Tilney, Abington, and Tichborne, executed at St. Giles'-in-the-fields on the 20th September; and Salisbury, Dunn, Jones, Charnock, Travers, Gage, and Bellamy on the following day.

1586.

county of Cambridge, 12 miles from Windsor;* and that the Queen had summoned Parliament for the 14th instant.

The soldiers and sailors who had gone with Drake had mutinied in consequence of their having been given only 80 reals each. The Queen sent two Councillors to pacify them, who ordered them to be given 160 reals each. They are still fitting out ships to go on the Indian voyage,† saying, however, that they would not be ready to sail until some time next month.

Letters from England dated the 8th instant report the departure of Hawkins from Southampton at the beginning of the month, with 17 sail under the English flag. His destination was unknown, but it may be believed he has gone to Rochelle, in view of what I write to your Majesty in another letter advising the arrival at Rochelle of a similar number of English ships. Advices from Rouen of 17th say also that a ship had arrived at Havre-de-Grace from Lisbon, reporting that she had fallen in with Hawkins and 26 ships in Spanish waters, and that they had said they were sailing to the Indies. Six of the ships were large ones, and apparently belonged to the Queen. I am sending this courier expressly to take the news to your Majesty, as I have no knowledge that Hawkins remained at Rochelle, and he will have been joined probably by some pirates. It is true they laid in no great store of victuals or arms in England, but perhaps they depended upon what they could capture on the way, and afterwards intended to encounter the Indian flotillas, since no news of the arrival of the latter has been received. I do not believe the Queen would give any of her own ships for a long voyage, but that the sailors who bring the news thought some of the vessels must be hers because they were large. The Jesuits in Scotland write that they are raising such a harvest by God's help that more priests are required to garner it.—Paris, 20th October 1586.

20 Oct. Paris Archives, E. 1564. 206

498. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Although I am still trying to arrange to keep a man in England by the plan I have described to your Majesty, I have failed in my attempts to avail myself of Muzio's (the duke of Guise) assistance, as any person connected with him is looked upon with double suspicion. I have therefore thought of making use of M. de la Triell,‡ a rebel subject of your Majesty's, he having been the lieutenant of Prince de Antona (Epinay?) at Tournai. He has appealed to me through some of his relatives whom I knew in the Netherlands, asking me to use my influence with the prince of Parma in his favour. I have written to the Prince, asking him whether the man's error deserves forgiveness now that he acknowledges it, as he truly does, and whether he may be employed in discovering the rebel plans in Cambrai, and other

* Note in the King's handwriting: "*This is not good.*"

† The King calls special attention to this passage.

‡ M. d'Estrelles, as he is usually called, had greatly distinguished himself in conjunction with the heroic Princess d'Epinay at the obstinate defence of Tournai in 1581.

1586.

particulars of Holland and Zeeland where Trielle has great connections. He is a man of understanding, whom the Prince (of Parma) wished to withdraw from the rebels before, and I therefore asked him what connections he had in England? He said that he was in the habit of receiving letters from some of the rebels resident there, but if I wanted to learn anything particularly he would find me a man from the Netherlands who, like himself, was in disgrace with your Majesty, but also, like himself, was anxious for pardon. This man could go with a passport from the English ambassador himself, and would see and report whatever I might desire. I had him brought hither from Abbeville. He is a native of Douai, and his name is Hugo Frion, a horse dealer. On a charge that he was sending horses out of the Netherlands, he fled to Cambrai, where he favoured the cause of the duke of Alençon, and was therefore declared a rebel, and an income he possessed of nearly 200 florins a year was confiscated. He seems to me to be a convenient instrument to send to England for the purpose of reconnoitring armaments, and to Holland and Zeeland, as his business has brought him into connection with all sorts of heretics, and he is a cunning fellow. He promises to do as I wish, and act as a loyal subject of your Majesty, if I would assure him that he should receive pardon. I humbly beg your Majesty to instruct me as to whether I may give him such assurance, and make use of him and M. de Trielle in accordance with their offers. In order to obtain full particulars about both of them, I have written to the prince of Parma, and point out to him the need for making use of such instruments as these for discovering the machinations of the rebel leaders.—Paris, 20th October 1586.

24 Oct. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 209.

499. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my last advices about England, I have letters from Rouen dated 19th instant, reporting the arrival of a French ship at Havre de Grace, which left Lisbon on the 24th ultimo and was taken on the high seas by Captain Hawkins. The latter had with him 12 well-armed ships, five of which were of 700 or 800 tons burden, and the rest of about 100 tons. They told the Frenchman that they were going in search of your Majesty's Indian flotillas, in the direction of the islands of Terceira, where 30 English ships were to meet for the purpose. The French shipmaster reports that before he left Lisbon, Juan Martinez de Recalde* had sailed from there with 15 ships, which he thought would be unable to overcome those of Hawkins.

This intelligence is more detailed than that which I sent in my last letter. Perhaps the other ship counted all the English vessels she saw, pirates and all, in Spanish waters, and concluded they were all under Hawkins, or else they had got scattered when this

* This was Philip's principal admiral on the Biscay coast. He had commanded a part of the fleet which conveyed the King to England in 1554 to marry Queen Mary, and had charge of a squadron of the Armada in 1588. He died of grief in October 1588 on his arrival at Coruña after the defeat.

1586.

French ship met him, at which time, of course, he would be nearer Spain than when the first ship saw him.—Paris, 24th October 1586.

8 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 217.

500. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

Whilst I was closing this letter a courier arrived from Zeeland and Middleburg, who says that he sailed on the 3rd, and when he was embarking he saw Francis Drake going ashore. He had arrived there (Middleburg) with four large well-armed ships and four small ones, bringing English troops for Leicester. He does not report their number as Drake was at the moment landing with 20 persons from the ship. The letters the courier brings do not mention Drake's arrival, but only report that the duke of Parma had given the rebels a good beating. They do not venture to say much, only that they had lost a large number of men.—Paris, 8th November 1586.

8 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 220.

501. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In my last letters I advised your Majesty of the arrival here of Harry Wotton, an envoy of the queen of England, instructed to lay before this King the complaints against the queen of Scotland in a way which will arouse the indignation of the King and his mother towards her. He is to point out how much she depended upon your Majesty in all matters, and how diffident she was of France; and in support of this he is to show them the deciphering of a letter from her to me, which they say they seized and deciphered in the presence of the Council. The substance of it is to thank me very warmly for the good offices I constantly rendered to her cause, and to ask me to signify to your Majesty that, if her son did not become a Catholic, she would declare (as she did now declare) that your Majesty was the legitimate heir to the crowns of England, Ireland, and Scotland, in whose favour she abdicated any right she might have to those crowns. In accordance with this, they had discovered in the boxes of her escritoire her will, written with her own hand, and duly signed, in which she confesses that as God has summoned her to Himself, she dies in the true Catholic faith, which she implores her son to embrace, and begs all Catholic princes to urge him thereto. If, however, his obstinacy and pertinacity be so great as to make him persist in his error, she declared, in his default, your Majesty her rightful heir and successor, as you were, to the three crowns; and she besought you to strive for the conversion of the realms, with all the energy which your Catholic zeal and your aforesaid rights demanded of you. She called God as witness of this in discharge of her conscience, and commended to His care the submission of the three realms to their rightful inheritor, who was the most Catholic prince on earth. She prayed your Majesty in acknowledgment of this to be careful to reward those who had suffered for the Catholic cause, and for her sake honouring their descendants and successors. I understand that Wotton brings a copy of this will,

1586.

and of my letter fully authenticated by the signatures of the queen of England's councillors, and of the two secretaries of the queen of Scotland, whom they are keeping in prison.

He (Wotton) also brings another authenticated letter, which the queen of Scotland wrote to Babington, and which had been deciphered by the said secretaries. The effect of it is to encourage him greatly in his resolution, (without specifying what it is), as it is much in God's service, and to the advantage of our holy Catholic faith. The last thing to be considered therefore, she says, is her own safety, and she will be glad to sacrifice her life in exchange for so saintly an object. The English councillors dwell greatly upon the construction of this letter, which was written in English, and say that it is the most artfully and cleverly worded letter they have ever seen. When the two secretaries of the queen of Scotland deciphered it, they said they had earnestly begged her not to write it, and prayed her not to approve of Babington's resolution, in which they (the secretaries) have borne no part.

Harry Wotton also brings another certified letter, which the Scots ambassador here wrote to his mistress, the principal point of which is that he tells her not to look for any help from France, because everything that the King could wring out of his subjects was for the *two*, which expression they interpret as signifying the two minions,* but which the Scots ambassador says means the two armies that were formed.

He also brings letters written to her by her servant Thomas Morgan, who is in prison here, and Charles Paget, making some personal remarks about this King, and the little confidence she could place in him; all of which documents bear dates within the last two years, and are said to have been discovered in 12 coffers and writing desks, which were taken from the queen of Scotland, and brought, under seal, to the queen of England, who, with six of her councillors, were present when they were opened. They discovered therein documents proving the communications she was carrying on with the highest people in England, which has caused the greatest alarm to the queen of England, as it is considered that it will make it more injurious to her if she proceeds against the Scottish Queen.

When Cecil saw the papers he told the Queen that if, now that she had so great an advantage (which is an expression they use in England), she did not proceed with all rigour, at once, against the queen of Scotland, he, himself, would seek her friendship. These words are worthy of so clever a man as he is, and were intended to lead the other councillors to follow him in holding the queen (of England) back. The latter has sent to the king of Scotland to tell him that his mother had disinherited him, and declared your Majesty her heir, and she (Elizabeth) had instructed Paulet, who is the keeper, to tell the queen of Scotland that it is time she looked to the welfare of her soul rather than anything else; and a thousand threats of the same sort. The Queen replied that it behoved everyone to

* The dukes of Joyeuse and Épernon.

1586.

have this in view, and God who had kept her thus far, would dispose of her as he deemed best for His service. In His hands she had placed her life to be spent in the increase of the Catholic faith. She spoke upon this point with so much firmness and valour, that Paulet himself, terrible heretic as he is, was astonished, as were the Queen's Councillors when he wrote to them about it. They have taken away all her household and have left her only a single gentlewoman. The queen of England bases her claim to proceed against her on the ground of her renunciation of the sovereignty, and her consent to the Act adopted in Parliament when I left England, making it high treason for any person to conspire against the person of the sovereign, which clause had been signed by the queen of Scotland, and all the nobles of the realm. These are points which, even if they be sustainable in strict law, in an ordinary case, cannot be urged by the queen of England, as she held the queen of Scotland in durance; and the other charges will be fully answered by her ambassador; as this is not the first time that Cecil and Walsingham have invented forged letters, and as the queen of Scotland's ciphers have now fallen into their hands, they would of course make use of it to write whatever they thought best calculated to inculpate her and irritate the French against her.

As regards the will, that is a document in which the truth must be told, and she could not avoid acknowledging your Majesty's right which is as clear as noonday, and especially as the queen of Scotland cannot sustain her own claim, without recognising yours. Harry Wotton hopes to obtain audience of the King at St. Germain where an appointment with His Majesty has also been made for me. He (Wotton) says that the queen of England has sent all the members of her Council and the principal nobles of the realm, accompanied by two secretaries, to the total number of 32, to examine the queen of Scotland in accordance with the charges they had formulated and the papers they had discovered. She will, of course, refuse to reply, as she is a sovereign and acknowledges no superior. I will at once report to your Majesty all I hear.—Paris, 8th November 1586.

8 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 218.

502. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

The archbishop of Nazareth* has been informed by me of what your Majesty orders me, and he humbly thanks you for this sign of your favour. He says that the interests of God and those of your Majesty are so interwoven that he could hardly neglect the latter without forgetting the former, which his dignity as a minister of his Holiness, an honest man, and a subject of your Majesty, will never allow him to do. His obligation towards your Majesty is not lost sight of, and he is ready to fulfil it to the fullest extent. He is as steadfast as I have reported him to be, whenever your Majesty's interests demand; and in the matter of the exclusion of

* The Papal Nuncio in Paris, a Neapolitan and consequently a Spanish subject.

1586.

Bearn he is harder than a diamond. He has told me several times that before his departure from Rome he spoke to his Holiness about it; and the Cardinal inquisitors assured him that on no account would the bulls against the princes of Bearn and Condé be altered. I keep in close communication with him, as your Majesty orders, and I recognize how sincerely and truthfully he opens his heart to me. The queen of England is keeping the queen of Scotland very strictly, as your Majesty will see by my other despatch herewith. Although the general idea amongst the common people is that her life will be in danger, this is in all probability not to be feared, because the reasons which have hitherto led the English Councillors to spare her militate more strongly in her favour now than ever. To these may be added the certainty that, even if the Queen wished to wreak her vengeance upon her, the Councillors would not allow it to be done, in view of the injury it would bring upon them individually and collectively; as it would at once set the country aflame with a long civil war, which the various pretenders would foment, and enable your Majesty, who is the next legitimate heir after the queen of Scotland (her son not being a Catholic), to conquer the country with ease in its divided condition, whilst the Catholics would undoubtedly follow the party of your Majesty. The forwarding of the cause of the queen of Scotland is truly a pious task, seeing her firmness in the Catholic religion and her attachment to your Majesty's interests, which is proved by what I mention in my other letter as being contained in her letter to me of 20th May, and also by the papers found in her desk; but yet I find my hands tied in dealing with her interests here. I have therefore arranged for Nazareth to signify to this King that, if he did not, at the present juncture, aid the queen of Scotland with all the energy which his many ties to her demanded, he must recollect that, failing the queen of Scotland, your Majesty was the next legitimate heir to the Crown, as her son was a heretic. This will be sure to put fire and spurs to his Councillors, who are so desirous of abating your Majesty's greatness, and will lead them to take strong action in the queen of Scotland's favour, which it is only right that I should endeavour to forward; whilst at the same time it will be extremely advantageous (as her son is of age and persists in his heresy) that the truth with regard to your Majesty's rights to the three crowns of England, Ireland, and Scotland, should at once be made known, and the people made familiar with the claim and led to found their hopes upon it. Nazareth approved of this, although I did not go into further particulars with him, only that your Majesty was the rightful heir, and the idea was set afloat before Harry Wotton* spoke to the King. They say the latter intends to

* Henry Wotton had been sent to Paris by Queen Elizabeth with certified copies of all the documents tending to prove the complicity of Mary in the Babington plot and the intrigues of the Spaniards. Particulars of the documents he took will be found in the Domestic Calendar, 1580—1625, where the envoy is called Mr. Edward Wotton.

1586.

send Belièvre* to England. He values this councillor so much that the very fact of his sending him will have an effect upon the queen of England, and will somewhat temper her fury. This was indicated by the English ambassador here on the occasion that Charles Arundel arrived in Paris, when the Scots ambassador came and told me that the English ambassador would inform him through Arundel of what it was desirable he should know about his mistress' (the queen of Scotland's) affairs, and begged me to give Arundel permission to visit the English ambassador. On Wotton's arrival, Stafford gave Arundel a precise account of the charges made against the Queen, in order that the King might be pre-informed of them, and said it would be well for him to send Belièvre to England, as the Queen considered him a politic and powerful minister, and he would consequently be well able to conduct the affair of the queen of Scotland.

Stafford also told Arundel about Drake's ships and the departure of Hawkins; and I am trying to get Arundel more into Stafford's intimacy in order that he may get fuller information on this and other points.

I send your Majesty a letter from Don Antonio received from Sampson. I hear from various quarters that Don Antonio is much dissatisfied with the queen of England, who had assured him that out of the plunder to be brought back by Drake she would assign him funds to enable him to take a fleet to the coast of Portugal. Don Antonio is now unable to obtain means even to maintain the Portuguese he has with him in England, and the Queen told him not to burden himself with so many people as she could not feed them.

The Scottish gentleman, Robert Bruce, arrived here on the 2nd, and I am hourly expecting a reply to the despatch I sent to the Prince of Parma in order to send him with it to Muzio (the duke of Guise).—Paris, 8th November 1586.

8 Nov. **503.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 219.

On the 20th and 24th ultimo I wrote to your Majesty the news I had received from England, and confirmed the sailing of Hawkins' fleet, which intelligence had been brought by two ships which had arrived at Havre de Grace. I have had a sailor from the last of the two ships brought hither who tells me that his ship, after Hawkins had let them go, had been at the islands of Bayona, where

* Pomponne de Bellièvre did not arrive in England until the 1st December. His account of his embassy sent to Secretary Villeroy is printed in Labanoff. How far the French King and his mother were sincere in their attempts to save the unfortunate Mary Stuart is an open question. Aubespine de Chateauneuf, the French Ambassador in London, was evidently in doubt about it. He wrote to his colleague d'Esneval in France, on the 20th October, begging for his confidential advice as to how he should proceed, "Je vous prie me mander privément et ouvertement l'intention de Sa Majesté sur "les choses de deça; car il me semble que l'on se soucie fort peu par dela du fait de la "Reine d'Ecosse et de ces quartiers comme je vous ai souvent dit. Je serai tres aise "de savoir afin de me gouverner selon l'intention du maitre." "*Archives de la famille d'Esneval.*" Chéruel. Marie Stuart et Catharine de Medici.

1586.

they had seen J. Martinez de Recalde with 12 ships, and they had given him news of the English. He had supplied them with biscuit for their voyage to France. Through Sampson and other sources I have got at the reason for Hawkins' voyage. It appears that the Queen, out of suspicion of the fleet which was being fitted out in Normandy, had ordered 32 ships to be supplied with biscuit for three months, most of them being merchantmen already fitted for sea, in order that Hawkins might take them to Rochelle. In view of the small number of vessels which La Chatre brought out, it was seen that so many English ships would not be required, and only 17 sailed for Rochelle. Don Antonio therefore urged the Queen, since it was no longer necessary to keep Hawkins on the coast of France, to send him to St. Michael's, to await the two ships which were expected there from the East Indies, as he was advised from Lisbon that they had not arrived. He said that Hawkins might also have the opportunity of sacking a village or two on the islands. The Queen sent orders to Hawkins to take this course, and he took biscuit on board for another three months, out of those of his ships that he sent back to England. Although it was said he took six of the Queen's ships, they are not hers, but old ships she has sold to merchants whilst she builds new ones. Captain Pardin says that when he left London on the 28th September, Drake had been with Don Antonio, and had persuaded him warmly to recommend the Queen to send Hawkins on this voyage. He (Don Antonio) undertook to do so, and was to go to the Court next day.

I am doing all I can to get information about English armaments in compliance with your Majesty's fresh orders, but, owing to the strictness in the ports, it was impossible to obtain information earlier of the sailing of Hawkins for Rochelle. Although I am trying to tempt merchants of all nations to advise me in their mercantile language of what I want to know, they are in such terrible fear that I can get no one to face the task, nor will any person go from here for the purpose. As to my sending persons specially to reconnoitre the fleets being fitted out in the ports, that is impossible, as they are small places, and the arrival of a man, or or even of a fly, who does not belong to the neighbourhood, is always noticed, and the person interrogated as to his object in coming. As they are obliged to carry permits from the justices to go from place to place certifying who they are, there is no way for any man to set foot in England without he drags the hangman's rope after him, unless he goes with some good pretext direct to London, where people are allowed to come for the sake of trade. The moment they arrive even there, if they are strangers, their hosts give notice to the Commissioners, who come to examine them. This is done with so much strictness that, even in the case of a Flemish heretic who went from here, summoned by one of the Queen's Councillors to bring him some jewels he wished to buy, and who bore a passport from the English ambassador, he was nevertheless stopped and examined when he landed at the port, and again when he arrived in London, where some other resident

1586.

Flemish heretics had to be bail for him. When the man reached the Court he was immediately arrested, and four privy councillors came to examine him again, amongst whom was the one who had sent for him.* Notwithstanding this, and that they saw the jewels he had brought, the Councillor dissembled, and he and his colleagues asked the Fleming so many questions about me that he came back hither scandalised, and says that, to judge from the questions they put to him about me, the queen of England and her Councillors must think that I carry on communication not only with the men in England but with the very trees.

I have heard from a good source that the English ambassador said that Drake would not sail so soon as was intended, and that he finds great difficulty in his return voyage in consequence of his bad treatment of the seamen and others who accompanied him, who have come back poor; and also because of Francis Knollys, a relative of the Queen and a son of the Treasurer of the household, as well as a brother-in-law of Leicester,† who has always taken out ships to plunder and went with Drake on his last voyage. In consequence of the small profit they made and the loss of so many men, they had high words on the voyage, and the quarrel has been renewed since they came to London. The Queen ordered Knollys to be kept under arrest for some days, and Drake in consequence has become much disliked. Those who found the money for his former expedition are hardly likely to do so again, as they have made a loss. The Flemish heretic who went to England says that they showed him all the pearls that Drake had stolen, as he is a man of credit and experience in this business, and he asserts that they are not worth altogether more than 8,000 crowns. The English ambassador is not of opinion that the Queen alone will provide funds for Drake's return venture.

Secretary Walsingham had held out hopes to Don Antonio that very shortly some extra sum of money would be given to him. Sampson suspects (as does Captain Pardin) that it will be part of the 8,000 crowns which Don Antonio asked of the Queen to pay his debts.

Don Antonio was living in a house that had been a monastery, near Windsor.‡—Paris, 8th November 1586.

9 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 216.

504. Document headed "ADVICES from DEVENTER, 9th November 1586."

Philip Sidney§ had died of a wound at Deventer, his thigh having been cut off in consequence of his hurt. The earl of Leicester was withdrawing his troops to the garrisons, having dismissed 24 standards of Flemings who were discontented at not

* In a letter from M. de Buzenval to Walsingham, 10th September (Domestic Calendar, 1580–1625), a warning is given against this lapidary, who is said to have gone to Court (Windsor) on the pretence of selling jewels, but to be accompanied by a confidant of Don Bernardino's in the guise of a valet. It is hinted that he may make an attempt upon the Queen, and Walsingham is recommended to secure him.

† He was a brother of Lettice Knollys, countess of Essex, Leicester's second wife.

‡ Don Antonio at this time was residing at Eton.

§ In the margin the King has written against the name of Philip Sidney, "*He was my Godson.*"

1586.

being paid. The writer of these advices met Francis Drake at Rotterdam on his way with money to the earl of Leicester.

The earl of Leicester gives the English soldiers 25 placks a week for their maintenance in the garrisons. The Englishmen who are about the earl of Leicester and elsewhere in Zeeland confess that they had lost 2,000 men in the fight at Zutphen.

10 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 223.

505. Document headed, "Copy of a letter translated from the "English, written in London, 10th November 1586."

When the Licentiate Guevara went from London to Spain through Paris, I gave him a memorandum of events here so drawn up as to enable him to inform your Lordship verbally of them, in the same way as I had formerly done with P. de Villa Real, and I hope they have both been able to tell you the news in a way which you understood. Since then the danger of taking letters has become so great that I have been unable to report, as people have to be extremely careful, and I have met no one whom I could trust. By this opportunity, therefore, I repeat some of my former intelligence, in case the messengers above mentioned may not have made it as clear as I could wish. This is being taken by P. Sarmiento de Gamboa,* whose being brought to this country your Lordship will recollect.

With regard to the return of Francis Drake from the Indies, I advised that he had arrived here and what he had brought. He captured at Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and elsewhere, about 140 pieces of bronze ordnance, some very good and large, as well as a number of iron pieces. About 16,000 or 18,000 ducats worth of pearls, rather more than 150,000 ducats of gold and silver, and some merchandise which he captured in Santo Domingo. He lost 800 men on the voyage, and the valuation made of what he brought for division amongst the persons who subscribed the funds for the venture, amounted to 43,000*l.* of our money, although the real value must reach fully ten or twelve thousand pounds more. Up to the present, however, not a groat has been given to anyone but the soldiers and sailors, who got 6*l.* each, which is equal to 20 Spanish crowns. This has caused great turmoil and discontent amongst them, but to no effect. The rest of the proceeds were lodged in the Tower. The affair has turned out so badly for them, that it may be concluded that they will not again go to the Indies to sack towns.

They are much troubled with this war which they have entered into against Spain, as the whole country is without trade, and knows not how to recover it; the shipping and commerce here having mainly depended upon the communication with Spain and Portugal. They feel the deprivation all the more now, with the loss of the cloth trade with Germany, which they formerly carried on through Holland and up the Rhine, but have now been deprived

* Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was the founder of the Spanish settlement at the entrance to the Straits of Magellan, and was captured on his way home to Spain in a small Portuguese vessel by a ship belonging to Raleigh. He wrote an interesting account of his expeditions to the Straits, the MS. of which is now in the Royal Library at Madrid. It was published in Madrid in 1768.

1586.

of by the capture of Nutz on that river. If Berck be taken also, which please God it will be, now that the neighbouring places have fallen, they will not be able to send any cloths at all, and this is causing much dissatisfaction all over the country. The rest of their trade with the other German ports and Muscovy is a mere trifle, as all they brought from those places was sent by them to Spain, and their Spanish trade being now gone the other is of no use to them, as they do not know what to do with the merchandise they bring hither. All that is left to them is the Levant trade, which is with Turkey and Italy, and that with Barbary. If these two are taken from them, which can be easily done, they will be driven into a corner, without any commerce or navigation at all. Their French trade is very insignificant, and is carried on by a few small vessels only.

Great importance should be attached to stopping their Levant trade, which may be done by carefully guarding the Straits of Gibraltar against ships from here, whose sailing I will report and give particulars of their number, in order that a sufficient force of galleys and galleons may be placed in the Straits to stop their passage. I will also report the sailing of ships for Barbary, in order that an effort may be made to impede that trade also; and I can assure your Lordship, if this were done for a single year it would bring them perforce to surrender on any terms which His Majesty might please to dictate, both with regard to the fortresses they have seized, and the restitution of their plunder, and above all would prevent them from preying on the seas in future. On this latter point I will also give my opinion, and say what I think will be best for His Majesty's interests, and those of his subjects.

All the ships coming from Brazil should meet in some port there and sail together, accompanied by some armed vessels, the cost of which convoy could be divided amongst the flotilla. The ships from Santo Domingo might do the same, keeping a very sharp look out. The ships from the East Indies and elsewhere might be met by strongly armed ships of the fleet and convoyed in, but the most important point of all is to look well to the safety of the flotillas from the (West) Indies, upon which these people especially have their eyes fixed. Placing on one side the profit that they individually expect to gain, they think that the attacking of the (West) Indian ships will be a great blow to His Majesty, which will enable them the better to carry on the war and gain their ends.

I can assure your Lordship that it is impossible to give notice of the equipping of ships here for the purpose of going out to await the arrival of the Indian flotillas, because so great is the movement of armed ships in England that no notice whatever is taken of them, and it is only necessary to tell the shipmasters to be at a certain port on such a day for them to go without even their knowing of each other's movements. Some of the best of the Queen's ships are sent thither too, on a pretext of cruising along the coast as they usually do, and thus without anything being heard of it, twenty or thirty fully armed ships can be sent out to

1586.

await the flotillas. Your Lordship may be certain that this will be persisted in, unless orders are sent from Spain for the flotillas to be accompanied from the Indies by a good force of armed ships, as well as having them received at the islands by others which can protect them and bring them in. The greatest care also should be taken with the islands of Havana and the Azores, especially St. Michaels and Terceira, because the English intend, if they can, to land and seize one of those three, for the purpose of keeping a garrison and a fleet there, and making of it another Rochelle to impede the Indian trade, and to hold a stronger pledge from His Majesty. Believe me, your Lordship, when I assure you that if this be stopped the country cannot live or maintain itself. They are all greatly confused and repentant for having meddled in the matter of Holland and Zeeland, and the Queen is constantly throwing it into the faces of the people who persuaded her to it, and particularly when she sees how badly things are turning out for them there, and going daily from bad to worse. What they fear most is next summer, when they think His Majesty will send thither his usual force, and that they shall be obliged to face it as best they can, or lose that which they already secured. They have no money for the purpose; besides which the Queen is very unwilling to spend money, and is extremely close.

To this must be added the fact that John Hawkins has come back with the fleet of royal ships and merchantmen, which he took out to encounter the Indian flotilla, without bringing anything with him, except the usual Portuguese and Santo Domingan vessels. This has caused much disappointment, as they were in great hopes of his performing some notable act, and they are the more mortified as they learn that the flotilla of 40 valuable ships has passed safely. After considering all this, and that they have Holland, Zeeland, and the fortresses on their hands, which they are unable to hold, that they are crippled with the cost and waste of the war, that they have done, and are doing, all the injury they can to His Majesty (little as it has been, and smaller as it must be for the future) without any movement of retaliation being made on the part of His Majesty, they are naturally now afraid that he is about to fall upon them with a force which they will be powerless to resist. For this and many other reasons they are more desirous of peace than ever, and especially the Queen and those who were the cause of her entering into the war. She was so desirous of peace that she (or at least the Lord Treasurer, who was always against the war) sent Agustin Graffini and Andrea de Loo to the duke of Parma. Graffini went twice, and the second time brought back William Bodenham with him, but it ended in nothing, as also did Andrea de Loo's mission ten or twelve days afterwards. They have also been very desirous for the return of Pedro de Villa Real, with whom all the Councillors conversed, as he will have told your Lordship, and asked him to find means of signifying to His Majesty how much they desired peace. Villa Real wrote to Secretary Walsingham, saying that he had performed the office he had promised, and would return hither with the reply, for

1586.

which purpose he requested a passport. The passport, signed by the Queen, was sent to the English ambassador in Paris, but Villa Real did not return, much to their sorrow.

Their great object and desire is that His Majesty should send some personage hither, and as I informed you by Licentiate Guevara, they have sent a request through Lisbon asking that Antonio del Castillo should be sent, and Secretary Walsingham wrote to him with certain suggestions, the principal of which was that negotiations for trade should be opened, and if His Majesty agreed to this, Antonio del Castillo could come. His ostensible mission would be to arrange for trade between this country and Portugal, notwithstanding the war, but when he was here they could broach the question of a general agreement. The clauses sent by Walsingham were to the effect that the peace to be conceded to Flanders, should be based on the "*pacification of Ghent*," and in addition to this should grant liberty of conscience. If this were not accepted the negotiations were not to be undertaken. The answer sent from Spain was that it was not in order for people here (*i.e.*, in England) to seek to impose laws in His Majesty's dominions, and Señor Castillo wrote to the same effect to Secretary Walsingham. The message brought by the person who was sent was, that if they (the English) were willing to come to just and reasonable terms, either Señor Castillo or someone else should be sent hither. License was also sent from His Majesty in Madrid for the ship which had conveyed the message to return to England freely, with as much merchandise as they liked to send in her. All this was received by the English with much satisfaction, and it was decided to send the ship back to Portugal again to convey Señor Castillo hither. From what I can gather now, however, about these peace negotiations, the Councillors are anxious to arrive at them by other means, namely, by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who takes this letter, and they are treating him with much distinction, contrary to their wont. This is well merited by the person with whom they are dealing. The Queen summoned him to Windsor where he conversed with her and all the principal members of the Council, and as he is the most influential person they have approached upon the subject, and they recognise that he is a very clever and business-like man, they are making much of him and doubtless have opened their minds to him upon the subject of peace. Your lordship in such case, will, on his arrival in Paris, discuss the whole matter with him. Really what would be most beneficial, if His Majesty is willing to make peace and consents to send a person hither, as they so greatly desire, is that he should send this gentleman (*i.e.*, Gamboa) here again, because, apart from the fact that it will be a more dignified course, as it will not appear as if His Majesty was suing for peace but was sending back a reply to their request for it by their own messenger, although a Spaniard; he is a person of much worth who really understands these people as if he had lived ten years amongst them, a man of decision, an excellent scholar and a person who will speak to them with all fitting plainness.

1586.

If, on the contrary, it should be decided to send Señor Castillo or some other person hither, your lordship knows well how it would stiffen the necks of these people, as it is, of all things in the world, that which they desire, and would glorify themselves most upon, that His Majesty should send an envoy here after all their insults and injuries in the past. The idea that dignity would be saved by sending the envoy ostensibly to treat only of trade with Portugal, amounts to nothing, because the world is well aware that such an envoy could only come by His Majesty's consent, and they will be sure to say that His Majesty has sent to sue for peace, and that Portugal and Spain are unwilling to face this country and cannot do without it. They will think here that what they have believed impossible has come to pass, and will again demand terms similar to those contained in the message they previously sent. If His Majesty does not come to an agreement with them, and without active warfare, will simply stop their traffic in the way here suggested, I can assure you they cannot hold out for many months, especially if his Highness (the duke of Parma) presses them hardly there (in Flanders). They will then be forced to beg for peace of His Majesty by every means, and will have to send a special envoy to him for the purpose. I do not wish to avoid saying one thing on this point, namely, that God only knows how sorry the poor Catholics here would be if that which I have mentioned should come to pass. Then indeed would their hearts fail them, for your Lordship well knows that after God all their hope rest upon His Majesty, as the protector of our holy mother church, who will, they trust, try in these dissentions to find some remedy for these troubles God ordain it all for His service, and the increase of the holy faith!

When the fourteen knights and gentlemen were condemned to death at Westminster for conspiring against the Queen there was much public talk about your Lordship, both in letters and verbally, and the queen of Scotland's name was used just as freely. The latter Queen has been brought to a castle seventy miles from this city, and nearly all the Council went down there to speak to her on this matter, in company with the chief justices of Westminster, and other gentlemen. They were with her for three days, and it is said that she answered them with great spirit, although she is so ill she cannot stand.

Parliament opens on the 27th of October (by English style) and in order to be present the Queen is coming to Westminster. It is said that the principal thing to be dealt with is the matter of the queen of Scotland, and to render even more strict the laws about religion. They will also be asked for money for the war in Flanders. Your Lordship is aware that 400,000 or 600,000 ducats is usually got from them. I will advise what passes in this Parliament if I can find a safe channel for communications to pass.

Your Lordship will have learnt how, rather more than a month ago, they took Pedro de Zubiaur from here to Holland to exchange him for certain prisoners held by his Highness. Pray your Lord-

1586.

ship write to his Highness and ask him to deliver as early as possible those who are to be exchanged for him, as he (Zubiaur) was much travailed in body and mind, and was in full hope that your Lordship would favour and help him as you always had done.

I have no more to say, except that Francis Drake has been sent to Holland, to the Earl, with about 40,000 or 50,000 ducats. The Queen has made Davison her secretary. You will recollect him as going backwards and forwards to the States. He is a creature of Secretary Walsingham, who, in future, will not undertake routine work, but only matters of difficulty or of State. It is said that he (Walsingham) will be given the title of Lord Privy Seal. I will write whenever a safe opportunity offers, and will adopt special means in case anything should occur of importance to His Majesty's interests. I know you will be happy to receive my advices, coming from a person so desirous as I am of serving His Majesty.—London, 10th November 1586.

Note.—The letter of which the foregoing is a close condensation, seems to have been originally written in English, and was translated into Spanish, apparently by an Englishman, for the King's perusal. The style is exceedingly tedious and verbose.

18 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 84.

506. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

[EXTRACT.]

I note what you say about the fleet that Hawkins took out, which was fallen in with not far from the Portuguese coast. No intelligence has been received of him since then, so you will let me know what you can learn of his movements. Perhaps he returned home, as you say he was not victualled for a long voyage, in which all advices concur. You will report at the same time whether Drake's armament is going forward, the number of ships and men, the quantity of stores he has collected, and the time for his sailing, so that we may form some idea of his design. You will also send your own opinion upon the subject. As you are so short of news from England, which it is of the greatest importance that I should receive, I approve of your employing Trielle and Hugo Frion. You may promise them that if they act in this as they propose, I will pardon them and duly keep their services in mind.*

I approve of all you have written to the duke of Parma about that Scotch affair, and hope you will send me his reply thereto in due course. Let me know whither they have moved the queen of Scotland to. Her troubles and the Catholic blood that has been shed lately in England naturally grieve me much.—Madrid, 18th November 1586.

* In the King's hand, "I am not sure whether this is exactly what we had decided. "I think it was to depend upon the duke of Parma's seeing no objection to their "employment. Look whether this be so, as it will not be well to take a step which is "unadvisable and which may displease the Duke." This remark is embodied in a letter of the same date from Secretary Idiaquez to Mendoza. See letter Mendoza to the King 20th October and note thereto, page 642.

1586.
18 Nov. **507.** The KING to COUNT DE OLIVARES.

Letter of 9th September received, and I highly approve of your having prevailed upon them to bind themselves in writing so that they may not escape from their engagement.

The reply given to you by his Holiness is worthy of him, and you will accordingly thank and praise him highly from me for it in general terms, and in such soft words as you can find and his condition demands. You will impress upon him that, in accordance with his persuasion and desire, I have resolved not to listen to the suggestions for a settlement which are being made to me from various quarters by the English, but you will divert the prevailing idea there (in Rome) that I am forced to undertake the enterprise, because, although as you say they look upon the law of vengeance as a perfectly natural thing, they are nevertheless so well versed in State exigencies that they cannot fail to recognise, if you point it out, that if I make myself master of the sea, and am able to ensure the safety of the flotillas from the Indies, I may very well avoid undertaking so difficult an enterprise, whilst I shall be perfectly safe and unattackable myself. This is what must be pressed upon the Pope, and that if I undertake it with proper support, I shall be moved by no other obligation than that of pity at seeing the church suffering such persecution, and the desire we all ought to feel to serve our Lord. This you will say in general terms and proceed as follows on points of detail. I do not despise the offer of 700,000 crowns, but as so very much larger a sum will be needed for the prosecution of this costly enterprise, whilst I am very short of money and overburdened with obligations, it is most desirable that the contribution from the Pope's treasury should reach a million, which is not so very large an increase, and cannot be considered as badly employed, seeing the object to which it is to be applied. I am satisfied as to the periods arranged for the payment, and you need not try to shorten them; the first instalment being payable, as you say, immediately the army has landed in England, *or the Armada may have arrived there,** the other two payments being made at intervals of six months. The 300,000 additional now requested should be paid at the same periods, 100,000 being added to the second instalment which would then reach 200,000, and 200,000 added to the third instalment, which would consequently amount to 300,000. There are two points, especially, which you will bear in mind. First, that it is more important for the amount to be increased than for the periods for payment to be shortened, so that if the Pope refuses to add the additional 300,000 crowns to the two instalments mentioned, your first care must be

* In the original draft is the following note in the King's hand:—"Consider whether "it will not be better to omit this about the Armada in view of what we were "discussing the other day; substituting words that will bind the Pope to his promise, "even though there may be no Armada in the matter. If it be not mentioned further "on, it will be well to ensure the subsidy, even in the case of the Pope's death, as "otherwise his successor might refuse to pay. I forgot this point the other day, and "as it seems to be important, if it be not mentioned in this letter another might be "written about it. We must make sure of this or we may find ourselves tricked."

1586.

to get the promise of the money, even if the payment be deferred. I should be satisfied with this, but you must do your best in the matter. The second point is that you must be quite sure of the credit of the Lisbon merchants who are to pay the money, so that I may be able to avail myself of it beforehand. The point of getting this amount in advance was very important, and you did well in pressing it.*

Without pledging me to any time for the execution of the enterprise you may say that it will be as soon as possible, and you must again insist upon secrecy above all things.

It might have been better, on some considerations, to have deferred the bestowal of the hat on Allen until the moment of the enterprise, but if it suits his Holiness better, let it be given in December. If he be made a cardinal I will allow him 2,000 crowns a year for his maintenance, and if the giving of the hat be deferred he shall have 1,000 crowns from time to time as he needs it.—18th November 1586.

19 Nov. 508. Document headed "Summary of what my master the King writes to me on the 19th November, to say to his Holiness, in reply to the message which his Beatitude ordered me to write on the 8th September 1586, respecting the submission of England."

1. That His Majesty is very glad that his Holiness recognises the spirit which really moves the King to undertake this business.

2. He highly appreciates the pious counsels and paternal admonitions of his Holiness, and in accordance therewith he intends to shut his eyes to the approaches made to him, through various channels by the queen of England for a settlement on favourable conditions. The authority of the Pope in this respect has greater weight with the King, together with the earnestness with which he embraces the cause, than the advice of faithful and godly persons who urge him strongly that the adoption of a contrary course would ensure a firm and advantageous settlement of his own affairs and the establishment of religion in his States.

3. His Majesty will be satisfied not to receive any of the money aids the Pope is to give him until the armada shall have arrived in England, and takes careful note of the points treated by the Pope in the document abovementioned.

4. The offer made by the Pope is very great and unexampled, as those of so great a Pope should be when the honour of our Lord is attacked, but, when His Majesty turns his eyes once more to the well-known state of his own affairs and his many obligations, he is constrained to supplicate his Beatitude to extend the aid promised in the measure which His Majesty hopes from his zeal, inasmuch as, however large may be the Pope's contribution, His Majesty will have to spend vast sums in excess of his revenues for

* This refers to the first instalment (500,000 crowns) of the Pope's subsidy, which, under certain conditions, was to take the form of bills on merchants in Lisbon which could be discounted.

1586.

the purpose of ensuring, so far as humanly can be done, the success of the enterprise, as is fitting considering its quality, and the fact that it is the first to which his Holiness has set his hand. It is necessary to be so fully prepared at all other points that no diversion which may be attempted will oblige us to abandon the enterprise, and this it is which will render it so costly.

As soon as his Holiness decides this point in accordance with the King's hopes, and the necessary despatches setting forth the whole matter on both sides have been received, the King, with the help of God and the blessing of his Holiness, will accept and undertake the enterprise, and will use every effort so to arrange it that no delay may occur in its execution, whilst at the same time using the care and phlegm necessaryto avoid the risk of over haste.

The King is obliged to impress upon all parties again the need for secrecy, seeing the risk which will otherwise be incurred, and the large additional expense in many ways if the affair be known.

This statement was made to his Holiness on the 13th December 1586, and the document by his order was handed to Cardinal Carrafa.

The following declaration by Cardinal Carrafa in Italian is appended to the aforegoing document:—

"His Holiness, desirous of aiding with all his strength this holy enterprise, to which God has stimulated his Catholic Majesty, is willing to employ in it a sum not exceeding *one million* in gold; that is to say, he will give five hundred thousand crowns in one sum as soon as the armada shall have arrived in England, in accordance with the document signed with my hand of 8th September of this year, and subsequently, at the end of each four months, he will pay 100,000 crowns until the full sum of a million shall have been paid, the rest of the clauses agreed to in the documents of 24th February and 8th September standing unchanged. Signed Antonius Cardinal Carrafa, by orders of his Holiness."—Rome, 22nd December 1586.

In the letter enclosing the above documents Count de Olivares writes as follows:—

I have heen unable to obtain an engagement ensuring the payment of the money in case of the death of his Holiness, but Carrafa tells me that your Majesty could in such case, with a clear conscience, pay yourself out of the property of the apostolic see by the most seemly, or by any, methods you might find, and that the "collections" in Spain and Naples would in the meanwhile be some sort of pledge, as well as what was granted of the "crusade" tithe, and other grants which may be given (*i.e.*, in Spain, &c.) towards the fabric of St. Peters, particularly after the 500,000 crowns were received.

The Pope promises to be most secret, but when it comes before the Consistory the question of the succession to the crown of England after the queen of Scotland will have to be considered.

1586.

This Father Robert and Allen are not only of opinion that the Pope should give the investure to the person who should be nominated by your Majesty, but say that the succession rightly belongs to your Majesty yourself by reason of the heresy of the king of Scotland, and, even apart from this, through your descent from the house of Lancaster. This is one of the reasons for my wish that Allen should have the hat as soon as possible, and it will be very advantageous for him to be a cardinal before they deal with the point of the investure in any case. There is no talk here about your Majesty's having moved in the elevation of Allen, which is attributed to the action of the duke of Parma alone. Father Robert assures me that this is by far the most important step that can be taken in order to sustain the spirit of the English Catholics.

It is asserted in Paris that the queen of Scotland has made a will constituting your Majesty her heir.

There is an English prior in Venice who is desirous to go to England in order to endeavour to convert the Queen, with whom it seems he has had some communication. It might be well to let him go as it may help to throw her off her guard.*—Rome, 23rd December 1586.

19 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 224.

509. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

The English ambassadors saw the King on the 10th, and their interview with him lasted nearly two hours. The whole burden was to read to the King a copy of the case against the queen of Scotland, and the various letters and papers which had been seized, the substance of which I detailed in my last. The King replied that he had decided to send M. de Belièvre to England, and when he had seen the papers, an answer should be given. Belièvre has already gone, taking many documents with him, which may serve to oppose the claim of the queen of England to have jurisdiction over the queen of Scotland. Notwithstanding all this, and the desire expressed by Belièvre to do his best for the queen of Scotland, many people believe that the least reason for his going to England is this affair of the Queen's. It is believed rather that this is a mere pretext, and the real desire is to get the queen of England to incline the princes of Bearn and Condé to peace, that being the King's greatest wish. Viscount Turenne, with whom the Englishwoman is especially intimate, appears to be particularly hard in the question of peace, and shows no sign whatever of becoming a Catholic if it be concluded.

19 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 225.

510. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

In the company of Harry Wotton, the ambassador who came hither from England, there arrived a son of Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and he asserts that he has advice from his

* An account of the intrigues of the Pope and the anti-Spanish Catholic party with Elizabeth will be found in Gregorio Leti's history of the reign of Elizabeth.

1586.

father of *the return of Captain Hawkins to England** with some of his ships in bad condition. He says he found that the flotilla from the Portuguese Indies, which he went to meet, had arrived. Other intelligence confirms Hawkins' return, although some accounts say he brought in four ships he had captured, loaded with sugar from the coast of Brazil. As, however, the day of his arrival is not mentioned, I cannot be sure of the news, not having received any letters from London myself. The contrary winds prevent our having fresh news from England, but I hear that Raleigh, the Queen's favourite, has taken and is holding as a prisoner, Pedro Sarmiento, whom your Majesty sent to the Straits of Magellan as Governor of a territory, and who was captured by English ships fitted out by Raleigh, whilst on his voyage home in a small Portuguese vessel. They will not permit him to speak with any foreigner, and he is always attended by a guard, although he is allowed to walk out freely.

The queen of England's Councillors and nobles who went to see the queen of Scotland have returned (according to the Scots ambassador here), she having refused to reply, except to say that the queen of England had no jurisdiction over her. When the queen of England learnt this she wrote her a letter, saying that if she did not answer the charges within four hours every string of her heart should feel it, which is an English threat, as it is usual at executions for such crimes (as treason) to tear the heart out. The queen of Scotland was so frightened that she confessed to have sent to the Christian Princes, saying that as prayers and persuasion were fruitless to move the queen of England, she begged them to release her by force of arms or other means ; but she said that she had never attempted anything against the Queen's life. These words have been much disapproved of here, particularly by Belièvre, who says that the queen of Scotland's cause has been greatly injured by them. All this only means that they (the French) do not want to help her, further than to keep her in prison in the power of the queen of England, whilst the latter shows every intention of executing her, in order to sell her to France at as high a price as she can.

The Master of Grey has raised the 3,000 Scotsmen, and was in Scotland on the 1st instant, having sent over (to Holland) in batches 1,500 of them. Advices of 1st instant say that a ship with 300 soldiers and two captains, bound for Zeeland, anchored off the coast of Scotland at night for fear of the rocks which surrounded them, and an English ship during the night under sail fouled the anchor cable of the Scotsman, which foundered and every soul on board was drowned. This occurrence proves that, although we have not recognized it everywhere, God is pleased to fight on your Majesty's side at all times.

They write from Scotland that the robberies which usually take place on the English border have now reached such a pitch that

* In the King's hand: "He took his course as we thought he would here. It was very well done."

1586.

they are really the beginning of a war, as whole villages are burnt and numbers of men killed. The earl of Arran has left Scotland to come hither. He was formerly Lord Chancellor, and was forced to go by the English faction.*

At this moment a Fleming who gives me the reports which I send to your Majesty from Deventer came to see me. He came by way of England and left London on the 13th; he says that it was expected they would shortly bring the queen of Scotland to the Tower of London, but as he was only there for one day he cannot tell me whether the news of Hawkins' return is true.—Paris, 19th November 1586.

Note.—In a letter to Idiaquez of same date as the aforegoing, Mendoza again explains the difficulty and danger of obtaining news from England, and defends himself, apparently against the King's complaints, for not sending fuller and more frequent intelligence. He learns from Tassis at Namur that the Englishman, Antony Pointz, has arrived there. Will follow the course commanded by His Majesty. Frequent reference had been made in letters to Idiaquez (who also suffered from cataract) of the various operations on Mendoza's eyes. In this letter he gives fervent thanks that at last all blemish has been removed, and he can once more see the light of the sun by day and the lamplight at night.

21 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 228.

511. Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

After writing the despatch that goes herewith I have received advices from England dated 13th instant, which confirm my fears that the news of Hawkins' return was untrue. It arose from the fact that one of his largest ships put into Falmouth much damaged by a storm, which had separated her from the rest. There was no rumour of fitting out other ships.

Don Antonio had been to London on the 28th ultimo, and had remained in conference with the Council at the Lord Treasurer's house for nearly an hour and a half, all the Councillors being present. My informant promises to send me particulars of what passed. They expected the queen of Scotland would be brought to the Tower of London. The duke of Parma sent hither (to Paris) M. de Luseaos, a gentleman of Artois, an officer and loyal subject of your Majesty, to beg for license from the King to send salt from Spain to Calais, and thence overland to Flanders, although the King had flatly refused me such permission. This was very unjust as the articles of the treaty of peace expressly stipulate for the free transit of merchandise on both sides. The need was so great in Flanders that the Duke was forced to ask again. The King has again refused. The ships may put into Calais but must not discharge cargo or men. This is a pure act of enmity, and a violation of international rights.—Paris, 21st November 1586.

* In the King's hand: "I do not recollect whether this man is a Catholic or not." This is not to be wondered at, as James Stewart (now stripped of all his usurped honours) had been "everything by turn and nothing long."

1586.

23 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1565. 2. French.

512. Document in the handwriting of Mendoza's secretary, headed, "Copy of the Letter which the queen of Scotland "wrote to me in her own hand after they had told her "she was condemned to death;" and docketed, "To "DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA from the QUEEN OF "SCOTLAND."

My very dear friend,—As I have always found you zealous in God's cause and devoted to my welfare and deliverance from captivity, I have continued to communicate to you all my intentions in the same cause, in order that you might convey what I said to the King, my good brother, and I therefore desire to devote such small leisure as I have to wishing you this last farewell, being resigned to receive the death blow which was pronounced upon me last Saturday. I know not when or in what guise it is to come, but at least you may be assured and may praise God for me, who by His grace has given me courage to accept cheerfully this very unjust sentence from the heretics, because of the happiness I feel at shedding my blood at the bidding of the enemies of the church, who do me the honour of saying they cannot continue without disturbance whilst I live. The other point is that their Queen cannot reign in security in the same case. I gladly accept the honour on both points without contradiction as a very zealous member of the Catholic religion, for which I have publicly offered my life. As for the rest I said, I had made no attempt to oust her who was in possession, but they called my right into question, and seeing it acknowledged by all Catholics, sought to oppose it. I did not choose to contradict them but left the matter to their own judgment. They were angry at this, and said that in any case I should not die for religion's sake, but for having tried to murder their Queen, which I denied as a great falsehood, for I had never attempted such a thing, but have left it in the hands of God and the church to order in this island matters concerning religion. The bearer of this promises to give you an account of the rigorous treatment that has been dealt out to me by these people, and how ill I have been served by others, who I wish had not shown so openly their fear to die in so just a cause, or given way to their own disordered passions. But, withal, they have been able to get nothing out of me except that I am a free Catholic princess and an obedient daughter of the church, and that I was in duty bound to seek my deliverance, since I had tried fair means unsuccessfully, and was obliged therefore to listen to other proposals made to me with the same object. Nau has confessed everything, Curle a great deal, following his example, and all is on my shoulders. I am threatened if I do not plead for pardon, but I reply that they have already condemned me to death—they cannot go beyond that,—and my hope is that God may reward me for it in another world. Out of spite, because I would not speak, they came yesterday and took away my dais, saying that henceforward I was only a dead woman without any rank. They are at work in my saloon now, I suppose they are putting up a stage whereupon I am to play the last act of the tragedy. I die in a good cause, satisfied that I

1586.

have done my duty. I have informed the King your master that if my son do not return to the standard of the church I consider him (Philip) the most worthy prince to succeed, and the most advantageous one for the protection of this island, and I have written to his Holiness to the same effect. I pray you to assure the King that I die in the same good intention as I wrote to you, and also to him whom you know, his close and old friend,* and to a fourth person.† For them I am confident of the King's protection in God's cause. You will beseech him not to abandon them, and I enjoin them to continue to serve him in my stead. I cannot write to them but please greet them for me, and all of you pray for my soul. I have asked for a priest but I do not know whether I shall get one. They offered me one of their bishops, but I flatly refused to receive him. Believe what the bearer will tell you, and these two poor girls who have been nearest to me, they, too, will tell you the truth.‡ I pray you to spread it abroad for I fear these people may make things appear different from what they are. For the relief of my conscience please have the money you know of paid,§ and let the churches in Spain remember me in their prayers. Keep the bearer secretly, he has been a faithful fellow to me.‖ God give you a long and happy life. You will receive a token from me, a diamond which I held dear as being the one upon which the late duke of Norfolk pledged his troth to me, and I have worn it ever since. Keep it, then, for my sake. I do not know whether I shall be allowed to make a will. I have asked for permission to do so, but they have taken all my money. Pray excuse me, I am writing in pain and trouble, and have no one to help me even to scribble my drafts, so I have to write them myself. If you cannot decipher my writing the bearer will read it to you, or my ambassador, who knows it. Amongst other accusations against me there is one about Creighton, of which I know nothing. I greatly fear that Nau and Pasquier have much promoted my death as they kept papers, and if (?) they are people who are willing to live anywhere so long as they are comfortable. Would to God that Fontenay had been here. He is a young man of resolution and knowledge. Farewell once more. I commend to you my poor destitute servants. Pray for my soul. From Fotheringay, this Wednesday, 23rd November. I commend to you the poor bishop of Ross, who will be quite destitute. Your very obliged and perfect friend, Marie, R.—Received in Paris on the 15th October 1587.

23 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 230.

513. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the DUKE of PARMA.

George Vibrant Birnstra, a native of Brille, captain of 300 footmen there, and sergeant-major of the town, has come with proposals to betray the place to us (full particulars of which are given). The

* The duke of Guise.
† The archbishop of Glasgow.
‡ Misses Curle and Kennedy.
§ The money owing by Queen Mary to Arundel and Paget.
‖ The apothecary Gorion (?)

1586.

sum required to bribe sailors and others will be 3,000 or 4,000 crowns. Several other proposals with similar ends are made. The third proposal is to raise a mutiny against the English in favour of His Majesty amongst the company of sailors, the same amount of money being paid to them in exchange for hostages. He offers to deliver Brille by either of these methods, whichever your Excellency thinks best. The English are thoroughly hated by the Hollanders, and the latter are anxious for a change of government. Both robbery and commerce have now failed them, and they are forced to pay the tributes to maintain the war. Besides which neither the queen of England nor the rebels have remunerated this captain, who has been so long with them that he should have been handsomely paid, instead of which he cannot get a groat of what they owe him.—Paris, 23rd November 1586.

27 Nov. **514.** The Duke of Parma to Bernardino de Mendoza.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 232.

As I have been so far from this place I only received your letter of 15th September with some delay, and at a time when I was just setting out, which has caused me not to reply to it so quickly as I could have wished. Both in the conduct of so important a negotiation as that proposed by the Scottish nobles to its present advanced stage, and in the discourse by which you point out the desirability of taking advantage of so carefully prepared an opportunity, your own great diligence, care, prudence, and experience are clearly demonstrated, and to His Majesty's satisfaction at this signal service must be added my own personal acknowledgment.

There is no doubt that for our aims here such a rising in Scotland as that suggested, or any other diversion, would be most opportune, and the sooner it is effected the better, because the more the Englishwoman is harassed and kept busy the better in every respect will it be, and especially here where we suffer more directly from the evil. It must be borne well in mind, however, that if the affair is not solidly based, it will turn out as former attempts have done, and worse, because it must not be forgotten that, even if they have the King in their hands, the greater part of the country is heretical, and the heretics aided, as they will be by the queen of England, will always remain the stronger party. This makes me think that the attempt would fail, and badly, so that on another occasion, when there were more solid grounds for hope, nothing could be done. Apart from this the failure of the plan would add greatly to the prestige of the queen of England with the heretics, whilst that of His Majesty would correspondingly suffer if, after letting them (the nobles) move under his protection, he allows them to be beaten, and this would be very unfortunate for affairs here and elsewhere. In order to be able to arrive at a wise decision in the matter, it will be advisable to understand thoroughly the designs which His Majesty has in his royal breast, and it appears to me that no resolution can be taken here until such knowledge be obtained. If he thinks of making some national effort or great enterprise it might be injurious to push these matters

1586.

on until the time for this had arrived, and it would be better to defer the execution of this rising in Scotland until then, when the blow might be struck before precautions were taken. If, on the contrary, there is no intention of using force (towards England), it is obvious that the sooner the affair is carried through the better, but always with due regard for the preservation of the good Catholics who are to be employed in the business; unless, indeed, the only thing that is wanted of them is to get them to rush on at their own risk in any case for the sole purpose of giving us the benefit of the diversion whilst it may last. To my poor judgment, therefore, it appears better that we should await His Majesty's reply informing us of his intentions and wishes, and in the meanwhile keep the Scots in hand with fair words, and in the discussion of the questions you point out as desirable to have answered. They (the Scots) should be dealt with, as you say, in a way which will not alienate them or give them any cause for complaint, as it is most important that their goodwill should be fostered. You understand these matters so well that you will be able to keep them friendly with your usual dexterity. I am not in the least apprehensive about the delay. I am writing to His Majesty to the same effect, advising him of my reply to you. His Majesty's prudence and experience are so great that we may be sure he will decide for the best.—Brussels, 27th November 1586.

28 Nov. **515.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 233.

[EXTRACT.]

Wotton, the English ambassador, has taken leave of the King who told him, in reply to his mission, that Belièvre, whom he had sent to England, would answer the Queen's message and the various documents read to him. He gave Wotton a chain of 600 crowns. M. de la Chatre has come hither, leaving the fleet at Havre-de-Grace. He complains greatly of the robberies committed by the English on the coast of Normandy, and urges the King to fit out some ships to prevent them, which he (de la Chatre) in such case promises to effect.—Paris, 28th November 1586.

28 Nov. **516.** BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 234.

Following the ships of Hawkins' fleet, which I said had been driven storm-beaten into port, Hawkins himself arrived, with the rest of the vessels much damaged. This has caused great annoyance in England, as nothing but loss has come of the expedition, besides which they have recently had wrecked seven or eight of the finest ships which the Admiral and Walter Raleigh, the Queen's favourite, had fitted out for plunder, with which also were lost the prizes they had taken, two ships loaded with sugar, and another full of negroes* coming from Lisbon. This is confirmed by Pedro Sarmiento, Governor of Magellan, who I said the other day was in England a prisoner of Walter Raleigh, but who had

* Note in the King's hand: "*This was not lost according to what I heard the other day.*"

1586.

been set at liberty in the manner I will relate to your Majesty. He has brought me a letter from England, a copy of which I enclose, as the man who sends it is well versed in English business affairs.* I hear that five English merchant ships only are now out after plunder, and there is no talk of further armaments. Drake went to Holland to get the rebel States to fit out some ships to help Don Antonio, in company with others which would be furnished by the Queen, but these are machinations which do not appear to rest upon much foundation, and are not likely to result in anything serious. The French ambassador in England has advised his King that the queen of England is making great efforts to arrange peace with your Majesty, and as the Queen and the Lord Treasurer had spoken to Pedro de Sarmiento, he understood that they had entrusted him with some mission on the subject. The moment the King heard of this he despatched a courier to Belièvre.

Reports from England say that all over the country, and especially in Norfolk and Norwich, they are deploring the loss caused to them by the war in Holland. They also say that many men of noble families have been killed in the war.

The affair of the queen of Scotland was being discussed in Parliament, but she had not been brought to London up to the 14th.—Paris, 28th November 1586.

28 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 235.

517. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

All reports agree that Belièvre was instructed to take the steps I mentioned with the queen of England, offering her a new confirmation of the offensive and defensive alliance, with the addition of clauses if necessary. The object of this is to divert her from her desire to come to an agreement with your Majesty, which desire is now confirmed on all sides. Whilst I am writing this Sampson tells me that inquiries have been made of him, by order of Secretary Villeroy, as to the person and parts of Miguel de Mora, your Majesty's Secretary of State for Portugal, through whom, and an Englishman named Botolph Holder living in Lisbon, the Queen was trying to come to an agreement with your Majesty, Botolph Holder having secretly sent a nephew of his twice to England about it, as the king of France had been informed.—Paris, 28th November 1586.

28 Nov. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 236.

518. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING. [EXTRACT.]

Robert Bruce, the Scottish gentleman who went to your Majesty, has letters from Scotland, dated 31st October, written by Claude Hamilton and the two other earls, who say that they have been tempted by the queen of England to become her pensioners, and as they rejected her advances, she was endeavouring to get

* *See* document dated 10th November, page 651.

1586

the other lords of the English faction to expel them from the country. They therefore feared that they would be forced to appeal to arms before they received your Majesty's reply, which they were expecting most anxiously, because although they were strong enough to deal with the Scots themselves, they were afraid of the aid that the queen of England would afford their enemies, and they could hardly hope to withstand her also. I told Robert Bruce to answer them encouraging them in their good resolution, and to point out to them the reasons which should lead them to avoid taking up arms prematurely, and the causes which render it unadvisable to send back the gentleman with the reply so quickly as they wished.

They also inform Bruce that three of the greatest lords in Scotland have been again reconciled to the church by the members of the Society of Jesus, who have already converted more than 20,000 souls, a large proportion of them being gentlemen. They say the conversion of these three earls is of the greatest importance for the reduction of the whole country to the faith by force of arms, in consequence of the great following they possess.

I have no letters from the duke of Parma since the 1st September, nor has he replied hitherto to the letter I wrote to him about the Scotch affair. I suspect he will have deferred dealing with this and other matters, respecting which I have written to him, until his return to Brussels. I have again written to him in the terms your Majesty will see by the copy I enclose. So far as I can judge from here the matter seems perfectly feasible, in the first place, because the English and rebels there (*i.e.*, at Brille) are off their guard, and, secondly, because the man who proposes the matter, has done everything in his power to prove that he is acting seriously and straightforwardly. For a matter of so much importance, the sum to be risked is a mere nothing, even if it were double as much as he asks. It is also of great moment that the Hollanders (whose principal business is seafaring) should be encouraged with the little help they want to rise against the English, whom they hate, now that the profits of the robberies and contracts are failing them. As this captain truly says, the guild (of mariners) forced the towns to hand themselves over to Orange, and will now influence them to rise on the other side and submit to your Majesty.

Pedro de Sarmiento was a prisoner in England, as I wrote to your Majesty, and Walter Raleigh has granted him his liberty, in the manner which he will explain to you. He arrived here as poor and destitute as was natural under the circumstances, after having been plundered by Englishmen, and as his person was of importance to your Majesty's service in the government of the Magellan territory, and he had served your Majesty well in the Indies, I received and entertained him to the best of my ability, and have given him a credit of 300 sun-crowns, which he requested, to enable him to proceed on his journey to Spain. He has given me an account of the state of affairs in England worthy of a man

1586.

of his understanding, because although he was a prisoner he took notice of everything. He also repeated to me what had been communicated to him by the Queen, the Lord Treasurer, and Walter Raleigh. It will be advisable for your Majesty to grant to the latter the favour he requests, thanking him for the willingness he expresses to be of service to your Majesty, as he entirely possesses the Queen's heart, and can consequently divert the fitting out of pirates, the machinations of Don Antonio, and other things that are constantly causing expense to your Majesty and delaying your designs.—Paris, 28th November 1586.

5 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 237.

519. Document headed: "ADVICES from ENGLAND."

Reports from London say that Leicester has arrived there, accompanied by Drake and deputies from Holland and Zeeland, who were going to petition the Queen to take them entirely as her subjects. They had given Leicester 7,000 groat-pounds in money as a present and a golden cup, and had also settled upon him an income of 10,000 groat-pounds a year, secured on the best and most easily realisable property in Holland and Zeeland.

7 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 239.

520. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my last despatch about England, letters dated 24th ultimo have been received from there reporting that Parliament had adjudged the queen of Scotland to be deserving of the death punishment, in accordance with the declaration which the Privy Council had already made, in the same form as that made by the Parliament on the rising of the duke of Norfolk, when the queen of Scotland was condemned. Twenty-six Earls and Barons, and forty-six gentlemen who represent the towns and counties in Parliament, went to give an account of their decision to the Queen (of England), and the Lord Chancellor, as their spokesman, made a long harangue, to the effect that not only was the queen of Scotland worthy of death, but that for the sake of her own personal safety and the tranquillity of her realm, it was necessary for the Queen to have the sentence carried into effect. The Queen replied, thanking them warmly for the solicitude they showed for her safety, and in acknowledgment of the same she prayed God to give her grace to govern them well, and adopt the resolution which might be most advantageous to the quietude of her realm. The matter which they had laid before her she said was one of much importance, because, in the first place, she would have to lay hands on a woman, a near relative of her own, and an anointed sovereign, who was, connected by ties of kinship with the greatest monarchs in christendom, and she (the queen of England) was of opinion that it would be well, before deciding, to listen to what was said by the ambassadors sent by the Christian King and the king of Scotland; and with this she dismissed them. I understand that she has given orders that directly Belièvre arrives in England, the rumour is to be spread that the queen of Scotland has been killed, in order to discover how he takes it. Belièvre, however, has been forwarned of it, and has his instructions as to what he should say when the news is told him. It is a plan of

1586.

Cecil's, arising out of the desire (as I wrote to your Majesty) to sell to the French, on the best terms they can, what they do not dream of carrying out. The English and French will have no difficulty in agreeing on the point, because the King (of France) and his mother are very well pleased that the queen of Scotland should be alive and a prisoner, in order to prevent the succession of your Majesty to the English throne, whilst the English see clearly that the many advantages accruing to them from keeping the queen of Scotland prisoner would change into as many dangers if they made away with her. There is news that Belièvre has embarked at Calais, and that the ambassador from the king of Scotland had arrived in London, with orders to make every possible effort to preserve the life of his King's mother, in conjunction with the French ambassador, by whose advice he is to be ruled. These letters from London say nothing of armaments or fitting out of ships, but report the bringing to London as prisoners of most of the principal people of the county of York, such as Constable, Methan (?), Stapleton, Baboser (?), and Chatorne (?), accused of complicity in the late conspiracy against the Queen, they having offered to raise troops in favour of the queen of Scotland.—Paris, 7th December 1586.

7 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 240.

521. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

[EXTRACT.]

The duke of Parma has sent a gentleman hither, named Hugo Oen, to speak to the Dutch captain who offers to surrender Brille and perform the two other services I have mentioned. His orders are to ask the captain to get the herring fishery brought to Dunkirk, in return for hostages, and he shall be paid the sum of money he requests. As for Brille, as the English and rebels are superior in numbers, and he, the Duke, cannot send help, he doubts the possibility of holding it, and is disposed to decline the captain's offer. Mendoza at great length argues to the King that the Duke is mistaken. He (Mendoza) is the only old officer of the duke of Alba left, and he pits his special knowledge of the country against that of the duke of Parma, insisting that the possession of Brille is of more importance even than that of Flushing. He urges with much vehemence that the Dutch captain's offer should be accepted, and writes a private letter to Idiaquez to the same effect. He says he has quite convinced the duke of Parma's envoy that he is right, and the latter asks Mendoza to supply the captain with money in order that he may go back to Brille and arrange with his friends, and then go to the duke of Parma to settle the time for the execution of the project, when the money shall be paid to him. He has accordingly given the captain 200 crowns, on the assurance that the Duke would repay him. The captain is delighted, and leaves his nephew here as a hostage.—Paris, 7th December 1586.

13 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 243.

522. SAMPSON'S ADVICES from ENGLAND.

Diego Botello writes to Don Antonio's people saying that, as the Queen had promised to help Don Antonio when the earl of Leicester and Drake arrived, they hoped now that he would be fortunate,

1586.

and soon in a position to reward them for their services. Captain Alegre, when he went with Custodio Leiton, took an order from this King's Master of the Pages and another gentleman of the 45 guard, to buy a ship in England, for the purpose of sending her out to plunder. This is owing to the hopes that Alegre held out to them that it would come back loaded with gold. The captain now writes to them from England that he has made the purchase, and that, as victuals are very much cheaper there than in France, it was advisable for them to send him money to enable him to stock her with the necessary stores for the voyage, and she could then sail out direct. These letters for the Master of the Pages came in Don Antonio's packet, *and his* (*Don Antonio's*) *own people ask for a reply to them*, although they do not indicate that they are aware of the contents. They are so earnest about it that they have evidently received orders to get this answer back, as Sampson says, through the air, which makes me think that when Don Antonio's plans, which are described in the other letter enclosed advices from England, are to be carried into effect, he will try to make use of this vessel.

Sampson says that Don Antonio showed signs of being very well pleased in England, and his partisans say the same, although that may be artifice.

17 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 87.

523. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA. [EXTRACT.]

I quite believe that you have done your best to obtain trustworthy news from England, and although the task of conquering the difficulty may be a hard one, you will see how important it is to me, and I must enjoin you to continue your efforts to procure fresh sources of intelligence, in addition to those you have, which are good. But as news about armaments must depend mainly upon eye witnesses, your efforts must principally be directed to this point, and you must keep me well informed of all you hear, so that our preparations here may be fittingly made. You will pay great attention to this and also let me know whether Hawkins has returned to England with his fleet, and if it is true, as you were told, that Drake went over to Zeeland with those few ships, and, if so, what could have been his object, together with all you can learn about their preparations.

Note.—The King has added the following autograph note to this passage in the draft: "Consider whether it will not be advisable "to send him the reports we have received from Portugal about "this (*i.e.*, the movements of Hawkins) without saying who the "author is; is order that he may compare them with his own "information and advise us which is the more correct."

17 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 244.

524. ADVICES from ENGLAND.

As soon as the earl of Leicester and Drake arrived in England, Don Antonio sent Diego Botello to ask the Queen to come to some decision in his affair, as those whose arrival she awaited had now come. If she could not give him some decided answer he must ask

1586.

her for his passport to allow him and all his people to leave the country. The Queen answered Diego Botello—"If the King my "brother is in such a hurry in his affairs he may go whithersoever "he pleases; the road is open for him." On the receipt of this answer Don Antonio wrote a note the same night to the French ambassador, and on the following morning the Ambassador visited him, and was admitted by a back door. Don Antonio asked him whether he could get a passport for him under the name of a French gentleman to enable him to cross over to Calais, and the ambassador assured him that he should be sent to France at any time that he might desire.

Don Antonio, in the meanwhile, fell ill, and the Queen sent Lord Hunsdon and Lord Admiral Howard to visit him, and to tell him not to distress himself, she would help him in his affairs much better than he expected. As soon as she had got free from the queen of Scotland's business she promised she would look into his.

Drake went to see Don Antonio, and told him that he would either place him in Portugal or lose his life in the attempt. On the following day Drake went with Dr. Lopez to the Council, to ask leave to fit out his ships; Secretary Walsingham taking the matter up, asked whither he was going with the ships, to which Drake replied that he was going to the Portuguese Indies. He has not obtained the permit to put them into commission, but Walsingham told him he could get the ships ready for sea, and he would favour him with help to sail on his expedition, although some of the Councillors thought it would be difficult to grant him a license.

Don Antonio was well again, and the man who sends these advices says that he (Don Antonio) had gone personally with Drake to see his ships. They are seven in number, one of 400 tons another of 300, another of 250, and the rest from 150 to 180 tons, and they are well armed with bronze pieces. The flagship had 28 guns. Drake said that the rebel States offered 40 ships to accompany his, for the purpose of placing Don Antonio in Portugal or the islands, the earl of Leicester having agreed to it.

17 Dec. **525.** ANTONIO DE VEGA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 245. Portuguese.

For the reasons which I will relate below, I have decided to despatch the bearer with all speed and secrecy. If the occasion were far less important than it is, I should still consider the despatch necessary, although I have been at immense trouble in finding means to get the bearer out of the country. I would rather be blamed for over zeal than for negligence. I wrote by the Venetian ship which sailed from here on the 28th October, and briefly by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who left on the 11th November and would verbally give an account to your Majesty of certain matters in your interest. It will be well, however, for me to briefly repeat some of the reports I previously sent and verbally entrusted to Sarmiento. The Queen continues to act in a way which may well cause your Majesty's indignation, especially in taking the States of Flanders under her protection, to which she was persuaded by a number of fanatics who assured her that she ought not to allow the opportunity to slip, and

1586.

that your Majesty should not be left in tranquillity there, as the existence of her own realm was deeply concerned. The further to trouble your Majesty she gave to Francis Drake license to arm ships to assail all New Spain. Some of the more disinterested Councillors opposed this policy, but as they were outnumbered and outweighted by the others, they gave way and the policy was then adopted without difficulty. The states of Holland and Zeeland were taken under the Queen's protection, letters of marque were granted against your Majesty's subjects, Drake was fitted out to sail on his expedition, in which he gained nothing but discredit for himself and disappointment for those who were behind him. For this reason the Queen was ill-able to fulfil the promises she had made to the States, especially in the matter of engaging German troops. The payment of the 10,000*l.* a month in cash which she had undertaken to send them has been punctually made hitherto, at the importunity of the earl of Leicester and Secretary Walsingham. The earl of Leicester came hither nine days since with two deputies chosen by the provinces, the rest being expected daily. They are going to ask the Queen to do one of two things: either to accept the sovereignty of the States and carry on the war openly with national forces, or to give them leave to come to terms with your Majesty. For this reason Parliament will sit longer than was expected. It was on the point of ending when it was prorogued for 15 days later, in order that it may be decided whether peace or war is to be made. Under these circumstances I have thought necessary to send my opinions, in the hope that perhaps they may be of some use to your Majesty if you decide to take remedial measures. I think your Majesty should with all speed give these people to understand that you are willing to come to terms of peace with them (which for many reasons, as I have said before, I think most difficult); but still, as I wrote by Sarmiento, I think it will be advisable to express a wish to do so. If they are wishful for peace, this will make them more moderate in their terms, less obstinate in maintaining the obstacles that may present themselves, and less likely to insist upon their first demands remaining unaltered, to the greater scandal than that at present existing, and by this means the hopes entertained on all sides may be discovered. If for your Majesty's own reasons you should decide to come to terms with the Queen, it will be most important to offer to extricate them from the consequences of the trouble in which they now are, which they well know and acknowledge is not small; because, if once they are convinced that your Majesty will not listen to the mission entrusted to Pedro Sarmiento, they will unanimously strain every nerve to impede and obstruct your Majesty everywhere, and especially in three ways, namely, first by continuing the war in Flanders, by placing my uncle* in Portugal, and fitting out great fleets to impede navigation. It is a common boast here that, when they employ the ships they have here and in Holland, not even a

* Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender. He is thus referred to in all of Vega's letters, but I can discover no proof that they were related.

1586.

fishing boat will leave the Spanish coast; and really their sea force is very great. As they are now in this doubt as to whether they shall have war or peace, and this must be decided by the answer given to these deputies from Holland, I have thought well to write with all speed that a message should be sent (from Spain) to the Lord Treasurer, who is the ruling spirit in all this business, and is desirous of peace, to let him know that your Majesty wished for his friendship. This might be done through Pedro de Sarmiento, who appears to be an efficient man, or by any other channel your Majesty might choose. This would have the effect of dividing them, and would prevent a united agreement being arrived at, either with regard to these deputies, or to the help to be given to my uncle, or the other various designs against your Majesty, so that everything would remain in suspense. If your Majesty's enemies seek aid for their projects elsewhere than here, they may pester but cannot injure you. I will not urge further arguments on this point, as I have already dwelt fully upon it, but will only say that my sole object is that your Majesty's affairs may prosper.

As I fear to err on this road, which I have hitherto followed in the dark, I abstain from saying more until I can see some light to guide me, but if I should take a false step I know it will be pardoned in view of my zeal to be of service, which far exceeds my astuteness. Before Pedro de Sarmiento went, the Queen, to keep my uncle in suspense, sent two of her Councillors to say that her provinces of Holland and Zeeland would provide what they promised when the deputies came on the former occasion, namely, 40 ships, twenty-five of them war ships provisioned for six months, and 15 merchantmen, with victuals to the value of 50,000 cruzados, whilst she, the Queen, would give him 30,000, as well as what her subjects would provide. On this foundation she sent Drake to Holland to inspect the ships and men that could be obtained there, and my uncle wrote to the Earl (of Leicester) sending him Captain Duarte Perin (Edward Perrin), who is an Englishman, to beg him to intercede with the States in his favour. They replied that if the Queen would take them as her subjects they would do all they were asked, and more; but the Earl sent a very cold reply, in which he showed how scandalised he was about his (Don Antonio's) son, which matter I mentioned in a former letter to your Majesty. When my uncle got this reply he was very angry, and sent Diego Botello to court to beg the Queen to come to some decision in his affairs. The Queen excused herself by saying that she must defer doing so until the parliament had disposed of the question of the queen of Scots, as she was fully occupied with that at present. Upon this Diego Botello signified that my uncle was desirous of leaving the country and could wait no longer, and the Queen was very angry at this, saying that if he was in such a hurry, the door was open and the road free, and he could go when he liked. She said she was not so inconsiderate as to wish his affairs to be managed lightly, or in a way which would end in failure. Diego Botello got a reply that was anything but pleasing to him. I can assure your Majesty that my uncle has lost all weight with these people in

1586.

consequence of Diego Botello's want of tact. He is accordingly awaiting the settlement of the queen of Scotland's affair, and is determined to go from England, if some arrangement is not made with him on the Earl's return. He will probably go to France and has spoken to the ambassador about it, asking him, in case any difficulty is raised as to his leaving, to give him a passport as if for one of his own people. The bearer of the present is Gaspar Diaz Montesinos, one of four brothers who accompanied my uncle. He and his brother, Baltazar Vaez, who have stayed with me for a long time past, have offered to serve your Majesty. He was condemned to death by my uncle, but my father-in-law the French ambassador saved his life, and he has sworn to be avenged on my uncle. If your Majesty desires, the bearer may be spoken to on this point with the utmost confidence, because, in addition to this sworn resolution of his, both he and his brother are brave soldiers, they being two out of the three men in whom I wrote that I trusted, the third being Bernaldo Luis. The bearer will say verbally certain things which I cannot explain in writing, and I beg your Majesty will give credence to him. I wrote what had been resolved about the queen of Scotland, and Pedro Sarmiento will have verbally reported the answer she gave to the interrogations. It afterwards happened that 12 out of the 42 chosen commissioners reported that they found her not guilty, but parliament adjudged her to be deserving of death, and they requested the Queen to allow the sentence to be carried out. The condemnation was made under the act which adjudged it a capital crime for anyone to claim the crown of England, and it was taken advantage of as a means of getting the Queen out of the way. The king of France has sent M. de Belièvre, a member of his council, hither as his ambassador. He arrived here a fortnight ago and has seen the Queen twice, and has spoken once with the Council. All the satisfaction he has got hitherto, apart from condolence and thanks for good feeling expressed, was that the people protested that if the Queen did not carry out the sentence they would do so, as the Queen's own life was at stake, and if she fell not only would all their lives be endangered, but the existence of the State as well. She said she deferred the carrying out of the sentence more to please the king of France than because she thought the queen of Scotland deserved it, or because she intended to imperil her own life by saving that of the prisoner. With words of this sort she kept the matter open until the audience, which was fixed for yesterday. She was pressed by Belièvre for a decision but declined to give it, and this gave rise to some discussion, in the course of which Belièvre said he was much surprised that her Councillors should advise her even to judge, and much less execute, a queen who was not her subject and not amenable to the laws of her country, and said that if she carried out her intention she ran the risk of setting all, or nearly all, Christian princes against her, and especially the king of France. She replied that the king of France ought not to take it amiss that she should do so just a thing as to proceed against the queen of Scotland by the laws of the land; and, as for the hatred of other

1586.

princes, she paid very little attention to that, as she had done nothing to deserve it, and, apart from the daring of the house of Guise, and, possibly, the enmity of the king of Spain, she was not likely to be misjudged. She hoped, moreover, before a year was over, to show the king of Spain how powerless he was against her. I hardly dare to say this, but feel it my duty to give the substance of her conversation, which was public. With these words she dismissed Belièvre. The next morning, without saying anything more, she sent to order the lord mayor of London to issue her proclamation with extraordinary ceremony. It announced that the queen of Scotland had on several occasions planned her death, and quoted the letters and papers which had been discovered proving the charge. She had pardoned her previously, but had said that if she offended again she should be brought to justice according to law; and, in conformity with this, she had ordered the queen of Scotland to be examined by 42 persons chosen from the most eminent men of the realm, who again found her guilty, both by her own confession, and the evidence otherwise obtained, and she had been found by 36 of the chosen commissioners to be deserving of death. She (the Queen) had, moreover, been petitioned by parliament to allow the sentence to be carried out. This she had refused on three occasions, and wished to hold the sentence back. The parliament had at last, however, pressed her so forcibly and so unanimously upon the subject, and had said that if she did not carry out the sentence they would do so; that for the sake of the quietude of her states and the safety of her person she had at length conceded to them that the punishment should be duly carried out, namely, the beheading of the queen of Scotland. This proclamation was ordered to be made in all the towns in the country on the same day. It was considered certain that the execution would take place to-day, but it is not known as the Queen (of Scots) is in a castle 50 miles from here. At the end of this letter I shall be able to give further information on this point. The king of Scotland has sent an envoy* hither, in addition to his resident ambassador,† but they both of them only talk as this Queen wishes them to do, as they are evidently her pensioners. One of them told the French ambassador yesterday that the king of Scotland was sending hither two earls and two lawyers to protest to the Queen that if she killed his mother he would make war upon her, and the Queen had granted a passport for them. But to-day the event I have described (the publishing of the proclamation) took place. Great bets are being made as to whether the queen of Scotland is dead yet. I am told by the French ambassador here that his King is at issue with this lady (the queen of England?) and if he does not come to terms with the king of Navarre will seek every means of joining your Majesty to injure this country. But the weak point of this country and the Queen is on the side of Scotland, and if what the Scots' ambassador says be true, the task is half finished.

* Sir William Keith. † Archibald Douglas.

1586.

If your Majesty thinks well, I would pray that an answer should be sent back at once, in time for it to arrive here before Parliament closes. The bearer will use all speed, but secrecy is most vital, as I am very anxious that his going thither (to Spain) should not be discovered. We hear of certain details of what was passing in Spain through an agent of the king of France there. The bearer takes orders only to return to Paris, and await there an opportunity of coming over when occasion of importance may demand. The channel of communication he will mention is safe and secret. He takes money for his journey thither (to Spain) and if anything of great moment happen here Bernaldo Luis shall be sent, either by land or sea, but the trouble of smuggling these men out of the country is very great. I have a man who is now fitting out a ship here, and will leave at the beginning of January, upon whom I can depend for carrying despatches. I should be much obliged if your Majesty would send me a commission, so that I could with more confidence offer or give reward when it may be necessary, and I should also like to receive instructions as to the conduct of affairs generally, in order that I should not exceed the limits desired. I am in debt from the time I was here for my uncle, and am afraid of losing my good name with these people. I was obliged to avail myself of the help of Bernaldo Luis, so that if I was forced to leave I might not go away owing money, as I would never depart without paying everything. Bernaldo Luis accordingly lent me 2,000 cruzados, which I promised should be paid in Lisbon to his brother Pero Freire. If your Majesty would order the favour to be granted to me of having this money paid, I should be very grateful, as it is more necessary now than ever for me to keep up my credit, and I cannot do the good services I wish if I have not the means of rewarding those who are to be rewarded. I am unfortunately unable to do it as I could desire out of my own resources, and am obliged to importune your Majesty. I have not only spent all my own money, but that of my friends, who have now all turned against me in consequence.

My uncle is accompanied by the persons of whom Pedro Sarmiento took a list, and of whom there are many, as the bearer will say, whom I could approach, as they mostly come to me in their need and troubles. Don Antonio Meneses is a prisoner, but I hope to get him released by the means the bearer will describe. He and Don João Cresto, with four others, would have gone away before now if they had had the means for the journey. If my uncle leaves here, as he says he will, he will go by way of Calais with a very small suite, as he thinks secrecy will ensure his safety. If your Majesty wishes, the bearer might be spoken to about this with the utmost confidence, as he is specially chosen for the purpose. I heard to-day that certain merchants intend to fit out five ships to send to the Portuguese Indies, under favour of some of the Councillors, and Drake is busy about them. I will send further news by Bernaldo Luis. Hawkins returned bringing in two ships from Santo Domingo and two from Brazil, but owing to a tempest he was unable to reach the islands. He captured four

1586.

other ships from San Thomé, and five from Brazil, as well as four fishing boats, which they plundered but did not bring in. This is all I can say at present, as I am prevented by the sons of my uncle and the shortness of the time from writing at greater length. It is important not to lose the opportunity of sending my man with the gentleman* now being sent by the French ambassador.—London, 17th December 1586.

18 Dec. **526.** ANTONIO DE VEGA to the KING.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 242. Portuguese.

The bearer was kept back for a day, in order that he might take news of the decision that had been arrived at respecting the joint action in favour of the queen of Scotland, which was to be taken by the ambassadors of France and Scotland who were to address the Queen on the subject on the day of the proclamation. The French ambassador resident here had written to the king of Scotland, pointing out to him that in the present position of his mother if he fulfilled his duty as a good son he would be supported by all Christian princes, in whose eyes he would suffer greatly if the contrary were the case, and the King answered thanking him for his advice, begging a continuance of his good offices in favour of his mother, and saying that he was sending an ambassador hither upon the matter, with orders to act in accord with him, and follow his advice. On the day of the proclamation, 16th, the day before yesterday, the Scots ambassador consulted the French ambassadors, and by their advice went to see the Queen, accompanied by another (Scots ambassador)† whom evidently the King did not trust. He told the Queen that, since she was proceeding so infamously with the mother of the King, his master, he gave her notice in his name that he withdrew entirely from the friendship and alliance arranged between them last year, whereupon the Queen was excessively enraged. The French ambassadors then wrote to her, begging her to defer the execution of the sentence until they had communicated with their master, for which they requested 15 days. She promised to send a reply by one of her Councillors, which, however, she did not do until to-day, when she answered that she would give them 12 days in which to communicate with their King, and she sent a similar letter to the Scots ambassador, although less than that time would have done for him. On the day of the proclamation the queen of Scotland's apartments were divested of their emblazoned hanging, and mourning drapery was fixed, both in the rooms and on the bed.

I could, if I had time, say much more upon this point, but the bearer, who takes the information to the king of France, can stay no longer.—London, 18th December 1586.

Note.—The aforegoing two holograph letters from the so-called nephew of the Portuguese pretender, Don Antonio, are extremely

* This was the Viscount de Genlis who was being sent by Bellièvre and Chateauneuf to the king of France, to inform him of the imminent danger of Mary Stuart, whom a vigorous exercise of his influence could alone save. Elizabeth had given twelve days' delay for Genlis to go and return.

† Sir William Keith.

1586.

obscure and diffuse, and contain much irrelevant matter, mainly concerning Don Antonio's followers, which has been omitted in the translation. The letters were evidently read with great care by the King, as they are in many places underlined by his pen, and marginal notes of exclamation and attention inserted by him. They are addressed on the cover to Don Jeronimo Lopez Sapaio, and (apparently by him) re-addressed "To our lord the King." It will be seen in the course of the correspondence that the Montesinos brothers, and especially the bearer of the above letters, Gaspar Diaz Montesinos, were entrusted with a proposal for the murder of Don Antonio, which proposal was accepted by the King and instructions for the crime sent by Secretary Idiaquez to Mendoza, although Montesinos was not allowed to go to Spain to treat of the matter personally, but was retained in Paris by Mendoza.

17 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 153.

527. The KING to BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA.

I cannot say how grieved I am about the queen of Scotland. God help her in this trouble and extricate her from it. It was imprudent to keep copies of those dangerous papers, although they were so honourable. However there is no help for it now. You will use every possible effort to induce Nazareth and others to urge the king of France to act energetically in her behalf, placing before him with this object the arguments most likely to move him, which are many. Let me know what takes place, for I am very anxious about it.—Madrid, 17th December 1586.

18 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1448. 88.

528. SECRETARY IDIAQUEZ to BERNARDINO DE MERDOZA.

Charles Arundel has written to His Majesty begging that the money given to him here on account of the allowance payable to him in France should be regarded as a separate grant. Having regard to what you write about the understanding he has with the English ambassador, and the good service he renders, His Majesty has decided to accede to his request, so that you may continue to pay him his allowance without deducting the amount paid to him here, which will be a separate grant-in-aid. His Majesty is anxious that the matter should be kept secret, and Arundel must be enjoined to tell no one, as it might be seized upon as a precedent by the rest of them who were here.—Madrid, 18th December 1586.

24 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 246.

529. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.

Since my last letters I have learnt by letters from England, dated 17th, that the earl of Leicester returned to England in the ship that carried Drake over. At the time of his embarkation an order arrived from the Queen and all the Council that he was to stay in Zeeland, but he replied that he was now ready to embark, and it was necessary that he should verbally communicate certain matters to the Queen which he did not wish to be known by any other person. He arrived at Richmond on the 4th, and the Queen received him well, as it was a private understanding between them

1586.

that he should come over with a secret license, notwithstanding other orders reaching him. It was said that he would return to Zeeland, but this is disbelieved by many people. He left *Count Maurice** as head of the rebels and Colonel Norris in command of the English, a brother of Philip Sidney† being at Flushing.

M. de Bellièvre‡ had his first audience on the 7th instant, when nothing but compliments passed, and in the second interview he addressed the Queen on the matter of the queen of Scotland, but with gentleness, saying how much the king of France would be obliged if she proceeded kindly with her. The queen of England was very haughty and told him that although subjects, of course, had to obey their sovereigns, she was nevertheless much surprised that he, Bellièvre, who occupied so distinguished a position, and was so much considered, should not have declined such a mission as this, which had only been brought about by her enemies and those of the King, for the purpose of defending this homicidal woman. She added what she usually says about the queen of Scotland, and that Mary must die in order that Elizabeth may live, as they could not both of them live. She told him to tell his King this, and gave him twelve days, beyond which, she said, she would not defer the execution. When the Scots ambassador asked her not to behead the Queen until the arrival of ambassadors who would be sent as soon as a passport was given by her, she gave him the same answer, namely, granting a delay of twelve days.

Bellièvre signified his intention of leaving, but the Queen sent two Councillors to him, with the result that he will stay.

On the same day that she gave audience to Bellièvre the Queen caused Parliament to pronounce the death sentence, and bonfires were lit for joy all over London, and one was placed purposely before the door of the French ambassador.

The queen of Scotland remained in the same place, her room had been hung with black, and she had no canopy and is only addressed as Mary. But, as I have said to your Majesty, it is all artifice, for if she (Elizabeth) had wanted to put an end to her she has had plenty of opportunity and time for doing so, without waiting to do it in the very face of the ambassador who *was sent to prevent it by the king of France.*§

Leicester and Walsingham were greatly opposed to the queen of Scotland, and Walsingham writes to the English ambassador here that the bombastic threats sent to the Queen by the king of Scotland were not left unanswered.

The queen of England had imprisoned in the county of York and the north of England over 300 gentlemen, who, although they

---

* In the King's hand: "I *think this is the son of* Orange."

† The decipherer had made a mistake in the spelling of the name Sidney—not an uncommon error, for hardly an English name in the whole mass of the correspondence is rightly spelt—but the King has carefully underscored it, and has written the name correctly, "*Sidney.*" The person referred to is Robert Sidney.

‡ In the King's hand: "I suspect this man has gone for something more than they say."

§ In the King's hand: "God grant that this may really be the object of his going."

1586.

attended the Protestant churches, were thought to be Catholic at heart.

Lord Buckhurst is now in charge of the queen of Scotland as *Paulet has come to London*,* and Buckhurst was accompanied by a minister who was sent to the queen of Scotland to give her spiritual aid. She treated him with the bravery which was due from a Christian and a Queen, saying that he was bold indeed to presume to appear before her, knowing as he did that she had been baptised as a Catholic, in which faith she would live and die. She cared nothing for her life, but the queen of England could not deprive her of it, although she was now in her power, for she (the queen of Scotland) was a sovereign. If she dealt with her differently from what her condition demanded, she desired no vengeance against the Queen or her Council, nor against the Parliament which persecuted her, but she would have them know that there was no lack of Catholic Princes who for their own sakes would take upon themselves the task of avenging her.

Drake had requested license from the Council to put to sea, but it had not been granted up to the 17th, although it was said that he would be accompanied by a number of ships which the rebels of Holland and Zeeland offered the Queen.—Paris, 24th December 1586.

24 Dec. **530.** Bernardino de Mendoza to the King.

Paris Archives, K. 1564. 247.

When the despatch from the duke of Parma, in reply to mine about Scotland, was received, Colonel Stuart, captain of the King's guard, sent word to me that he had arrived in Paris, and wished to see me secretly, in order to communicate to me a mission with which he was entrusted by certain Scottish catholic nobles, and I consequently delayed writing to your Majesty until I had heard what he had to say. The substance of it was that the earls of Huntley, Morton, and Montrose, catholics, seeing the oppression in which they lived in matters of conscience and other points, in consequence of the English faction having seized the person of the King, desired, in the first place, to set him at liberty, and so to have freedom of conscience for themselves, with the object of opening a door thereby for the subsequent conversion of the whole country to our holy Catholic faith, and causing their King to make every effort for the release of his mother. This project they were ready to carry into execution, if your Majesty would assist them with some money, and they had asked Muzio (*i.e.*, the duke of Guise) to act as their intercessor in the matter towards your Majesty and myself. They requested him to point out how advantageous the matter would be to your Majesty's interests, as the queen of England had broken peace with you, and they offer in return for the aid they crave, the use of their forces and those of Scotland to offend the queen of England, in the way your Majesty might consider most convenient. He (Stuart) dwelt at length to

* In the King's hand : "She is in so much want of bad men to hear her causes."

1586.

this effect. I replied, pointing out the objections which could be found to the offer, in general terms, but highly approving of their purpose, and said that when I learnt how Muzio had received the proposal I would communicate it to your Majesty, and would, for my own part, do all I could to forward it, so far as an ambassador might, although we ambassadors could only depend upon the will of the Sovereign. I did not indicate that I was in communication with Muzio, except to express general sympathy with him as a brave and a Catholic person. I dealt with Stuart in this way because I know he is connected with the Scottish Catholics, and is a Catholic himself, although a *politician.** It is evident that they have not opened out very much to him, but they have made it clear that they are discontented and desire aid from your Majesty, as he is a man of influence and a soldier to whom the King is much attached. I was obliged therefore not to make him despair, but sent him away satisfied and pleased at my sympathy. I also gave him letters to the duke of Parma, to whom I told him to give an account of his mission. I have privately informed the Duke of the parts of this Colonel Stuart, and of my reply to him, in order that the Duke may continue with him accordingly. I have also told Muzio how I replied, with a similar object.

When Robert Bruce returned from Spain I asked him some questions which I set forth in my letter to the duke of Parma. Muzio informs me by him, that to elucidate these points he had written to Don Juan de Idiaquez that the 6,000 soldiers should be foreigners, of whatever nation, and led by the commander your Majesty might choose; and they would land at the port your Majesty judged most convenient, according as they might be sent from Spain or Flanders. The sum they ask, 150,000 crowns, might be sent at the same time, and they would take up arms when your Majesty might order, either before or after the arrival of the contingent, liberating the King, massacring the English faction, and the ministers, unless they could with perfect safety imprison them, in which case they would at once have them executed by process of law. They would then take possession of the fortresses, which are old castles, and the three Catholic Earls will be the leaders of the troops to be raised for that purpose. They have the secret consent of the King for them to set him at liberty by any means. These are the points I said to the duke of Parma should be cleared up before the affair was settled. The Duke writes to me the letter of which I enclose a copy, telling me that he could not decide to answer Muzio, without hearing again from your Majesty, and that I was to keep the matter open by asking Muzio for answers on these points. If I did so now that the questions are all cleared up, Muzio and the Scotsmen would take it as a negative, and consequently I had to find some other expedient. I answered him, saying that the need in which the elector of Cologne was, had

* The term was usually applied to the moderate and conciliatory party of Catholics, who after St. Bartholomew acted under the leadership of Alençon, with Montmorency, Damville, de Cossé, and others.

1586.

forced the duke of Parma to concentrate all his forces at Gueldres, and the results were the actions with which he, Muzio, was acquainted. I said that 6,000 men had to be left at the siege of Bergen, which had quite transformed the condition of affairs there, and the duke of Parma consequently was unable to decide about Scotland without fresh advices from your Majesty. This is quite a sufficient excuse for delay, without giving them any reason for complaint. The Scots ambassador and this gentleman are so fully satisfied with this excuse, that I am sure Muzio will be so Robert Bruce having now gone to him with your Majesty's letter on the subject. I will duly report his reply.

The ambassador and Robert Bruce have letters from the Catholic lords, dated the 20th ultimo, saying that, as the queen of England sees that they and their party do not rise to the various baits she has presented to them, she was now beginning to stir old enmities and feuds in the country, which they say makes them the more anxious to know the result of their mission to your Majesty. When they are assured of receiving aid, they will hold back as long as they are able; but if they were unable to obtain help they had decided to throw in their lot with the Englishwoman on security being given to them for their lives, for they could do more.

The king of Scotland was about to send an ambassador to the queen of England to know from her whether she intended to nominate him heir to the Crown, as in the contrary case he would seek friends elsewhere. The King now not only secretly favoured the Catholics, but was pleased for them to speak to him about religion, which he was not formerly. He told those of the English faction who urged him to marry, that the time for it had not yet come, and that he wished to seek a bride outside his realm, as his grandfather had done. These things indicate some secret views and dissatisfaction with his present condition, thus confirming the statement that he has secretly given his consent to the Catholics to release him by any means. This smoothes away the first difficulty raised by the duke of Parma, about keeping the King in durance. His other point that the heretics in Scotland are so numerous that the Catholics could not sustain themselves against them and the English, is confessed by the Catholics, who say that, unless your Majesty assists them with men, as they ask, to join their forces, and so enable them to outnumber the heretics and the English, they must give way.

With regard to the Duke's argument that, in the event of your Majesty intending to undertake a great national enterprise, it might be injurious to urge these affairs on prematurely and so cause precautions to be taken, it must be borne in mind that the queen of England, for years past, has strained every nerve to be prepared for such a blow, and has played her last card in taking your Majesty's rebellious subjects under her protection, with the sole object, as is clear from the earl of Leicester's proceedings, of letting the blow fall first upon the Netherlands, and so divert it from her. This obliges yourMajesty to hasten matters and wound her in the quick, and this will not be, as the duke of Parma says, urging matters prematurely

1586.

when she sees 6,000 men landed in Scotland at her own doors. It is of advantage to the English that they should rather be attacked by a force which needs great sea fleets for its transport and maintenance; both on account of the immense sums of money which must be spent on such an expedition and the great quantity of material and time necessary, as well as the many opportunities which occur during the delay and preparation for impeding the progress of such armaments. They are also subject to much greater disasters than are land armies, for in most cases the *mere death of the leader is sufficient to frustrate their design*,* as happened in the case of your Majesty's fleet under Pero Melendez, which was raised in Biscay for Flanders. It is true that it was not very large, but, in the event of the loss of a great fleet, the owner sees himself bereft at one blow of forces, ships, and guns, for they are things hard to replace except after much delay. It is especially important to your Majesty to keep your naval force intact to protect and relieve dominions so far spreading as yours, and this design of the Englishwoman should now be evident. It is, as is seen in this pretended desire for an agreement, only to gain time and maintain her reputation, whilst keeping the discontent of her subjects in check by this means in face of their lost commerce, and the Dutch still at war with your Majesty, believing that, whenever she pleases, you will be willing to embrace terms of peace. It is on all grounds, therefore, advisable to make haste to offend her in such a way as shall not force your Majesty to stake the whole of your strength for the sake of a part, and by the preparation of a great fleet, which cannot be kept a secret, cause her (the queen of England) to anticipate you, and by raising even 3,000 reiters in the spring, hamper the duke of Parma all the summer, whilst at the same season she may send out, with the greatest ease, twenty or thirty armed merchantmen to meet the Indian flotillas and keep your Majesty's fleet fully occupied in meeting and protecting them. The earl of Leicester, now he has returned, will certainly set about this, and will offer the ships to be contributed by the rebels to join the English in encountering the flotillas, or in aiding Don Antonio to invade some of the Portuguese islands.

The French, moreover, are so intimate with the Queen that, although they can send no forces from here, they may, and will, do their best to obstruct your Majesty and prevent you from punishing your enemies. This they are trying to do by arranging for thirty or forty Turkish galleys to come to Algiers, which would force your Majesty not to leave Spain unprotected on the coast. All these difficulties will be avoided if you anticipate the Englishwoman by helping the Scots, whose goodwill (putting aside for the moment the prospect of bringing the country to the Catholic faith, which is a matter of great import and worthy of your Majesty) cannot for

* In the King's hand: "*It is very advisable to provide against this in time, which can well be done.*" This is a curious forecast of the disaster to the armada, which was certainly in a large measure due to the death of the marquis of Santa Cruz and the appointment of an incompetent successor.

1586.

State reasons be rejected when they offer frankly a friendship which for so long the French have laboured to maintain with them as a counterbalance to the friendship of your Majesty with England, which country has now proved to be your mortal enemy. If your Majesty agrees to this you might send the 6,000 men in the ships which were fitted out in Biscay last summer, the infantry regiments being sent to various places to divert suspicion. It is impossible to get so many troops ready in Flanders, where you only have one port, that of Dunkirk, without its getting wind, and it would at once be concluded that the intention was to send them to Scotland or England. This would force the Queen to take measures to frustrate it, whereas if the men come from Spain the number of ships will not be large enough to attract attention in France or England, where they will think, as they did when the fleet left Biscay, that they are only for the defence of the coast and the Indian flotillas. The worst they would think is that the design may be to invade Ireland, as they will never believe it possible that the Scots would consent to receive so many foreign troops. The ships might arrive without any opposition at Kircudbright (quercubi), which is the port offered by the earl of Morton, or at another port if that be not suitable.

When this force shall have landed in Scotland, the queen of England will necessarily have to turn all her forces on to the Border, and will cease to annoy your Majesty elsewhere when she finds herself in danger. She will have to make Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Cumberland her principal recruiting grounds and places of arms, and nearly all the people of those counties are Catholics, whilst the lords of the soil are personages who upon every opportunity have offered to take up arms for the faith. Upon the arrival of aid to the Scots Catholics, the Englishmen of the same religion will certainly raise head. As affairs may demand your Majesty might send reinforcements in the months of June, July, and August, until the end of September, which is the best season for the coming of a great armada, and the latter might invest another part of England with as powerful a force as the demonstration of the Catholics might render necessary. It may be that the Catholics will rise in such strength that no more than the 6,000 men may be wanted, or that the mere sending of three or four thousand Germans from Flanders to Petty Leith to join the others and the Scots may be sufficient to bring the whole country to submission. By this means you will avoid the enormous expense which will be necessary whenever your Majesty decides to send a great armada to England. As France would certainly try to impede such an armada, at least 20,000 or 25,000 infantry would be needed, and some cavalry, which will cost such a large sum of money as may be judged from the expense of the Portuguese affair, where I am told the wood for the barrels alone cost your Majesty 1,500,000 *crowns.** When his Holiness, moreover, sees these

* In the King's hand: "150,000 he means. He says a million five hundred thousand, which is a great mistake."

1586.

soldiers in Scotland summoned by the Catholics for the conversion of their country, he will fail in his duty to his throne if he does not support them with a money subsidy.

In opposition to this may be urged the duke of Parma's contention, that the present plan may turn out as all similar affairs have in England, and that it would be injurious to your Majesty's prestige, and particularly in the Netherlands, if these men were to be crushed by the Englishwoman's invading Scotland to meet them, and she were to obtain help from other princes whose forces placed in England might make the invasion of the country by your Majesty more difficult.

The Duke also contends that, if your Majesty is determined to invade England, the sending of these 6,000 men beforehand would be dividing your forces and would dismember your armada, which would then be less powerful to encounter that which the Queen will bring against it, and that with this number of men it would be easy to occupy Ireland.

Against these arguments it may be urged that with regard to all past English attempts, that of Ireland was managed by priests, and the rest have not failed for want of aid but from the fault of the English themselves, who, for lack of courage, did not carry out what they promised to bring things to a point when your Majesty's help would be serviceable. It must be borne in mind that the English Catholics have to stand up against the Queen, who has such great forces and so many heretics behind her; whereas the king of Scotland is anxious for his liberty and for revenge against his subjects who have him in durance, and that the lords who are seeking aid are those who want to help the King, and are infinitely more powerful than those who hold the King, unless the latter be assisted by the queen of England. It was by her help whilst the rest were scattered, that they were able to seize the King and Government. The majority of the nobility has always been able to force the sovereign in Scotland, although the rest of the nobles might be on the monarch's side. A meeting of nobles made the Queen marry Bothwell, and another forced her to leave the country, and chose the Regent; and the same influence has brought about the various events which have befallen this King, who has on his side the Catholic nobles who wish to release him, as you will see by the enclosed statement of the whole of the nobility of Scotland which has been drawn up by Colonel Stuart at my request.

To the objection that the queen of England would at once enter Scotland with all her force and go to encounter the troops who land, I will remark that, even if she had not so large a portion of it pledged with the rebels in Holland, it is not likely from a tactical point of view that she could do so; above all, if she hears that the majority of those who head her party in Scotland have been put to the sword. She will be content to protect her own country, but even if she did enter Scotland our men could hold their own, if there were but 2,000 of them; but with 6,000 Spaniards, mostly veterans, well led and with good regimental officers, not only could the fortresses and passes be held with the assistance of the Scots, if

1586.

the English entered, but I venture to say that our 6,000 men alone would be able to hold lines in the open country. 2,000 Frenchmen in 1564 were able to hold out for a long time at Petty Leith, against a besieging force of 16,000 Scots and 12,000 English; and at last leave on honourable terms, when pressed by famine and despairing of relief from France, in consequence of your Majesty's threat to aid the English if they were not withdrawn. This proves that the armies in Scotland and England do not consist of trained soldiers, and are unable to besiege a place with the strength of a powerful sovereign, so that how potent 6,000 disciplined men would be for offence or defence need not be urged. Even if the Englishwoman be content to guard her own house, and tries to obtain foreign help, it will be no small advantage to your Majesty that the game should be played out on the English table, just as she (the Queen) has tried to make Flanders and France the arena.

It may be true that your Majesty's forces would be divided, if this aid were sent beforehand, but those of England will not be united if they have to guard the Scottish Border, and send a fleet out to meet that of your Majesty as well. If they go into Spanish waters, the passage from Flanders to England will be open, whereas if they keep their ships in the English Channel and on the west coast, the route round Ireland to Scotland will be free for the coming or going of your Majesty's forces. It is important that the ships should thus be able to return to Spain in time to join the main body of the fleet, as your Majesty will need ships more than anything else.

The last objection I have to meet is, that with the same expenditure Ireland might be occupied. Granted that this is so, the occupation of Ireland will not cut the spring which feeds the war in the Netherlands, and it will require as many ships to bring our men from Ireland to England as to bring them from Spain to Ireland.

All the points I have dwelt upon might be illustrated by many examples to clench my arguments; but it will be sufficient to point out how essential it is for your Majesty to have the safe port and fortresses in the island, which are now offered by the Scottish lords, as the English Catholics are powerless to make such an offer, they being so much oppressed and without leaders. In order that your Majesty may ensure the friendship of the Scots, if you intend to invade England with a great armada, it will of course be necessary to provide them with a round sum of money beforehand, for which no security whatever will exist; whereas if you accept their present offer the security is perfect, as soon as the troops arrive in their houses, and it will be unnecessary to give them (the Scots) more money than the monthly sum needful to pay the armed Scotsmen it is considered well to maintain, this being the purpose for which they request the money. When I see France, too, in her present position, I cannot help urging your Majesty to seize the opportunity offered by the Scots, for if it is let slip it can hardly come again, you will be obliged to attack the queen of England, for she invites it in every way and it should only be done

1586.

with the care befitting a prudent captain, who when a fight is forced upon him, avoids engaging all his troops at the first encounter, for fear that, even if he win, he may not have strength to follow up his victory, and he only therefore employs the squadrons needful to ensure success. The smaller the number of men employed to punish an enemy the greater the effect produced.

I have been led thus to give your Majesty my opinion in consequence of your orders that I should send a copy of what I wrote to the duke of Parma, and of his reply, and I humbly pray that my zeal in your service may be my excuse for having written at such a great length. The diffuseness of the discourse may enable it to contain some precious grains to make up for the errors and stupidity it may enclose.

I understand the English (catholics in Flanders) have signified to the duke of Parma that if, when the English enterprise be effected, he does not cast his eyes upon the queen of Scotland, Arabella (Stuart) the grand-daughter of the countess of Shrewsbury, who is 11 years old might marry his son; as she, in defect of the king of Scotland is the heiress to the throne, being second cousin of the queen of Scotland, whose grandmother married as her second husband the earl of Angus, by whom she had a daughter who married the earl of Lennox and their eldest son married the queen of Scotland and was killed, whilst the second son married the daughter of the countess of Shrewsbury as will be seen clearly by the genealogical tree of Scotland. If the king of Scotland be a heretic, the duke of Parma, with your Majesty's consent, might marry his son to Arabella and support her claim, offering to the Pope in return for his help the duchies of Parma and Plasencia to be restored to the apostolic see. The idea has its drawbacks, but I have thought well to give your Majesty an account of it.—Paris, 24th December 1586.

531. Statement of the Scottish Nobility.

Friendly earls and nobles:—The duke of Lennox, Lord Claude Hamilton, Earls Marischal, Huntly, Orkney, Morton, Arran, Crawford, Rothes, Montrose, Murray, Caithness, Sutherland, Glencairn. The aforegoing are earls, those who follow are viscounts and barons: Ogilvie, Fleming, Carrington, Seton, Hume, Herries, Lovat, Invermeith, Don and Ochiltree.

The inimical earls and nobles:—Lords Hamilton, Angus, Mar, Linsay, Boyd, and the guardian of the earl of Cassilis.

The Earls and nobles who are indifferent:—Argyll, Bothwell, Athol, Vaughan, Marischal, Cassilis, Eglinton, Monteith, Saltoun, Forbes, Gray, Methuen, Drummond, Elphinston, Sinclair, Somerville, Semple, Rose, Cathcart, Sanquhar, Chester, Borthwick, Torphichen, Glamys (his guardian is an enemy). The number of professed friends is 24 upon whom the Catholic earls say they can depend. The number of enemies is seven and those they call indiffernt amount to 22.

Of the seven enemies, the four leaders are the earls of Hamilton, Angus, Mar, and Boyd. Hamilton is the first person in Scotland,

1586.

but is a fool, and the influence of his name and family is wielded by Lord Claude Hamilton, whom I know for a man of understanding and worth, and he is considered also a good soldier. Angus the head of the English faction is thought much of, and has considerable influence. Mar has none at all and is very unpopular. Boyd has little following, but he is a clever man of understanding, which enables him to rule the others. Both Robert Bruce and Colonel Stuart assure me that if these four are killed, the business will be over and the nobility won, as most of those who are put down as indifferent are mere youths.

The pay of Scotch infantry soldiers is $2\frac{1}{4}$ sun-crowns a month, the captains and officers being paid in proportion. The pay of a light horseman is 8 crowns a month.

24 Dec. Paris Archives, K. 1564. 249.

532. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA to the KING.
[EXTRACT.]

Uncertainty of peace with the Huguenots. The King is still trying to draw closer to the queen of England, which is the principal object of Belièvre's mission. Such is the confusion of the court, the vacillation of the King, and the jealousy, hatred, and suspicion of the courtiers, that decisions are adopted and abrogated at random, and even Villeroy who holds the helm, says that such is the state of the King that it is impossible to predict whether it will be peace or war. The Queen-mother sacrifices every interest in order to keep control and maintain her hold over her son. I advised the duke of Parma that Colonel Stanley* who had come over with the Irish troops, and was in garrison at Deventer, should be warned that the queen of England had learned from the confessions of the Catholics who were executed what his (Stanley's) intentions were; and he should be asked whether he thought it would be prudent for him to return to his own country again, or trust the earl of Leicester, as both he and the Queen were aware for a long time past that Stanley was a Catholic at heart. These words will set him thinking as he was certainly the accomplice of the Catholics, which the latter made clear to me, and fear for his life may cause him to surrender the place on payment. If he does so, the whole of the towns of the Oberisel will at once surrender.

Anthony Po'ntz has arrived here unwell, and with my connivance wrote to Secretary Walsingham some generalities about what he had seen in Spain. He was answered that the Queen was very well satisfied with his conduct and services, and wished him to return to England at once, in order that she might employ him in a more important task. He was asked by a relative of his whether he would accept a company of horse, and he came to me to know

* It will be seen by reference to the letters from Mendoza to the King respecting the Babington plot that Sir William Stanley had arranged to rise with his troops in favour of the Catholics simultaneously with the assassination of the Queen. In accordance with the hint in the present letter he betrayed the town of Deventer to the Spaniards, and subsequently became one of Philip's principal instruments against England.

1586.

whether he should go over to England before he had seen the duke of Parma. I told him on no account to miss the opportunity of getting the Queen to employ him in Holland, and when he arrived there he could communicate with the duke of Parma by some signs which I would give him, and ask the Duke to send a trustworthy man to discuss with him the service he might render. I have sent the signs to the Duke and have caused Pointz to leave for England.—Paris, 24th December 1586.

27 Dec. **533.** JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND to PHILIP II.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 1. Original Latin.

It has come to his knowledge that one of his subjects is in prison in Spain for some offence against the law. He appeals to the King's clemency and good brotherhood to favour him by surrendering the prisoner to him.—Holyrood, 26th December 1586.

(Signed) JACOBUS, R.

Note.—Reference is made to this letter by Mendoza in his despatch to the King, dated 18th February 1587. The name of the offender is not mentioned in the above letter, but Mendoza gives it as Gilbert Lomb, a Catholic, and former servant of the archbishop of Glasgow, Mary Stuart's ambassador in France, who was interesting himself in the case.

Dec. **534.** ACCOUNT of the Money owing to Englishmen for their allowance up to the end of the year 1586.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 5.

Lord Paget, Baron Beaudesert, from the 24th March 1586 to the end of December—100 crowns a month - - -	925	46	9
Charles Paget, 8 months and 8 days, at 50 crowns a month - - -	412	52	4
Charles Arundel, 8 months and 23 days at 80 crowns a month - - - -	699	23	7
Thomas Throgmorton, 8 months and 8 days at 40 crowns a month - - - - -	442	28	8
Thomas Morgan, 1 month at 40 crowns a month - - - -	40	0	0
Earl of Westmoreland, 26 days at 100 crowns a month - - - -	83	50	7
Charles Arundel has also to receive as a grant-in-aid from His Majesty - - - -	500	0	0
Crowns	3,154	21	11

Three thousand one hundred and fifty-four broad pistole-crowns, twenty-one sueldos, and eleven dineros.—December 1586.

Dec. **535.** ADDRESS of M. DE BELIÈVRE, Special Ambassador from the king of France to Queen Elizabeth, on behalf of the QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

Paris Archives, K. 1566. 19. French.

Bespeaks her kindly consideration for the Queen, as all those who boast of being her (Elizabeth's) best servants exhaust the resources of violence and animosity in attacking the queen of

1586.

Scotland. Her (Elizabeth's) natural goodness and clemency give him hopes. Points out how the king of France has considered her enemies his enemies also, and trusts that his intercession may be effectual in saving the life of the queen of Scotland. Speaks of the sacredness of the royal dignity and its inviolability, and although he acknowledges that a foreigner who takes refuge in a country must be bound by the laws of his asylum, still the mercy he sees imprinted and shining in the sweetness and beauty of her (Elizabeth's) face convinces him that she will, with her great prudence, never allow history to record that the great Queen Elizabeth of England allowed her fair fame to be sullied by the stain of so great an innovation as the sacrifice of an anointed monarch, her nearest relative.

Cites a great number of instances from sacred, ancient and modern history, to prove that monarchs have in all times been merciful to one another. Prisoners of war are not punished by ordinary process of law for trying to escape, and the queen of Scotland's position is worse than theirs. He appeals to the sacred claims of hospitality, speaks of the misfortune and treachery of which the queen of Scotland has been a victim. It is a common saying in England that both Queens cannot live, but Belièvre thinks that people who say it forget that God and not men may best be judge of which of His creatures shall exist

He says that one of the king of Spain's ambassadors in a neighbouring court has been heard to say that if the queen of Scotland is killed, he is certain that the English Catholics will range themselves on the side of his master. In the name of his master (and at great length) he begs her, for their friendship's sake, to exercise moderation and gentleness in this trouble that has befallen his sister-in-law. By doing so and dealing tenderly with all her Catholic subjects, her reputation will be greatly enhanced. He adds to the prayer of the King that of his mother, that she will save them from such a calamity as seeing their near relative, a crowned Queen, put to death, and all the realm of France joins in their prayer.

Note.—The draft summarised above has been annotated by the writer with many comments and remarks of an uncomplimentary and satirical nature towards the queen of England. It will be observed that no attempt is made to deny Mary's guilt and that the appeal is simply *ad misericordium* and for her life alone.

GENERAL INDEX.

A.

Abington, —, joins in the Babington Plot, 605; his execution, 641*n*.

Abroath, Abbey of, 553.

Acton, Charles, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

....., Richard, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Adamson, Patrick, 289.

Admiral, Lord of England, 578, *see also* Howard and Lincoln.

Admiralty, Judge of the, 172, 209, 232, 234, 285, 302, 305, 313, 433.

Alba, Duchess of, present of gloves for the Queen from, 223.

....., Duke of, 36, 183, 321-2; death of, 443.

Aldegonde, *see* St. Aldegonde.

Alençon, Duke of, 1, 2, 4, 50, 51, 52, 53, 68, 71, 76, 83, 92, 178, 184, 226-30, 263, 491, 494.

....., ..., his projected marriage with the Queen, 1, 2, 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 26, 28, 31, 34, 38, 39, 42, 44, 61, 78, 84, 85-6, 91, 101, 102, 110-12, 114, 119-20, 126, 127, 131, 137-8, 151, 152, 159, 165, 181, 198, 200, 206-7, 211-13, 217, 221-2, 226-30, 232-3, 240, 243-5, 249-55, 251-5, 256, 260-2, 267-72, 273, 276, 277, 279-82, 295-6, 299-300, 310-12, 316, 317-18, 326-7, 352-4, 374, 379-80, 389-90, 408-9, 416, 421-2, 425, 429, 445.

....., ..., his visits to England, 116; embarks at Dieppe, 120; returns, 121; alleged arrival in London, 126-7. 131, 150, 180-1; his entertainment by the Queen, 185. 198, 202, 203, 206-8, 211, 217, 221, 226-30, 233, 237-8, 239-40, 242-5, 251-5, 256, 261-72, 273-6; his departure, 279-282. 294, 299, 317-18, 381, 431, 435.

....., ..., his reluctance to leave England, 272. 275, 280.

....., ..., funds for, 152, 156, 163, 165, 181, 185, 186, 197-8, 202, 203, 206, 207, 212, 217, 233, 238, 244-5, 248, 253, 256, 257, 262, 270, 272, 275, 279, 280, 295, 299, 311, 316, 318, 326-7, 347, 348, 353-4, 380, 386, 389, 397, 409, 411, 421, 423, 430, 441, 445, 446, 456, 462, 497, 515; the Queen claims repayment from Henry III., 545.

Alençon, Duke of, his relations with the revolted Flemings, 16, 18, 83, 92, 203, 222, 256, 264-5, 268-9, 275-6, 281, 299-300, 308, 312, 320, 326-9, 346, 430, 434-6, 441-3, 445, 452 3, 456, 457, 459, 462-3, 472, 474.

....., ..., his arrival at Flushing, 295; is crowned at Brabant, 300. 310, 318, 334, 346, 456.

....., ..., his attempt to seize the Flemish Fortresses, 434, 436, 441-3, 448, 452-6; comes to terms with the States, 459. 497.

....., ..., his flight from Antwerp, 442, 453-4, 456, 474, 477, 485; re-enters France, 487, 497.

....., ..., his discontent with the action of his brother with regard to the match with Elizabeth, 269-72, 390.

....., ..., threatens to cause Civil war in France, 269-72.

....., ..., projected marriage with the Princess of Sweden, 379-80, 386, 390.

....., ..., proposed appointment as heir to the Crown of England, 425.

....., ..., projected marriage of, with Catherine de Bourbon, 28.

....., ..., his ambition to be elected King of the Romans, 84.

....., ..., his marriage to an Infanta proposed by the Pope, 256.

....., ..., his intrigues with the Duke of Parma, 441, 454, 458, 462, 472, 497.

Alençon match, unpopularity of, in England, 1-2, 112-13, 211-12, 230, 233-4, 251, 256, 261, 274-5, 442; *see also* French special embassy.

Alexandria, 433, 465.

Alegre, Captain, 671.

Algeria, King of, 432.

Algiers, 32.

Allen, Doctor William, Chief of the English Seminary at Rheims, 97, 118, 195-7, 211, 236, 240, 276, 292, 351-2, 362-3, 372-3, 385, 405, 458, 483, 504-5, 509, 525, 526, 560-3.

....., ..., his appointment to the Cardinalate, 561, 595, 621-2, 658, 660.

....., ..., his book "de Persecutione Anglicana," 561-2.

Alost, 456.

Alvarez, captured by the English off Cape St. Vincent, 601.

Alvaro, Gaspar, 158.

America, North, Spanish claims to, 384–5.
Añastro, Gaspar de, prompts the assassination of Orange, 320, 327.
Andalusia, trade with, 8, 9, 29, 30, 72, 88.
Andrages, M. d', 503.
Anes, Jacob, of Lisbon, 146, 179, 183, 298, 307.
....., Loneston, 179, 298.
....., William, brother-in-law to Dr. Lopez, 179.
Angra (Azores), 334, 336.
....., Bishop of, 115, 144, 336.
....., Mayor of, 147.
Angus, Earl of, 95–6, 100, 124, 148, 228, 237, 259, 266, 320, 352, 387–8, 395, 397, 400, 486, 489, 495, 552, 688.
....., ..., his unsuccessful rising against the Catholic lords, 526.
....., ..., re-enters Scotland, 552–3, 557.
Anne of Austria, fourth wife of Phillip II., 20; her death, 98.
Antonio, Don, prior of Ocrato, the Portuguese pretender, 37, 38, 39, 42, 46, 48, 49, 52, 55, 63–4, 65, 68, 70, 73, 77, 81; his reported arrival in France, 82. 89, 93, 101, 111, 114, 116, 145, 161, 198, 225, 264, 433, 434; his misery, 459.
....., ..., his defeat and flight, 69, 70, 80, 89, 101, 115, 125, 144–145.
....., ..., his arrival in England, 138–9, 140, 142–3; is lodged at Stepney, 144; demand for his surrender, 144. 145–7, 150, 155, 159, 160, 161–2, 163, 165, 166; desires to leave England, 166. 168, 171, 173–4, 176; departs from England, 177–8, 180–1, 183, 186–91, 200, 214, 219; desires to return, 537. 546; to lodge in Somerset House, 548. 551–2, 558–9, 569–70, 578, 579, 584, 592, 611–12, 632; Elizabeth refuses assistance to him, 648; lodged at Eton College, 650. 662, 671–2, 673, 674–5, 677.
....., ..., armaments for, 145–7, 149, 155 6, 157–8, 161–3, 165–6, 166–7, 171–2, 174, 176, 178, 181, 182–3, 186, 198, 218, 225–6, 228, 232, 241, 242, 246, 255, 272, 281, 285, 297, 304, 306, 312–13, 319, 326, 329, 334, 338, 349, 360–1, 385–6, 405, 406, 409, 417, 425, 432, 434, 452, 459, 472, 478, 497, 582, 589, 592, 602, 612, 632, 633, 649, 667, 671, 672, 684.
....., ..., funds for, 149, 158, 166, 168, 174, 201, 225, 234, 247, 255, 281, 391, 395, 409, 599, 632, 650, 670–1, 674.
....., ..., rout of his fleet in the Azores, 397, 399.
....., ..., his projected new expeditions from England under Drake, &c., 547–52, 553, 602, 648, 649, 672.
....., ..., letters of marque issued by, 145, 157, 166, 178–9, 202, 210, 225, 235, 241, 246, 263, 284, 301–2, 339, 345, 385–6, 410, 414, 460, 585.
Antonio, Don, Mendoza recommends the Babington conspirators to seize him, 607, 617.
....., ..., plots to murder, 617.
....., ..., book in his favour to be dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, 589.
....., ..., his son joins Leicester in Flanders, 570, 674.
Antony Jone of Ipswich (ship), 554.
Antwerp, 34, 37, 39, 40, 42, 64, 71, 145, 171, 239, 256–7, 265, 277, 280, 299–300, 308, 312, 313, 320, 327, 329, 337–8, 339, 346, 347, 353, 358, 389, 442, 445, 453, 456, 458, 459, 487, 497, 498, 538, 512.
....., treacherous attempt to seize the City, 434–6, 441–2.
Aquaviva, Father Claude, General of the Jesuits, 640.
Arabella Stuart, Lady, proposal to marry her to Leicester's son, 426, 452.
Arden, Edward, executed, 512.
Argyll, Earl of, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, 123, 207, 286, 401, 451, 486, 489, 688.
Arques, d', 280.
Arran, Earl of, (Hamilton), 108–9, 123.
....., ..., James Stewart of Ochiltree, 95, 123, 224–5, 256, 272, 276, 287–8, 289, 320, 322–3, 356, 397, 400, 407, 546, 553, 662, 688.
Arundel, Countess of, dies of distress for her husband, 543, 577.
....., Earl of, 108, 307, 315, 504, 533, 603.
....., ..., restored in blood, 90.
....., ..., arrested and sent to the Tower, 538, 542; said to have been rendered mad by poison, 543. 617.
. ....., ..., joins in the Babington plot, 604.
Arundell, Charles, his arrest, 78; his flight from England on the discovery of Throgmorton's plot, 511. 540, 550, 575–6, 577, 589, 648, 664, 679, 690.
....., Francis, takes refuge at the Spanish Embassy, 246, 296, 550.
....., Sir John, joins in the Babington plot, 604.
....., ..., his son joins in the Babington plot, 604.
....., Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Arteaga, Captain, with the papal forces in Ireland, 71.
Ashbye, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Aston, Sir Walter, joins in the Babington plot, 605.
Astrachan, 366–7.
Athol, Earl of, 688.
Attye, Leicester's Secretary in Holland, 554.
Aumale, Duke of, 4.
Austin, Roger, 124, 216, 224.

Aveiro, Portugal, 63.
Azores, 52, 70, 73, 111, 114, 173, 229, 338.
Azov, sea of, 366.

B.

Babington, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
....., Anthony, alleged intention of the Queen of Scots to marry him, 641; *see also* Babington Plot.
Babington Plot, 576–7, 579, 585, 603–8, 614–7; arrest of Babington, 617. 619, 623–4, 625–30, 632, 639, 641; his execution, 641. 644–6, 655, 663–4.
....., ..., special measures taken in England on the discovery of, 612, 618, 624–5, 626, 632.
Bacqueville, 353, 361, 399, 411, 434, 442.
Balfour, Colonel, proposal for his desertion from the service of the States to the Spaniards, 27.
Balfour of Burleigh, his approaches to the Spaniards, 6, 12, 13, 14, 26–27, 30.
Balfour, Sir James, 79, 101.
Ballard, John, is sent to Mendoza in Paris about the Babington Plot, 576–7, 603, 623, 627; execution of, 641.
Baltinglas, Viscount, 44, 54, 59, 121, 167, 278, 301.
Basset, Sir Arthur, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Basset, William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Barbary, 3, 10, 11.
....., trade with, 72, 199, 277, 335, 424, 652.
Bardinia, Alvaro, 77.
Barker, Henry, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Barkeley, Sir Henry, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Barnes, Alderman, of London, 340.
Barnwell, —, executed for the Babington Plot, 641*n*.
Barreto, Francisco, 32.
Barrington, Hugh, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Baudemont, 540.
Bavaria, Duke of, 481; proposed diversion by him on the coast of Norfolk, 482–3.
Bayona, Galicia, 29, 36, 77, 80, 313, 648.
Beal, —, Clerk of the Council, 284, 289, 513.
....., ..., sent to the queen of Scots, 214, 222, 228, 237, 245, 259–60, 289, 300, 331–2, 463, 465–70, 471, 474, 486.
....., ..., Mendoza recommends the Babington conspirators to kill him, 607.
Bearn, Prince of, Henry of Navarre, 4, 28, 34, 44, 76, 103, 270, 381, 391, 393, 402–3, 485, 537, 538, 545, 556, 574–5, 592, 619, 647, 660.
Beaton, archbishop of Glasgow, letters to, from queen of Scots, 205, 418.
....., ..., Scots ambassador in France, 4, 5, 6, 13, 22, 23, 26, 30, 32, 98–100, 122, 204–5, 257, 293, 314, 323, 330, 349–52, 356, 362–3, 370, 377–8, 384, 407, 427, 447, 458, 480, 488, 491, 525, 625, 640, 645, 664, 690.
....., ..., distrust of, 384, 392–4, 447.
....., ..., proposal to appoint him cardinal, 458.
....., ..., his nephew sent by Guise to Scotland to bribe the nobles, 480; his account of affairs in Scotland, 488–91, 508.
Beauchamp, Lord, secret marriage of, with Miss Rogers, 382.
Beaudesert, Lord, *see* Paget.
Beaumaris, 285; strange natural phenomenon at, 475.
Beaumont, Hypolite, merchant of London, 149.
Bedford, Earl of, 79, 329, 473, 477, 496, 498, 533.
....., ..., son, *see* Lord Russell and William Russell.
....., Sir James, *see* Balfour.
Beedle, Wolseley, joins in the Babington Plot, 605.
Bele, James, Captain, to rise in Ireland in support of the Babington Plot, 605.
Belem, 278.
Bellamy, —, executed for the Babington Plot, 641*n*.
Bellièvre, Pomponne de, 381, 574, 618, 648; sent to England to intercede for the queen of Scotland, 660. 666–7, 669, 675, 678, 680; his address to Elizabeth on behalf of the queen of Scots, 690–1.
Berkshire, description of, 610.
Bernaldo Luis, Montesinos, 675.
Berck, 652.
Berdin, M. de, 52.
Bergen-op-Zoom, 542.
Bernay, Lord (?), 89.
Bertie, Francis, to go as ambassador to Denmark, 361.
Bertoni, Alexander, an officer of the Papal force in Ireland, 59, 443.
Berwick, 100–1, 107, 123, 240, 289, 381, 413, 437, 526, 583.
Betancourt, Juan de, beheaded at Terceira, 337.
Bex, 462, 466.
Bingham, Captain, 95, 101, 130, 136, 273, 284, 301.
....., George, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Birnstra, Vibrant George, proposes to betray Brille, 664–5, 668, 670.

Biron, Marshal de, 52, 265, 412, 425, 441, 474, 547, 574.
Biscay, trade with, 72.
Blackness, castle of, 438, 455.
Blackwall, 171.
Blanco Cape, 297, 340.
Blanco, Manuel, ship-master, his account of Hawkins' fleet off Portugal, 632.
Bodenham, William, an Englishman attached to Spain, 474, 653.
Bodin, Jean, 84, 91, 220.
Bonaseñal Cape, 341.
Bond, Alderman, London merchant trading with Spain, 152, 179, 184.
Boothe, George, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Boro, Galicia, is burnt and sacked by the English, 365.
Borrows, Edward, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Borthwick, Lord, 688.
Borton and Beaudesert, houses of Lord Paget to be assigned to Mary queen of Scots, 541.
Bothwell, Earl of, 688.
Botello Diego, Don Antonio's agent in England, &c., 89, 143, 145, 149, 272, 273, 278, 281, 285, 295, 297, 298, 307, 312–13, 319, 326, 329, 334, 337, 339, 345, 358, 360, 415, 433, 459, 467, 487, 552, 670–1, 674.
Botello, Diego de, his wife banished from Portugal, 164.
Bouillon, Duke of, 110.
Bould, Marshal, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Boulogne, 175, 203.
Bourbon, Antoine de, Flemish lordships of, 35.
....., Cardinal, 538.
Bourser, Edward, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Bowes, Sir Robert, Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland, 32, 45, 54, 148, 407, 451, 455, 460.
....., ..., sent to Muscovy, 487.
Boyd, Lord, 420, 688.
Brabant, 77.
Braganza, Duchess of, 16, 32, 38, 40, 46, 49, 183.
Brazil, 3, 64, 414, 610, 677–8.
....., coast of, 55, 75, 145, 202, 340, 356, 385, 414, 496, 550, 586.
....., trade with, 3, 10, 301–2, 395, 414, 652.
Breton, Chevalier, 381.
Briant, —, execution of, 231.
Brille, 265.
....., proposed betrayal of, 664–5, 668, 670.
Brisson, Barnabé, President of the Parliament of Paris, 91, 110.
Bristol, 53, 156, 178, 268, 277, 319, 325.
Brito, Constantine, an adherent of Don Antonio, 101, 149.
Brittany, 80.
....., shipping on the coast of, destined for Ireland or elsewhere, 65.
Britton, John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Brizeño, Abbot, Spanish ambassador to the Pope, 111, 240, 277, 385.
Bromley, Francis, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
....., Sir Thomas, Lord Chancellor, 75, 81, 239, 348, 445–6, 457, 513, 669.
....., ..., ..., his opinion on the Alençon match, 34, 249.
Brooke, George, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
....., Talbot, joins in the Babington Plot, 605.
Brouage, 270, 361.
Broume, Richard, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Bruce, Robert, of Bemie, letter from, to Philip II., 597.
....., ..., ..., envoy from the Scots Catholic nobles to Philip II., 581, 589–90, 595–7, 613, 630, 639, 648, 667–8, 682–9.
Bruc, Captain, envoy from Alençon, 16, 17, 18.
Bruerton, Roger, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Bruges, 265, 298.
....., French attempt to seize, frustrated, 435, 442.
Brussels, French expelled from, 435, 453.
Brustel, *see* Stuart, Sir William.
Buchanan, George, tutor to James VI., 289; sent to England, 471.
Buican, family of Russian merchants, 366.
Buckhurst, Lord, appointed to the Privy Council, 572, 626, 681.
Buckinghamshire, description of, 610.
Buckle, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Burcaut, Arnaldo, of Antwerp, offers to betray Flushing, 103.
Buren, Count de, 93.
Burgerhout, Gate of Antwerp, 436.
Burgundy, House of, ancient treaties with, 33, 40, 143, 223, 244, 355, 398.
Burleigh, Lord, *see* Cecil.
Butler, Ambrose, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Buttler, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Buxton, baths of, 43, 169.

C.

Caber, Joshua, 253.

Cabral, Jorge, 419.

Cabrera, —, Judge of the Canaries, 278, 306.

Cabreta, Captain Luis, his report on Drake's voyage, 56.

Cachero, Tomás, an adherent of Don Antonio, 149.

Cadiz, 424.

Caithness, Earl of, 194, 286, 688.

Calais, 91, 229.

....., &c., Queen demands restoration of, as a condition of the Alençon match, 229, 233, 260–2, 268, 272, 274, 277, 298.

Cambrai, siege and relief of, 92, 112, 120, 127, 131, 151, 152, 156, 163, 165, 185, 186, 217, 222, 262, 386, 409, 458.

Cambridgeshire, description of, 609.

Campion, the Jesuit, torture of, in the Tower, 153, 210; Mendoza's effort to save his life, 211; execution of, 231. 336.

Canary Isles, 306.

Canduino, Mario, 309.

Canterbury, 125, 282.

....., Archbishop of, (John Whitgift), appointed to the Privy Council, 572.

Capay, —, Portuguese merchant in Paris, 149.

Cape of Good Hope, 75.

Capelo Isuardo, de, 640.

Caraballo, Juan Diaz de, of Terceira, 334, 336, 337.

Caricature against the Pope, 20-21.

Caricature against the Spaniards, 549.

Carlisle, 455.

....., flight of Angus to, 107, 124.

Carloix, Captain Jean, commander of the French troops at Terceira, 337, 361.

Carlos, Don, alleged in a Catholic book to have been tainted with heresy, 601, 610.

Carmichael, Lord, accused of complicity in Darnley's murder, &c., 148.

Carrafa, Cardinal, 560, 568, 613, 619, 659.

Carrel, John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 556.

Carrington, Lord, 688.

Carrouges, Count de, 91.

Carswick, —, joins in the Babington Plot, 605.

Cartagena, 32.

Cartagena de las Indias, captured by Drake, 592.

Cary, Sir George, 405, 438.

....., Lord, *see* Sir George Cary.

Casimir, Hans, Duke, 39, 93, 114, 295, 462, 497.

Caspian Sea, 20, 365–7.

Cassilis, Earl of, 688.

Castelnau de la Mauvissière, (French Ambassador), 1, 2, 14, 16, 17, 18, 22, 24, 26, 31, 39, 43, 52, 62, 78, 81–2, 84, 92, 120, 151, 198, 222, 240, 326, 335, 348, 353, 390, 391, 394, 408, 410, 416, 424, 438, 449–50, 452, 457, 459, 466, 470, 474, 487, 491, 494, 497, 511, 551.

Castillo, Antonio de, (Portuguese Ambassador), 10, 17, 18, 24, 25, 47, 48, 68, 72, 87, 88, 113, 115, 139, 143, 144, 162, 179–80, 181, 183, 193, 212, 220, 238–9, 263, 284, 302, 303–4, 310, 321, 336–7, 344–5, 364, 374, 376, 654–5.

Castro, Duarte de, a spy with Don Antonio, 182, 298, 338.

Catesby, Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

....., William, 547.

....., Sir William, joins in the Babington Plot, 605.

Catharine de Bourbon, sister of Henry IV., projected marriage with James VI., 381.

Catharine de Medici, 1, 17, 26, 43, 66, 86, 100, 119, 149, 159, 204, 211, 226, 238, 254, 256, 260, 280, 281, 303, 348, 380, 403, 409, 424, 425, 432, 434, 446, 452, 459, 477, 497–8, 547–51, 559, 569, 574, 576, 579, 591–2, 689.

....., injurious words of hers complained of by Queen Elizabeth, 462

Cathay, north-east passage to, 20, 30, 76, 87.

....., north-west passage to, 20; *see also* Frobisher.

Cathcart, Lord, 688.

Catholics, English, 16, 22, 274, 291, 305, 314–15, 342, 350, 372, 383–4, 457, 464, 482, 483–4, 488, 493, 504–6, 521–5, 528, 531, 533, 576, 603–10, 628–9, 631.

....., ..., persecution of, 22, 38, 43, 49, 50, 54, 62, 68, 70, 78, 88, 90, 97, 106, 139–40, 152, 173, 177, 200, 210, 219, 231, 233, 237, 255, 325, 336, 342, 385, 461, 470, 510, 517, 519, 531, 533, 537, 538, 542, 543–4, 547, 558, 602, 639, 670.

....., ..., petition for an English Cardinal to be appointed, 97, 118, 139, 173, 219, 408, 595.

....., ..., proposed colonization of North America by, 384–5, 392, 452.

....., ..., their attitude towards the projected invasion of England, 603–10, 685–8.

....., ..., warned by the French against Spain, 576.

....., French, expulsion of, from England, 579.

Catholic Priests in Scotland, 109, 170, 194–7, 235–6, 240, 242, 256–7, 265, 276, 278, 285–9, 289–94, 298, 305, 308–9, 314–15 317, 320, 322–4, 331, 343, 349–52, 356, 358–9, 362–3, 370–5, 377–9, 388, 392, 427–8, 437, 458, 547, 558.

Cattle plague in England, 544.
Cave, Edward, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Cavendish, Sir Harry, equips an expedition for the Indies, 578, 601, 610.
Cecil, William, Lord Burleigh, 14, 16, 19, 24, 25, 31, 36, 40, 41, 42, 54, 59, 75, 84, 110, 116, 126, 136, 141, 152, 154–5, 174, 175, 185, 186–90, 191–2, 208–9, 213, 222, 227, 230, 234, 237, 241, 243, 245, 249, 251, 255, 260, 263, 267, 275, 296, 302, 304, 310–13, 324–5, 327, 345, 346, 376, 389, 391, 412, 416–17, 421, 432, 445, 457, 472–3, 487, 498, 536, 547, 587, 602, 641, 645, 653, 662, 669, 670, 674.
....., ..., ..., his approaches to Spain, 249–50.
....., ..., ..., his opinion on the Alençon match, 14, 15, 31, 227, 230, 249, 256, 260, 267, 275, 279–80, 310–11, 417.
....., ..., ..., Mendoza recommends the Babington conspirators to kill him, 607.
Centurion, Simon, a Genoese merchant in London, 158.
Chalenor, Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Chamberlain, Lord, *see* Sussex.
Chancellor, Lord, *see* Bromley.
Charles V., Emperor, 40.
Charnock, —, executed for the Babington plot, 641*n*.
Chaset (?), Sir Thomas, imprisoned in the Tower, 627.
Chateauneuf, G. de l'Aubespine, Seigneur de, succeeds Castelnau as French ambassador in England, 545, 547, 556, 579, 618, 625, 630, 640, 641, 667, 678.
Chateauroux, 222.
Chatelet, 172.
Chatre, La, French Admiral, 649, 666.
Chatterton, Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Chester, Captain, 414.
....., Lord, 688.
Chios, Isle of, 10.
Chomley, Hugh, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Cifarini, Ascanio, 531.
Clancar (?), Baron, 191.
Clarke, Francis, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
....., William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Clausse, Pierre, Seigneur de Marchaumont, *see* Marchaumont.
Clerk, Captain Augustine, enters the Spanish service, 29, 35, 48, 49.
Clergy, English, raise troops for the Netherlands, 544.
Cloth trade, 652.
Cobham, —, 15.
Cobham, Sir Henry, English ambassador in France, 82, 86, 89, 90, 93, 101, 122, 156, 163, 227, 242, 252, 255, 260, 299, 307, 310, 317–18, 361, 389, 409, 412, 421, 426, 430, 446, 457, 458, 459, 472, 473, 477, 487, 495, 500.
Cobham House, near Gravesend, 240.
Cobham, Lord, Warden of the Cinque Ports, 92, 139; appointed to the Privy Council, 572. 660.
Cockburn, John, sent as ambassador to England, 471.
Combie (John Colvill?), his mission from James VI. to England, 440.
....., ..., his message to La Mothe Fénélon, 440–1.
Comfort, of Lynn (ship), 554.
Commissioners, *see* French special embassy.
Como, Cardinal (Gallio), 528, 535.
Compton, Lord, joins in the Babington Plot, 604.
Condé, Prince of, 2, 4, 15, 28, 35; his visit to England, 38. 39, 40, 43, 44, 50, 76, 91, 260, 619, 660.
Constable, Sir John, joins in the Babington plot, 604, 670.
Constantinople, 367, 414, 432–3.
Controller, *see* Crofts.
Corbet, —, joins in the Babington plot, 605.
Cornari, —, an unofficial envoy from the Venetian Republic, 474.
Corro, a Spanish friar, professor at Oxford, 166.
Corso, Mario, 309.
Cossé, Marshal de, 16, 50, 91, 110.
Cosmé, Rogier, *see* Ruggiero.
Cothington, Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Coruña, 7.
Cornwall, description of, 610.
Coulobrod, Russia, 365.
Courcelles, —, secretary of the French embassy in England, accused of intrigues with the Catholics, 535.
Court, Henry, of Breda, offers to betray Flushing, 103.
Courtney, Sir William, joins in the Babington plot, 604.
Crab-joint (ship), 554.
Craig, John, 288.
Crawford, Earl of, 491, 688.
Creighton, Lord, 216.
....., Father William, 195–7, 236, 285–9, 291, 316, 320, 322–3, 333, 349–52, 362–3, 370, 377–8, 384, 392, 427, 465; his capture, 532. 664.
Cresto, Don João, a prisoner in England, 677.
Crévecour, M. de, 110.
Crofts, Sir James, Controller of the Household, 54, 59, 84, 126, 128; bribed by Mendoza, 168. 203, 249, 268, 316, 324, 391, 406, 424, 461.
....., ..., ..., recommends a Spanish invasion of Ireland, 128.

Crofts, Sir James, Controller of the Household, to be sent to Ireland as Viceroy, 413.
Cuba, 75.
Cueva, Diego, of Santander, reply to his mission to the Irish insurgents, 57–9.
Cumberland, description of, 608.
Cumberland, Earl of, 504, 552.
....., ..., equips an expedition for the Indies, 578, 586, 592.
Cumpton, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Cunninghame, Drumwhasel, laird of, 535.
Curle, Gilbert, secretary to Mary, Queen of Scots, is arrested for complicity in the Babington plot, 623, 625; confesses much, 663.
....., Miss, an attendant on Queen Mary, 664.

D.

Dacre, Lord, 485, 504, 523; joins in the Babington plot, 604.
Dalkeith, 273, 288.
Daniel, of London (ship), 554.
Dantzic, &c., opposes English trade with Muscovy, 395.
Darcy, —, 445, 452–3, 456.
D'Aubigny, *see* Lennox.
Dauphin, Prince, Francis de Bourbon, 91, 110, 198, 203, 206, 211, 222, 238, 267, 269, 271, 424–5.
Davison, —, 10, 43; his mission to Scotland, 429, 449–50, 451, 455, 460, 466, 477; is appointed secretary to the Queen, 656.
Davy (ship), 554.
Deluin, Edward, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Denmark, King of, 329, 356, 361, 365, 387, 409, 463, 487, 582, 584–5.
....., ambassador from the King of, 65, 70.
....., King of, his reception of the Duke of Saxony's book, 362.
Dennis, Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Denny, Captain, an English officer in Ireland, 319.
Deptford, banquet given at, in celebration of Drake's return, 95; Drake knighted at, 95; gift of the Queen's garter to Marchaumont at, 101.
....., Drake's ship brought ashore there as a curiosity, 75, 95.
Deseado Cape, 341.
Desmond, Earl of, 4, 10, 20, 44, 51, 54, 58, 59, 69, 89, 96, 121, 153, 167–8, 237, 278, 299, 301, 335, 413, 431, 461.
Desmond, John of, brother of, killed in Ireland, 51, 58, 265, 298.
Derby, Earl of, sent with the garter to Henry III., 530, 533.
....., ..., made Lord Chamberlain, 537; appointment suspended at the instance of Leicester, 537.
Derbyshire, description of, 610.
Deventer, advices from, 650.
Devereux, Dorothy, Lady, proposed marriage with James VI., 451, 477.
Devonshire, description of, 609.
Diaz, Montesinos Gaspar de, is sent to Mendoza with a proposal to kill Don Antonio, 675.
Digby, George, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Dimmock, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Dingle, 167.
Domingo, Captain, his ship with great treasure captured by Raleigh's expedition, 599.
Don, Lord, 688.
Don, River, 366–8.
Donara, Luis, 560.
Dormer, Nicholas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Dorsetshire, description of, 609.
Double Spread Eagle (ship), 555.
Douglas, Archibald, 107, 122, 216, 404.
....., ..., his surrender demanded by James VI., 461.
....., ..., Scotch ambassador in England, 676.
..... George, brother of Lord Lochleven, 204–5, 258; is arrested and tortured by the English faction, 407.
....., Sir James (?), 123.
..... of Mains, 535.
Dony, M. de, *see* Dundee, Earl of.
Dover, 39, 178, 240, 247, 279, 375.
Downs, the, 77, 167, 171, 174, 179, 203.
Dracot, joins in the Babington plot, 605.
Drake, Bernard, fits out expedition to relieve his nephew Sir Francis in the West Indies, 578, 584.
....., Sir Francis, 3, 7, 29, 49, 74–5, 95; knighted, 95. 101, 130, 136, 144, 147, 174, 226, 307, 414, 648–9.
....., ..., relief expedition in search of, 3, 19; driven to the Irish Coast, 20.
....., ..., his voyage round the world, 3, 7, 8, 37, 55, 56–7, 70, 75, 340–2.
....., ..., restitution of his plunder, 7, 8, 32, 54, 55, 59, 60–1, 65, 73, 78, 83, 87, 94, 107, 118, 148, 155, 159, 161, 164, 173, 176, 187–9, 191–2, 193, 200, 208–9, 219, 242, 249, 250–1, 254, 296, 299, 305, 308, 326, 364, 374.
....., ... his return from the voyage round the world, 54, 55, 59, 60–1, 65.
....., ..., in high favour with the queen, 74, 80, 95.

Drake, Sir Francis, his presents to the Queen and courtiers, 75, 95.

....., ..., disposal of his plunder, 59, 62–3, 64, 65, 67, 74, 76, 80, 91, 165, 395.

....., ..., his new expeditions, 55, 70, 75, 80, 87, 95, 115, 125, 137, 157, 278, 307, 340, 520, 532, 535, 537, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546–7, 547–52, 553, 583, 586, 591, 592, 596, 599, 602, 626–7, 650, 656, 681.

....., ..., his raid in Galicia, 553.

....., ..., his attack on Santo Domingo, &c., 573, 576, 578, 580, 583, 586, 592, 596, 599, 600–1; his arrival in England with but little treasure, 601–2. 611, 612–13, 617, 624, 626; mutiny of his crews, 642, 650, 651, 673.

....., ..., his arrival at Middleburg, 644, 651, 656, 667, 669, 670, 674.

....., ..., offers to land Don Antonio in Portugal, 672.

Drummond, Lord, 688.

Dublin, 44, 63, 89, 168, 237.

....., cost of provisions in, 168.

Duffel, 442.

Dumbarton, castle of, 17, 19, 26, 32, 50, 65, 81, 123, 148, 177, 216, 363, 405, 413, 418, 421, 444, 447, 455, 461–2, 535.

Dun (?), Captain, 201, 225.

Dunbar, 65.

Dunkirk, 35, 175, 239, 277, 294, 435, 459, 474, 477, 487, 504, 670.

Dundee, Earl of, 488, 490.

Dunn, executed for the Babington plot, 641*n*.

Durham, description of, 609.

Dury, John, 387.

Dwina River, 365–6.

E.

Easterlings, the, their privileges, 198.

Edinburgh, 23, 363, 400, 418, 488.

....., Catholics in, 288.

Edmund, Father, Scotch jesuit, 547.

Edward Buenventura (ship), 340, 357.

Eglinton, Earl of, 194, 688.

Elboeuf, Marquis of, 4.

Elizabeth, queen, her attitude towards the Alençon match, 14, 18, 21, 31, 34, 114, 116, 127, 131, 138, 158–9, 185, 200–1, 206–7, 212, 226–30, 238, 239–40, 243–5, 250–3, 256, 260–2, 266–9, 270–2, 273–6, 279–82, 295, 299–301, 308, 310–12, 317–18, 326, 347, 348, 352–5, 389–90, 394, 408–9, 411, 416, 421, 425, 442, 456, 497.

....., ..., her grief at Alençon's departure, 281–2.

Elizabeth, queen, her attitude towards the French in Flanders, 16, 18, 21, 34, 38, 41, 127, 188, 214, 224, 264–5, 267, 275, 279, 295, 299, 311–12, 324, 335, 347, 348, 352–5, 359–60, 374, 382, 411, 430, 435, 441–2, 445, 453–4, 456, 458, 459, 462, 465, 497, 500.

....., ..., her rage at Alençon's attempt to seize the Flemish fortresses, 442.

....., ..., her attitude towards the Portuguese succession, 10, 17, 18, 20, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 43, 45, 48, 49, 52, 64, 65, 68, 70.

....., ..., her relations with Don Antonio, 80, 82, 89, 101, 115, 135–6, 146–7, 156, 161–2, 166, 168–9, 172–3, 174, 175, 179, 189, 202–3, 224, 225, 233–4, 235, 249, 264, 303–5, 417, 452, 456, 487, 552, 569–70, 574, 579, 589, 599, 612, 632, 671–2, 673, 674.

....., ..., her relations with Scotland, 17, 19, 22, 23, 45, 51, 54, 77, 79, 82, 85, 90, 92, 96, 98–9, 101, 106, 108, 109, 123, 124, 132, 203, 207, 213, 224–5, 228, 250, 259–60, 288, 319–20, 388, 394–5, 413, 417, 418, 420, 428–33, 437–8, 450, 455, 466, 472–4, 476, 477–8, 480, 489, 493–4, 495, 499–500, 533, 534–5, 536, 546, 547, 552–3, 559, 586, 588, 602, 611, 661–2, 676, 686.

....., ..., alleged marriage negotiations with James VI. of Scotland, 449, 466.

....., ..., her relations with France, 15, 25, 28, 38, 39, 42, 52, 53, 61, 62, 66, 92, 110–12, 119, 127, 131–32, 138, 140, 152, 156, 163, 165, 175, 180, 182, 203, 212, 213, 214–15, 221, 222–3, 226–30, 233, 243–4, 244, 250, 251–3, 254, 260–2, 267–72, 268, 272, 273–76, 279–82, 289, 298, 299, 310–12, 316, 317–18, 347, 354, 361, 365, 394, 403, 408–9, 410–12, 416–17, 421–4, 425–6, 428–33, 446, 450, 457, 497–8, 500, 536, 541, 545, 556, 557, 572, 591, 625, 629, 667, 670, 676, 680, 684, 689, 691.

....., ..., her visit to the French Ambassador, 16.

....., ..., offers aid to Henry III. against the Guises, 536.

....., ..., projected murder of, by the Duke of Guise, 502, 510–12.

....., ..., book against her and Leicester, published in France, 538–9.

....., ..., remonstrates with Henry III. against the fresh war against the Huguenots, 556.

....., ..., her relations with Spain, 15, 18, 21, 24, 25, 33, 38, 42, 49, 52, 61, 62, 85, 87, 111, 140, 148, 151–2, 165, 182, 191, 203, 212, 223, 228, 249, 252, 259, 267–8, 282, 313, 353–5, 360, 374, 390, 394, 403, 411, 423, 430, 432, 442, 450, 501, 514, 516, 541, 547, 557, 588, 591, 603, 674, 683–4.

....., ..., her fear of Spanish reprisals, 22, 29, 36, 42, 376.

Elizabeth, queen, alleged Spanish plot to murder her by a lapidary, 650.

....., ..., her relations with the States, 15, 19, 21, 33, 34, 46, 62, 83, 138, 147, 212, 265, 280, 281, 324, 326–8, 335, 398, 411, 453–4, 456–7, 458, 459, 498, 501, 506–7, 512, 537, 541, 571–2, 588, 673.

....., ..., money owing to her by the States, 15, 63, 269, 283, 295, 312, 441–2, 459.

....., ..., is urged to assume the protectorate of the Netherlands, 346.

....., ..., her protectorate over the Netherlands, 537, 538–9, 542, 543, 546–7, 553–8, 582, 586, 588, 595, 603, 651, 653, 664–5, 667, 668, 669, 672, 673, 674, 679–80.

....., ..., her displeasure at the Earl of Leicester's proceedings in the Netherlands, 586, 588, 602.

....., ..., negotiations with Parma for peace in the Netherlands, 584, 653–5, 667, 673.

....., ..., her murder projected by the Babington conspirators, 576–7, 606–8, 617–18, 627–8; execution of conspirators, 641.

....., ..., her action towards the queen of Scots in relation to the Babington plot, 641, 644–6, 647–8, 669–70, 674–6, 678, 680, 690–1.

....., ..., suddenly seized with panic, 588.

....., ..., her violence to Walsingham, 185, 206, 347, 573.

....., ..., her successor, 81, 198, 213, 264, 327, 425.

Elphinston, Lord, 688.

Eltham, 141, 144.

Embden, Count of, 198, 533.

Ender, Solomon, a Catholic spy in Walsingham's house, 532.

Engelfield, Sir Francis, 6, 7, 383–4, 404, 447.

England, anonymous accounts of events in, 512, 529, 543, 546, 585, 588, 601, 651, 669, 671.

....., description of, in the interests of the Babington plot, 608–10, 616.

....., information required of armaments in, 544, 549, 573, 575, 577, 580, 583, 591, 613–14, 624–5, 638–9, 640, 649, 652, 662, 671.

....., proposed invasion of, 464, 481–6, 488, 495, 500, 503–6, 507–10, 517, 521–5, 529, 539, 560–9, 591, 592, 593–4, 597, 602, 603–4, 611, 613, 618–22, 626–7, 629–30, 631, 635–8, 657–60, 664–5, 682–9.

....., ..., ways and means for, 564, 568, 593–4, 619–22, 657–60.

....., invasion, alarm of, 626.

English Catholic refugees, their pensions, 540, 575, 577, 582, 587, 591, 598, 616, 632, 679, 690.

English Catholic refugees in France, to be arrested after the discovery of the Babington plot, 629.

English Councillors to be bribed, 375.

..... Seminarists at Rheims and Rome, 177, 196; *see also* Allen.

..... warlike preparations, 29, 35, 36, 39, 43, 64, 538, 543, 544–5, 557–8, 559, 572, 578, 582, 585, 602, 610–11, 618, 633.

Englishmen in Spain, 177, 184, 219.

Enriquez, Manuel, 337.

Epernon, Duke of, 576, 626, 645; *see also* Valette.

Epinoy, Prince of, 312, 335, 642.

Erskine, Lord, Constable of the castle of Edinburgh, 438–9.

Errington, *see* Harrington.

Escobar, Antonio de, 611–12, *see also* Sampson.

Escobedo, Secretary, 218.

Esneval, Baron d', Charles de Prunelé, son-in-law of Pinart, French envoy to Scotland, 558, 559, 572, 627.

Essex, 609.

....., Earl of, 451.

Este, Cardinal d', 541, 563, 568, 640.

Estrelles, M. d', offers to betray Cambrai, 642–3, 655.

Eu, 486.

Eustace, James, 58.

Euxine, Port, 366.

Ewer, Lord, 547.

Eyemouth, 287.

F.

Falmouth, 285, 297.

Farmer, George, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

Fayal, Azores, 338.

Fearn, George, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

Feira, castle of, Portugal, 63.

Fenton, Captain, an English officer killed in Ireland, 335, 357.

Ferdinand, Archduke, 248.

Ferdinand and Isabel, 40.

Fernandez Simon, of Terceira, a pilot, 340.

Fernihurst, Laird of, Warden of the Scottish Middle Marches, 545–7; *see also* Gray.

Ferreira de Mello, Stephen, 147, 337.

Fervaques, 244*n*, 381, 474.

Figueredo, Cipriano de, of Terceira, 346.

Figueroa, Don Lope de, Admiral, 150, 160, 201.

Fisher, Clement, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

Fitzherbert, —, joins in the Babington Plot, 605.

....., Sir Thomas, joins in the Babington plot, 605.

Fitzmaurice, James, his attempt on Ireland, 42.

Flanders, English troops for, 2, 15, 19, 28, 33, 49, 53, 77, 147, 198, 247, 264, 365, 375, 381, 397, 498, 537, 538, 542, 543, 545, 547, 552–8, 588, 604.

...., English forces in, 453–4, 456–7, 462, 497, 538, 542, 543, 545, 547, 552–8, 570–1. 585, 588, 601.

....., English troops in, proposed desertion of, to the Spaniards, 398–9, 604–5.

....., the French in, 11, 16, 34, 38, 41, 52, 68, 71, 76, 85, 92, 105, 127, 163, 172, 174–5, 185, 191, 207, 212, 213, 217, 239–40, 243–4, 248, 257, 264–5, 267, 277, 279, 283, 299, 307, 318, 326–7, 328–9, 334, 352–4, 374, 380, 389, 409, 421, 423, 425, 434–6, 441–3, 445, 453–4, 456–7, 462, 466, 485, 500.

Fleet, English, to be seized by the Babington conspirators, 607.

Fleix, Peace of, between Henry III. and the Huguenots, 76, 84.

Fleming, Lord, 688.

Flemish aid to Don Antonio, 46, 47, 52, 81, 158, 247, 298, 339, 399, 403, 409, 421, 459, 487, 667, 672, 674.

Florence, Grand Duke of, wishes to obtain command of the expedition against England, 555–8.

Flores, Don Diego, 507.

Florida, 349, 375, 384, 471.

....., proposed English Catholic settlement in, 384–5, 392, 403, 452, 471.

Floure of Comfort (ship), 554.

Flowerdew, Antonio, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Floyd, Richard, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Flushing, 35, 47, 239, 272, 275, 277, 298, 308, 320, 335, 381, 406, 409, 432, 550, 582, 670.

....., proposal for the betrayal of, 103–5, 126; a trap for Mendoza, 128–9. 151, 160, 169.

Flying Hart, of Lynn (ship), 554.

....., of Hull (ship), 555.

Fogaza, Antonio, 183, 220–1, 238–9, 277, 294; his release from the Tower, 321–2.

Foljambe, Godfrey, an English Catholic refugee in France, 582, 587, 591.

Fontenay, M. de, 404, 406, 448, 465, 664.

Forbes, Lord, 688.

Forster, Sir John, Warden of the Marches, 124, 405, 408, 545.

Fortescue, Francis, accompanied Leicester to Holland, 555.

Fortune, of Amsterdam (ship), 554.

....,...., of Tergoure (ship), 554.

Fotheringay, 664, 676.

Fouldrey, Pile of, Lancashire, proposed port of debarcation for the Spanish Forces, 504.

Fowler, Ashley, joins in the Babington plot, 605.

Frankfort Fair, heretical books sold at, destined for Spain, 111.

Freire, Pero, 677.

French ambassador, *see* Castelnau, Chateauneuf, Mothe, &c.

French expedition, supposed for the capture of Dunbar from Lennox, 65.

French Special Embassy respecting the Alençon match, 43, 44, 48, 50, 51, 52, 67, 82, 83, 84, 85, 91, 92, 102; arrival at Dover, 110. 116–17, 119, 120–1, 126–7, 131, 133, 137, 149; departure of, 159. 163, 267.

Frenti, an envoy of Guise to Scotland, 502–3.

Frion, Hugo, offers to spy English Armaments, &c., 643, 656.

Frobisher, Sir Martin, 101, 167, 179, 199, 232, 306, 313, 349, 357.

....., ..., his attempt to discover a north-west passage to Cathay, 20, 76, 306.

Frozen Sea, expedition to the, 329, 365–8.

Fuenterrabia, 152, 179.

Fuller, Captain, an English captain wounded in Ireland, 140.

G.

Gabriel, —, sent by the Queen to Orange, 328.

Gage, —, executed for the Babington plot, 641*n*.

Galicia, English raids in, 365, 377, 553.

Gaping Gulf, Stubb's book against the Alençon's match, 1.

Garter, "La belle Jarretière," gift of the Queen's garter to Marchaumont, 101.

Gayaza, Bishop of, 640.

Geestemunde, 453.

Geneva, siege of, 391; money raised in London for the relief of, 454. 456.

Genoa, 3.

Genoese residents in London and Antwerp suspected of heresy, 111.

Geraldine, de, *see* Desmond.

Germain, Sir Robert, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 553, 554.

German Protestants, 84.

Germany, 651–2.

....., troops to be raised in, 38, 40, 74, 248, 253, 265, 270, 281, 557, 673.

Ghent, 16, 41, 256, 265, 295, 298, 299, 458.

"Ghent," "pacification of," 654.

Gibraltar, 21, 366.

Gifford, —, sent to Mendoza by the Babington conspirators, 603, 605, 608, 614, 617–8, 619, 628.
Gifford, Lord, joins in the Babington plot, 605.
Gilbert, Humphrey, his voyage to the Indies, 75–6, 306, 349, 357, 384, 392, 452, 471.
Giraldo, —, Portuguese envoy in France, 25, 27–8, 32, 40, 46, 48.
Glamys, Lord, 688.
Glamys, Master of, 489.
Glasgow, Parliament held at, 176.
Glencarn, Earl of, 37, 420, 688.
Golden Crown (ship), 554.
Golden Hagge (ship), 554.
Golden Sampson (ship), 554.
Golden Swan (ship), 554.
Goldingham, Christopher, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Good Hope, Cape of, 297, 340.
Goodier Walter, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Gondi, Jeromino de, French Minister, proposes co-operation with Spain against England, 539–540, 544, 641.
Gonzalo, Jorge, father-in-law of Dr. Lopez, 146, *see also* Anes, Loneston.
Gorge, William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Gorion, apothecary to the Queen of Scots, 664.
Gostlet, William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 556.
Gowrie, Earl of, *see* Ruthven.
Glacier, John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Graffina, agent to the Duke of Parma in the peace negotiations with Elizabeth, 584, 653.
Graham, John, of Hallyards, 438–9.
Grain, scarcity of, in England, 544.
....., ..., in Flanders, Elizabeth urges Henry III. to forbid export from France, 559.
Grande Puerto, 341.
Granvelle, Cardinal de, memoranda from, upon English affairs, 66, 99, 200, 200, 254, 277, 296, 298, 298, 307, 382.
....., ..., Antoine de Perrenot, 6, 7, 66, 404.
....., ..., his views on Elizabeth's policy, 382.
Grave, the fall of, 586, 588.
Gravelines, 36, 104, 157, 466.
....., double treachery against the English at, 599.
Gravesend, 178, 198, 240, 432, 543.
Gray, Edward, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
....., of Fernihurst, 194, 258, 460, 504.
....., Lord, 688.
....., Master of, 595, 627, 661.
Gray, Edward, his mission to England, 529, 531, 535.
....., ..., to join Leicester in Holland with a regiment of Scots, 553.
Green, Captain, 86.
Greene, William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Greenwich, 75, 95, 501, 573.
Gregorian Calendar, adoption of, 428.
Gregory XIII., Pope, letter to, from James VI., 518.
... ., his opposition to the Alençon Match, 31, 256.
....., brings pressure to bear upon Henry III. to oppose Alençon's projects, 256.
....., 20, 41, 42; is appealed to by the Scotch Catholics, 287, 316–317, 323, 330, 344, 349–50, 362–3, 370–3, 377–8, 383, 393, 397, 427–8, 475–6, 504–5, 507–10, 517, 518–19, 525–6.
....., Bull to be issued by authorising the invasion of England, 505.
....., commends the case of the Scots and English Catholics to Philip, 525; offers his aid, 527–8. 539.
....., his hopes of Queen Elizabeth's conversion, 528.
Grenville, Richard, 591, 599, 600 611.
Grey, Lord Viceroy of Ireland, 40, 44, 50, 51, 53, 63, 64, 69, 71–2, 85, 86, 89, 96, 102, 106, 121, 140, 153, 167, 237–8, 266, 278, 301, 319, 381, 413, 421, 542, 552.
....., ..., proposal to give him the command of the English in the Netherlands, 542, 552, 572, 589.
Grocer's Company of London, 273.
Guadagni, Abbé, 546–7.
Guaras, Antonio de, 239; death of, 520.
Guardia, Bishop de la, his escape and flight with Don Antonio, 89, 93, 143, 145.
Gueldres, Englishmen in, 265.
Guevara, Licentiate, 651, 654.
Guise, Duke of, letters to, from James VI., 502, 517.
....., ..., letter to, from Philip II., 631.
....., ..., letter from, to Mendoza, 589.
....., ..., 4, 51, 66, 77, 81, 100, 109, 204, 240, 254, 256, 361, 362–3, 381, 388, 407, 447, 488, 498, 511, 541, 569, 575, 577, 587, 613, 618–9, 642, 664.
....., ..., his plans against England and Scotland, 4, 5. 6, 13, 26, 77, 100, 362–3, 372–3, 377–9, 383, 392–4, 396, 401–3, 423, 426–8, 436, 440, 461–2, 464, 466, 475–6, 479–80, 480–6, 492–5, 500, 502–3, 504–6, 507–10, 513, 521–5, 527, 528, 581, 589–90, 595–7.
....., ..., his plot to assassinate Queen Elizabeth, 464, 479.
....., ..., his relations with James VI., 420, 426–8, 437, 509, 517–18

Guise, Duke of, is warned by Philip against his enemies in France, 402–3, 428, 498, 540, 544.

....., ..., troops raised by him against the Huguenots, 536.

....., ..., his opposition to the Spanish invasion of England without his co-operation, 560.

....., ..., alleged English plot to murder, 560.

....., ..., his negotiations with Spain in support of the Catholic Scots nobles in their appeal to Philip II., 581, 589–90, 595–6, 613, 630–1, 639, 681–2.

Guises, the, 115, 214, 245, 271, 409, 412, 424, 426, 482–6, 485–6, 498, 500, 524, 538, 541, 545, 556, 560–9, 575, 588, 676.

H.

Hall, Hugh, arrested, 512.

Hamburg, 198.

....., powder, &c., bought there for Don Antonio, 149.

Hamilton, Lord, 688.

....., Claud, 14; his secret visit to the Queen, 22. 23.

....., Lord, restored in honours and estates, 557, 558, 578, 667, 688.

....., ..., letter from, to Philip II., 580.

....., ..., his appeal to Philip II., for aid to the Scots Catholics, *see* Huntly.

....., ..., to rise with the Scots to support the Babington plot, 605.

....., Lord John (Lord Abroath), 27, 30, 108; secretly leaves France for England, 501.

Hamiltons, the, 81, 82, 90, 95, 108, 109, 123, 259, 524.

Hammerfest, 386.

Hampshire, description of, 609.

Harchilo, *see* Harpsfield.

Harcourt, Michael, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

Harpsfield (?), a Catholic physician, arrested, 538, 542.

Harte, John, execution of, 231.

Harrington, Sir John (?), accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

....., Sir Nicholas, his mission to Scotland, 123, 332, 335, 355, 388, 437.

....., Sir William, accompanies Leicester to Holland in command of a regiment, 553.

Hastings (ship), 411.

Hatton, Sir Christopher, 16, 55, 59, 110, 134, 140, 144, 165, 175–6, 181, 192, 193, 222, 229, 249, 266, 267, 274, 282, 300, 304, 305, 327, 345, 346, 389, 408–9, 443, 497.

Hatton's Trumpeter brings news of Drake's arrival and route, 55.

Havana, 532.

Havre de Grace, 261, 268, 270, 272, 409, 584, 642–3.

Hawkins, John, 3, 101, 144, 147, 414, 434, 511, 601, 640, 642.

....., ..., account of his fleet off Portugal, 632–4.

....., ..., his expedition to the coast of Portugal, &c., 642, 643, 648–50, 653, 656, 661, 662; his return to England, 666. 671, 677.

....., William, 414, 511, 520.

Hawkinses, the, all born pirates, 601.

Hector, Colonel, 419.

Henao, Francisco de, his proposal to betray Terceira, 414–6.

Heneage, Sir Thomas, sent to Leicester in Holland, 572, 588.

Henry, King of Portugal, death of, 16, 20.

Henry III., King of France, 1, 20, 24, 31, 38, 39, 40, 43, 51, 52, 71, 92, 100, 119, 127, 163, 204–5, 214, 217, 254, 260–2, 268, 269–72, 299, 316, 317–8, 348, 361, 381, 389–90, 394, 408, 410–12, 416, 421–6, 428–33, 441, 446, 450, 457, 458, 473–4, 486, 489–90, 576, 591, 626, 662, 689.

....., ..., his action in favour of the Queen of Scots, with relation to the Babington plot, 641, 644–6, 647; Belliévre to be sent to England, 648. 660, 661, 666–7, 669–70, 675, 678, 680, 690–1.

....., ..., his attitude towards the English invasion, 569, 618–19, 628–9, 684–6.

....., ..., his attitude towards the Portuguese succession, 27, 77.

....., ..., his manner of life, 498, 574–5, 640, 645, 689.

....., ..., his relations with Don Antonio, 80, 81, 82, 101, 136, 149, 156, 174, 189, 213–14, 226, 281, 306–7, 398, 425, 432, 452, 547–51, 558–9, 569, 574, 579, 592, 611–12, 632.

....., ..., his renewed intrigues with the Huguenots against the Guises, 574–5, 619.

....., ..., illness of, 459, 498.

Henry of Navarre, *see* Bearn.

Henry VIII., 40.

Helmes, Walter, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Hercules, *see* Duke of Guise.

Herll, 463, 533.

Herries, Lord, 107, 108, 413; death of, 446. 688.

Herne, William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

Hertford, Earl of, secret marriage of his son, 382, 641.

Hertfordshire, description of, 610.

Heydon, William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Heywood, Father Jasper, 195, 236, 242, 533.
Higat, William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 556.
Hill, Robert, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Hinde, John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Hobson, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Holder, Botolph, of Lisbon, 146, 164*n*, 183, 214, 667.
Holland, Davy, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Holt, Father William, 285–9, 291, 320, 322–3, 343, 349–52, 362–3, 370, 399, 427; arrested in Scotland, 458; is tortured, 460, 465; released by James VI., 503. 525.
Holyhead, 302.
Honey, Richard, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 556.
Honfleur, 409.
Howard, Father Jasper, *see* Heywood.
....., Lady Frances, 457.
....., Lord (of Effingham), Admiral, 15, 17, 452, 641, 666, 672.
....., Lord Henry, 159, 172, 175, 275, 280.
....., ..., appointed Lord Chamberlain, 513; to be made Lord Admiral, 537; appointment suspended at the instance of Leicester, 537.
....., ..., his relations with the Spaniards, 245–6, 253, 268, 315–16, 324, 344, 352, 364, 391, 403, 406, 448–9, 451.
....., ..., offered a pension by the French, 451.
....., ..., his arrest, 78; takes refuge in the Spanish embassy, 246. 296; his re-arrest, 538.
....., ..., joins in the Babington plot, 604.
....., Lord Thomas, joins in the Babington plot, 604.
....., Lord William, his arrest, 512, 538.
....., ..., joins in the Babington plot, 604.
Howards, the, restored in blood, 90.
Howard, the house of, 344.
Hubberts, Ralph, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Huguenots, 4, 28, 35, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 52. 53, 66, 74, 76, 84, 151, 253, 260, 269–71, 355, 390, 391, 445, 456–7, 485, 487, 498, 509, 538, 545, 556, 569, 588, 660, 689.
Hume, Lord, 688.
....., Alexander, 216.
....., David, of Argaty, 535.
Hunsdon, Lord, 77, 79, 82. 85, 90, 96, 101, 107, 108, 124, 148, 267, 280, 312, 424, 426, 430, 473, 499, 513, 672.
....., ..., Mendoza recommends the Babington conspirators to kill him, 607.
Huntingdon, description of, 609.
Huntingdon, Earl of, 32, 79, 82, 85, 90, 96, 101, 106, 148, 222, 264, 315, 400, 547, 604.
Huntly, George, Earl of, letter from, to Philip II., 580.
....., ..., ..., his appeal for Spanish aid to the Scots Catholics, 580, 589–90, 595–8, 630–1, 635–8, 667, 681, 688.
....., Earl of, 194, 286, 288, 397, 450, 486, 491, 546, 553.
Hurleston, Leicester's treasurer in Holland, 554.

I.

Idiaquez, Juan de, Secretary, letters from, 22, 118, 617, 679.
....., ..., letters to, from Mendoza, 443, 448, 449, 454, 467, 474, 478, 501, 516, 579, 585.
....., Secretary Juan de, 30, 36, 154, 404, 537, 605.
Indies, expeditions to the, 101, 107, 115, 128, 136–7, 150, 159, 167, 179, 199, 232, 235, 255, 264, 278, 285, 297, 302–3, 305, 306, 319, 340–2, 349, 356–7, 375, 385, 397, 403, 410, 414, 496–7, 501, 507, 520, 521, 532, 578, 585, 599–601, 610–11, 626–7, 633–4, 642, 649–50, 652–3, 677.
....., Council of, suggest compromise for the recovery of Drake's plunder, 93–4, 118.
....., East, proposed new trade route to, through Russia, 365–8.
....., Spanish and Portuguese, trade with, 52, 55, 56, 67, 70, 75, 76, 88, 95, 101, 107, 585, 599–600, 652–3.
Iñiguez, Juan, 577, 595, 617.
Insi, M. d', 217, 222.
Insurance on jewels, &c., from Terceira, for Don Antonio, 158.
Invermeith, Lord, 688.
Ireland, revolt in, 4, 9, 10, 19, 22, 24, 28, 37, 44, 50, 51, 53, 54, 58–9, 63, 64, 72, 86, 88, 96, 102, 106, 121, 140, 153, 167, 168, 203, 237, 266, 301, 319, 335, 381, 413, 421.
....., English reinforcements for, 53, 62, 64–5, 83, 89, 106, 122, 167, 168, 266, 319, 335, 421, 431, 536.
....., arrest of Catholics in, 557.
....., Papal forces in, defeat and massacre of, 69–71, 72, 88, 95.
....., proposed Spanish invasion of England from, 687.
Irish insurgents, Papal aid to the, 17, 20, 21, 28, 40, 41, 42, 53, 58, 61–2, 63, 64, 67, 69, 71, 121, 421, 431.

Irish insurgents, Spanish aid to the, 4, 9, 17, 20, 28, 33, 41, 46, 48, 51, 53, 58, 61–2, 67, 68, 69, 71, 135, 141, 155, 189, 208, 282, 364, 376, 406.
....., students in London, arrest of, 86.
Irishmen, alleged treacherous murder of, by English officers, 153.

J.

James VI. (of Scotland), letters from, to the Duke of Guise, 502, 517.
....., ..., to Philip II., 690.
....., ..., to the Pope, 518.
....., ..., 5, 6, 17, 22, 23, 26, 30, 32, 37, 44, 46, 51, 54, 77, 81, 90, 101, 107, 124, 132, 148, 176, 184, 194, 198, 216, 228, 258–9, 273, 288, 290–1, 317, 331, 335, 343–4, 371, 387–8, 393, 396–7, 400, 408, 413, 431, 422, 436–8, 447, 450–1, 533, 578, 602, 627.
....., his religion, 98, 109, 150, 160, 169, 204, 241, 257, 286, 290–1, 309, 356, 363, 387–8, 394, 399, 418, 420, 480, 490–1, 507, 509, 518, 524, 531, 541, 546–7, 563–4, 581, 587, 593, 611, 647, 660, 664, 683, 688.
....., is conveyed to Dumbarton, 17, 19.
....., his relations with the French, 51, 52, 124, 164, 184, 198, 199, 204–5, 214, 449–50, 455, 458, 460, 472–4, 479–80, 481–2, 486, 488, 489.
....., Elizabeth's opinion of him, 207–8, 496.
....., project to carry him to Spain, 99, 286, 343, 388, 559.
....., captured by the English faction, 401–2, 403, 405, 407, 412–13, 418, 420, 426, 431, 434, 436, 438–9, 444, 450, 479, 495, 557.
....., plan to poison, 422, 426, 430.
....., plans for his release, 460, 468–9, 486, 488, 489, 491.
...., his monetary claims against Elizabeth, 461, 495.
....., his flight to Falkland and St. Andrews, 488–9, 490–1, 495, 499, 502, 506, 526–7.
....., flight to Dumbarton on Angus' entrance into Scotland, 552–3, 557.
....., his claim to the English succession, 451, 466, 473, 479, 503, 562–3, 568, 581, 587, 593, 644–5, 683.
....., his appeal to the Pope, 518.
....., is pressed by Elizabeth to surrender Father Holt, 458.
....., his attitude towards the proposed Catholic invasion, 481–2, 490–1, 502–3, 508–9, 517–18, 524, 529.
....., offered a pension by Elizabeth on condition of his banishing Arran, 583, 602.
James VI., intercedes with Elizabeth for his mother, 669–70, 676, 678, 680.
....., negotiations with regard to his marriage, 259, 260, 471, 477, 683.
....., his projected marriage with an Infanta, 5, 6, 13, 310.
....., his projected marriage with a daughter of the Prince of Orange, 13.
....., his projected marriage with the daughter of Duke of Lorraine, 17.
....., his projected marriage with Princess of Denmark, 13, 320, 356, 542, 546.
....., his projected marriage with Christine of Lorraine, 205, 450.
....., his projected marriage with Catherine de Bourbon, 381.
....., his proposed marriage with Lady Dorothy Devereux, 451, 477.
Jasper, Father, *see* Heywood.
Jauregui, Juan de, his attempted assassination of Orange, 320, 327–8; *see also* Orange.
Jealousy of the English Catholics against the Scots, 483, 493, 509.
Jesuit priests in Scotland, 640, 642, 668; *see also* Catholic priests in Scotland.
Jewels belonging to Don Antonio, 157–8, 163, 166, 174, 180, 219, 247, 395.
Jobson, Edward, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Jonas, the (ship), captured by French pirates, 125.
Jones, —, executed for the Babington plot, 641*n*.
....., Henry, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Joyeuse, Duke of, 497, 530, 569, 626, 645.
Juan, Don, of Austria, 218, 322.
Juan de Espiritu Santo, friar, 339, 377.
Julian, —, Commander of the Papal forces in Ireland, 28, 42.
Julian (ship), 297.

K.

Keith, Sir William, sent by James VI., to intercede for the Queen of Scots, 676, 678.
Kenet, George, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Kennedy, Miss, 664.
Kent, 609.
....., troops raised in, 16.
Kildare, Earl of, 54, 62, 63, 64, 72, 80, 88–9, 319, 381.
Knight, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland 555.
Knollys, Sir Francis, treasurer of the household, 75, 231, 249, 327.

Knollys, Sir Francis, Mendoza recommends the Babington conspirators to kill him, 607.

....., ..., junior, his voyage to the Indies, 75–6, 306.

....., ..., in command of Don Antonio's ships, 187, 208, 210, 218, 228, 232, 234, 301, 306, 650.

....., William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

Kola, river, 76, 366.

L.

La Fére, 39, 44, 51.

La Motte, Spanish Governor of Gravelines, 29, 36, 157, 173, 198, 210, 398, 466; to co-operate with the Babington conspirators, 608. 616.

Lancashire, description of, 610.

Landereau, French officer in the Azores, 391.

Landsjewel, a jewel pledged by the States with Elizabeth, 283, 312.

Langford Shirley, joins in the Babington plot, 605.

Lansac, M. de, 91, 113, 119, 256, 260.

La Noue, *see* Noue.

Laon, Cornelius, Bishop of, 59.

Larache, Morocco, 277, 424, 432, 465.

Laredo, 81.

Lasqui, Palatine, 369, 380; his visit to England, 463. 474.

Laval, 222.

League, the Holy, 71.

Lee, John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 556.

Leicester, Countess of, Queen Elizabeth's opinion of her, 477.

....., Earl of, 16, 25, 37, 47, 50, 52, 55, 59, 61, 64, 71, 74–5, 77, 78, 82, 84, 85, 87, 90, 93, 101–2, 110, 115, 116, 121, 125, 127, 128, 137, 138, 140, 144, 145–6, 151, 152, 156, 159, 161, 166, 173–4, 175, 178, 186, 192, 198, 199, 206, 210, 211, 212, 217, 222, 224, 226, 228, 229, 230, 233, 247, 249, 255, 261, 263, 266–7, 275–6, 281, 285, 295–6, 304, 305, 307, 310–13, 315, 319–20, 325–7, 329, 334, 345, 346, 353, 377, 389, 391, 398, 407, 411, 412, 417, 430, 432, 433, 443, 451, 455, 457, 459, 466, 473, 477, 486, 495, 496, 498, 513, 534, 537, 650, 673, 680, 684.

....., ..., his opposition to the Alençon match, 1, 2, 16, 18, 25, 26, 91, 102, 111–12, 113–14, 119, 131, 181, 229, 230, 274–5, 353, 417.

... ., ..., his participation in piracy, 2, 3, 7, 19.

Leicester, Earl of, his approaches to the Spaniards, 25, 33, 34, 49, 112.

....., ..., accompanies Alençon to Flanders, 280–2, 295–6; his return, 299, 310–12, 347.

....., ..., proposes to marry his son to Arabella Stuart, 426, 451–2.

....., ..., his plan to marry his step-daughter to James VI., 451, 477; the Queen's rage thereat, 477.

....., ..., his disagreement with Cecil respecting relations with Spain, 547.

....., ..., on bad terms with Raleigh, 538.

....., ..., refuses to surrender the mastership of the Horse on his appointment as Lord Steward, 537–8.

....., ..., his expedition to the Netherlands, 553, 557–8, 570–1, 577–8, 670; his return to England, 673. 679–80.

....., ..., list of gentlemen who accompanied him to Holland, 553–6.

....., ..., his proceedings in the Netherlands, 571–2, 577–8, 586, 588–9, 596, 599, 602, 605–6, 650–1, 652, 656, 669, 673, 683, 689.

" Leicester's Commonwealth," its suppression demanded in France, 538–9.

Leith, 123, 289.

Leiton, Custodio, 391; Is appointed Don Antonio's representative in France, 548. 552, 559, 569, 592, 611–12.

Lemos de Faria, Cristobal, 419.

Lennox, Duchess of, 361.

....., Duke of, letter from, to J. B. Tassis, 316.

....., ..., letter from, to the Queen of Scots, 333.

....., ..., 6, 17, 23, 32, 37, 50, 51, 54, 65, 77, 81, 82, 95, 96, 100, 107, 109, 124, 132, 170, 176, 184, 194, 199, 204, 216, 224, 247, 258–9, 272, 276, 286–9, 292, 316, 320, 322–4, 330–3, 335, 349–52, 355–6, 358, 362–3, 370–3, 381, 392–4, 395; flight of, 400. 401–3, 405, 407, 412–13, 417, 418, 420, 423, 426–7, 431, 436, 444, 455, 464–5.

....., ..., plots against, 26, 32, 44, 96, 100, 107, 122, 224, 387, 396, 399–400, 401–3, 407.

....., ..., his religion, 273, 290, 381, 395, 396, 439, 466.

....., ..., his negotiations for foreign troops to be sent to Scotland, 256, 317, 323, 330–3, 349–52, 362–3, 371, 393–4, 395–7, 400, 418, 426–7, 434, 436, 439, 447, 466, 475, 479, 481.

....., ..., is ordered to leave Scotland, 431; his arrival in London, 434. 435; his interview with the Queen, 437; his illness, 444, 455, 461, 466; death of, 479, 494–5.

....., ..., failure of his plot to re-capture the King, 438–9, 444, 461, 464–5.

Lennox, Duke of, his secretary's interview with Mendoza in London, 438, 440.
....., ..., the younger, is summoned by James to Scotland, 501, 688.
Levant, trade with, 72, 366, 432, 465, 652.
Lewes, John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Lewson, Walter, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Leyton, Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Lierre, betrayed by Colonel Semple, 394.
Liggons, —, a servant of the Duke of Norfolk, to be pensioned by Philip, 109.
Lima, Peru, 55.
Lincoln, Bishop of, Cowper, 79.
....., Countess of, sister of the Earl of Kildare, 319.
....., Earl of, Lord Admiral, 54, 59, 186, 230, 237, 240, 249, 452; death of, 531.
Lincolnshire, description of, 609.
Lindsay, David, 387; sent to England, 471.
...., Lord, 688.
Lisbon, 20, 77, 89, 214, 573, 642–3.
....., capture of, by the Spaniards, 45*n*, 52.
..... , wheat required at, 102, 117–18.
Lisleburgh, *see* Edinburgh.
Livingston, Master of, 491.
Lomb, Gilbert, his surrender requested by James VI. of Philip, 690.
London, apprentices arrested for complicity in the Babington plot, 632.
... ., city of, troops raised by, 9, 15, 35, 40, 53, 543.
..... companies, money raised by them for the aid of the Netherlanders, 536.
....., rejoicings in, at the condemnation of the Queen of Scots, 680.
....., Tower of, 59, 74, 78, 239.
....., alleged plan of the Babington conspirators to burn, 641.
Longorius, Dr., 442.
Loo, André de, agent of the Duke of Parma, in the peace negotiations with Elizabeth, 584, 653.
Lopez, Dr. Rodrigo, 81, 138, 146, 149, 158, 178, 179, 234, 246–7, 456, 459, 552, 672.
Lorraine, Duke of, 423, 498.
Lovat, Lord, 688.
Lucchese, Captain, a pirate, 406.
Luseaos, M. de, a gentleman of Artois, 662.
Lyme, 115, 116, 147, 225, 228, 232, 255, 501.

M.

MacCarthy, More, 58.
MacHugh, Feagh, 58, 167, 319.
MacMorris, —, 58.
MacTeague, Cormac, 58.
Madeira, 163, 339, 377.
Maestre, Cape, 341.
Magellan, Straits of, 55, 87, 199, 278, 340–2, 349, 520, 548, 610, 668.
Maineville, Francois de Roncherolles sieur de, letter to, 488.
....., ..., is sent to Scotland, 412, 422*n*, 430, 446, 451, 455, 458, 460, 474; his return to France, 479–80; his account of affairs in Scotland, 479–80. 486–7, 488–91, 503.
Malbey, Captain, 319.
Malio, John Baptist, 64.
Malouc, —, 432.
Mansfeldt, Count Charles, 253, 386.
Mar, Earl of, 95, 107, 397, 412, 420, 451, 486, 491, 552-3, 688.
....., ..., his unsuccessful rising against the Catholic lords, 526.
March, Earl of, 489.
Marchaumont, Alençon's envoy in England, 84, 85, 91, 92, 95, 101, 102, 110, 114, 116, 121, 127, 137–38, 151, 152, 165, 172, 180, 185, 186, 198, 200, 206, 222, 226, 248, 255, 261, 267, 269, 271, 279, 299, 310–12, 318, 327, 335, 347, 348, 353–4, 361, 380, 399, 411, 417, 424, 432, 434, 442, 459.
Mareschal, Earl of, 489, 688.
Margate, 432.
Marquina, Diego de, of Lisbon, a banker, 118.
Martel, an envoy of the Catholic league to Rome, 613.
Martin, Alderman, the Queen's banker, 152.
....., Christopher, ship-master, his account of Hawkins' fleet off Portugal, 632.
Martinez, Benito, ship-master, his account of Hawkins' fleet off Portugal, 632.
....., Pedro de, 325.
Mary, Queen of Scots, letters from, 205, 215, 257, 330, 342, 392, 404, 418, 446, 475, 491, 581, 589, 596, 598, 663.
....., ..., letters to, from Mendoza, 467, 475, 491.
....., ..., 4, 5, 10, 13, 26, 77, 79, 81–2, 85, 124, 170–1, 176, 197, 204–5, 207, 213, 214–15, 287, 300–1, 317, 320, 423, 426 429, 430, 541, 546–7, 622.
....., ..., her communications with Mendoza, 79–80, 88, 184, 228, 241, 242, 254, 257, 289–91, 305, 309, 314, 323–4, 330, 342, 349–51, 355, 362, 382, 392–4, 395–7, 399, 404, 417, 446–9, 455, 457, 465–70, 475, 486, 491–2, 513, 581, 586–7, 589, 596–7, 598, 616, 628–9, 639, 644–6, 663–4.
....., ..., her approaches to the Spaniards, 4, 5, 6, 13, 27, 30, 31, 34, 98–100, 205, 215–16, 257, 289, 309, 310, 314, 330–3, 342–3, 362, 392–4, 396–7, 404, 418, 436, 440, 447, 491–2, 525, 529, 589.
....., ..., her appeals to the Pope, 99, 395, 396–7, 440, 447.

Mary, Queen of Scots, her determination to leave prison Queen of England, 13.
....., ..., illness of, 43, 138, 169, 332, 335.
....., ..., her association of her son with herself as sovereign, 204, 213–15, 228, 241, 245, 250, 258–9, 290, 300, 331–2, 388, 449, 468, 471, 535, 587.
....., ..., negotiations for her liberation, 259, 290, 320, 465–70, 471, 474, 475, 491, 495, 506, 529, 533.
....., ..., her claim to the English crown, 198, 213, 264, 351, 425, 495, 500, 514, 537, 541, 562–3, 568, 581, 587, 593, 613.
....., ..., suggestion for her abdication, 335, 404, 450.
....., ..., complains of her treatment in England, 463, 495.
....., ..., is urged by Mendoza to remain in England, 465–70, 491.
....., ..., is informed by Guise of his plans against England, 500, 503, 508.
....., ..., accused of complicity in Throgmorton's plot, 529–30.
....., ..., her attitude towards the "English enterprise," 529, 597, 622, 629.
....., ..., proposed removal of, from the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, 432, 471; sent to Wingfield, 530; in charge of Paulet, 538, 541, 546–7, 655; taken to Fotheringay, 655; to be sent to the Tower, 662.
....., ..., Catholic plots for her release, 521–5, 603–10.
....., ..., disinherits her son in favour of Philip II., 581, 587, 590–1, 613, 644.
....., ..., places herself under the protection of Philip II., 581.
....., ..., is accused of complicity in the Babington plot, 623–4, 625, 641, 644–6, 655, 656, 660, 661, 662; her farewell letter to Mendoza, 663–4. 669–70, 675–6, 678, 680–1, 690–1.
Master of St. John, Spanish ship plundered by Drake, 61.
Mathew, of Lynn (ship), 554.
Mathias, Archduke, proposes to marry the Queen, 93.
Matthew de Oviedo, friar, envoy to Spain from the Irish insurgents, 59.
Maulez (?), Captain, 319.
Maurice of Nassau, kills Jauregui, 328, 680.
Mayenne, Duke of, 423; to invade Sussex, 482.
Mayo, Alonso, 179, 200, 220.
Maxfield, —, joins in the Babington plot, 605.
Maxwell, Earl of, 553.
....., Harry, 490.
Media, 366.
Medina Sidonia, Duke of, 424.
Melchior, Friar, 415.
Melendez, Pero, Spanish Admiral, 349.
Melino, Father Richard, Guise's agent, sent to Spain and Rome respecting the plans against England, 481, 486; his instructions, 503; his negotiatons, 504–5, 507–8, 526.
Mello Esteban Ferreira, *see* Ferreira.
Melville, Sir James, of Halhill, 491.
....., Sir Robert, 488.
Mendoza, Doña Ana de, 478.
....., Bernardino de, letters from, to Philip II., 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 27, 30, 33, 34, 35, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 51, 52, 54, 59, 60, 62, 63, 63, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 79, 80, 80, 81, 82, 84, 88, 89, 91 93, 95, 97, 100, 101, 103, 106, 107, 110, 111, 113, 114, 116, 117, 119, 121, 125, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 132, 134, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 145, 147, 148, 149, 151, 152, 152, 153, 155, 158, 161, 163, 164, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 180, 182, 184, 185, 190, 192, 194, 197, 199, 201, 203, 206, 208, 209, 211, 216, 217, 218, 221, 222, 224, 225, 226, 229, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 238, 238, 239, 242, 246, 249, 251, 255, 255, 260, 263, 264, 265, 266, 269, 272, 273, 276, 279, 280, 281, 283, 285, 289, 295, 297, 299, 300, 301, 303, 306, 310, 312, 313, 316, 317, 319, 320, 321, 322, 324, 326, 329, 329, 333, 335, 336, 336, 339, 340, 344, 346, 347, 349, 349, 352, 355, 356, 358, 360, 362, 364, 365, 375, 377, 379, 380, 384, 387, 389, 394, 395, 398, 400, 405, 406, 406, 408, 410, 412, 414, 416, 417, 418, 420, 421, 425, 428, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 441, 442, 445, 449, 452, 452, 455, 456, 458, 459, 460, 462, 465, 470, 471, 472, 477, 486, 492, 495, 496, 497, 499, 510, 512, 513, 515, 530, 531, 533, 533, 534, 536, 536, 537, 538, 539, 541, 545, 546, 547, 549, 549, 550, 551, 551, 552, 552, 556, 557, 557, 558, 559, 559, 569, 570, 571, 572, 574, 577, 577, 579, 582, 583, 584, 586, 591, 595, 595, 598, 599, 601, 603, 610, 612, 617, 618, 623, 623, 624, 627, 639, 641, 642, 643, 644, 644, 646, 648, 660, 660, 662, 666, 666, 667, 667, 669, 670, 679, 681, 689.
....., ..., letters to, from Philip II., 29, 29, 49, 65, 67, 69, 78, 83, 86, 87, 88, 102, 102, 118, 149, 159, 160, 161, 164, 164, 172, 181, 181, 182, 202, 220, 221, 240, 242, 254, 255, 278, 278, 294, 294, 342, 358, 359, 373, 397, 403, 405, 499, 506, 519, 520, 539, 540, 543, 544, 544, 553, 573, 580, 590, 614, 614, 616, 630, 638, 639, 639, 656, 671, 679.
....., ..., letters from, to Mary Queen of Scots, 467, 475, 491.
....., ..., letters to, from Mary Queen of Scots, 215, 257, 330, 342, 392, 404, 446, 475, 491, 581, 589, 596, 598, 663.
....., ..., letters from, to Duke of Parma, 635, 664.
....., ..., letters to, from Duke of Parma, 665.

Mendoza, Bernardino de, letters from, to Idiaquez, 443, 443, 449, 454, 467, 474, 478, 501, 516, 579, 585.

....., ..., letters to, from Idiaquez, 118, 617, 679.

....., ..., letter to, from the Duke of Guise, 589.

....., ..., his interviews with the Queen, 3, 10, 11, 12, 20, 40, 41, 45, 49, 68, 112, 113, 132–3, 134–6, 140, 144, 153–4, 176, 185–9, 192–3, 223, 242, 263, 303–4, 375–6.

....., ..., is refused audience, 52, 59–60, 66, 112, 125, 133, 150, 175–6, 185–6, 212, 219, 364–5, 375–7, 406.

....., ..., his desire to retire from England, 86–7, 113, 193, 304–5, 344, 363, 374, 377, 397, 423, 448, 449, 454, 474, 491–2, 504, 517.

....., ..., attempts to bribe him in relation to Drake's plunder, 74.

....., ..., his domicile invaded by London constables, 128–9, 132–3, 136, 151, 160, 169, 325.

....., ..., interviews with the Council, 154–5, 191–2, 263, 301, 513–15.

....., ..., slights to, by the English courtiers, 185, 194, 304, 324–5, 364, 376, 514, 516.

....., ..., his difficulty in conveying correspondence, 209–10, 218, 241, 299.

....., ..., is made a knight commander of Santiago, 321, 479.

....., ..., is insulted in the streets of London, 397*n*.

....., his negotiations with English and Scotch Catholics, 124–5, 169–70, 194–7, 202–3, 230, 235–6, 242, 257, 276–7, 285–9, 289–94, 305, 309, 314, 320, 322–4, 330–2, 342–4, 349–52, 358–9, 362–3, 370–73, 382–4, 438–40, 448, 457, 492–6, 510, 513–4, 576, 577, 579, 581, 585, 589–90, 595–7, 603–8, 625–6, 627–30, 635–8, 656, 667–8, 681.

....., ..., his connection with Francis Throgmorton, 502, 510, 511; expulsion from England, 512–13, 518–15, 516, 519, 520, 529–30.

....., ..., his determination to be revenged upon the English, 516.

....., ..., his opinion on the proposed Scottish enterprise, 635–8, 656, 667–8, 681–8.

....., ..., his connection with the Babington plot, *see* Babington plot.

Mendoza, Pedro de, Spanish minister in Genoa, 111.

Meneses, Don Antonio de, a prisoner in England, 677.

Merchants of London trading with Spain, 19, 130, 208, 283–4, 385.

Mery, M. de, 84, 91, 101.

Mesina light, 366.

Methuen, Lord, 688.

Middleburgh, 299, 335.

....., Drake's voyage thither, *see* Drake.

Middlemore, —, sent to the Queen of Scots, 10.

Middlemotes, the, of Shropshire, join in the Babington plot, 605.

Mignon, of London (ship), 64, 302, 356–7, 414.

....., (ship), sunk by the King of Denmark, 381.

Mildmay, Sir Walter, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 54, 90*n*, 207, 389, 473, 486, 495, 582.

Miles Lewkner, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Militia, 9, 35.

Mina, the, (Elmina), 8, 10, 187.

Mollucas, 70, 75, 76, 87, 167, 199, 232, 235, 264, 279, 285, 297, 304, 306, 313, 319, 326, 340, 357, 375, 385, 395, 397, 403, 410, 414, 501, 507.

Mopo, *see* Charles Paget.

Montgomery, Robert, 387.

Mons, 103–5.

Montague, Lord, 33, 50, 348, 504.

....., ..., joins in the Babington plot, 604.

Monteith, Earl of, 688.

Montesinos, *see* Diaz, Gaspar de.

Montpensier, Duke of, 262, 424, 533.

....., Madame de, 625.

Montrose, Earl of, 489, 681.

Mora, Don Cristobal de, 346, 507.

....., Don Miguel, de, *see* Moura.

More, —, arrested for complicity in Throgmorton's plot, 513.

....., John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Morgan, Allen, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 556.

....., Colonel, 64.

....., Thomas, 447–8; his imprisonment in the Bastille, 534; his surrender demanded by Elizabeth, 535, 536; condemned for high treason, 547, 581, 582, 587, 589, 591, 598, 645, 690.

Morley, Lord, joins in the Babington plot, 604.

Mortara, a Genoese in London, 180.

Morton, Earl of (Regent), 6, 17, 23, 26, 32, 44, 50, 51, 54; his arrest and condemnation, 77. 79, 81, 85, 88, 93, 96, 98, 100, 107, 108, 122, 123, 124; his execution, 132. 149, 184; confiscation of his property by the Scots parliament, 199; James VI's. treachery with regard to him, 207. 216, 228.

Morton, Regent, two bastard sons of, 148.

....., Earl of, the younger, 503, 504, 552–3, 578, 682, 688.

....., ..., letter from, to Philip II., 511.

....., ..., ..., his appeal to Philip II., for aid to the Scots Catholics, *see* Huntly.

Mothe, de la, Fénélon, 2, 91, 110, 111, 113–14, 119.

Mothe, de la, Fénélon, his embassy to Scotland, 412, 421–6, 428–33, 434, 440–1, 446, 454–5, 457, 464, 472.
....., ..., ..., his interviews with the Queen, 422–6, 428–30, 449, 450, 452.
....., ..., ..., pressed for money in London, 451, 454–5.
Motte, M. de la, Spanish Governor of Gravelines, *see* La Motte.
Moura, Miguel de, Philip's Secretary in Portugal, 284, 667.
Muscovy, trade with, 20, 65, 76, 329, 356, 365–8, 381, 386–7, 395, 454, 463, 487, 652.
Muscovy company of London, 297, 306, 395, 454, 463.
Murray, Earl of, Regent, 122.
....., ..., 688.
Muzio, *see* Guise, Duke of.

N

National Covenant, the Scots, 90, 102, 122.
Nau, —, Secretary of Mary, Queen of Scots, 259, 531, 533, 534–5; is arrested for complicity in the Babington plot, 623, 625; confesses everything, 663.
Nazareth, Archbishop of, Papal Nuncio in France, 618–9, 640, 646, 679.
Nemours, treaty of, 556*n*.
Nerac, M. de le, 592.
Netherlands, rebellion in, 11, 19, 21, 33, 67, 74, 186, 248, 253, 262–3, 264–5, 267, 280–1, 295, 299–300, 307–8, 346, 347–9, 352–5, 374, 430–1, 449, 452–3, 456–7, 498.
Nevers, Duke of, 619.
Newbogle, Abbot of, 216.
Newfoundland, 410, 421, 432.
Nieuport, French expelled from, 435.
Noeles (?), William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Noel, George, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Nombre de Dios, 532.
Nonsuch, 41, 175, 185.
Norfolk, description of, 609.
....., discontent in, at loss of trade through the Netherlands War, 667.
Norfolk, Duke of, 108, 109, 143.
....., ..., rising of, 33, 669.
....., ..., his children restored in blood, 90.
....., ..., the Queen of Scots betrothal to, 486; the Queen sends his betrothal ring as a keepsake to Mendoza, 664.
Norris, —, sent to Alençon at Antwerp, 335.
....., Colonel, 247.
Norris, Sir John, in the Netherlands, 453, 456, 462, 542, 543, 545, 547.
North, Lord, 538.
Northern Confederation proposed, 379–380, 542.
Northesk, Earl of, 547.
Northumberland, description of, 608.
....., Earl of, 50, 85, 253, 504, 513–14; in the Tower, 538; suspected murder of, 542.
....., ..., the younger, joins in the Babington plot, 604.
North-west passage, attempts to discover, *see* Cathay.
Norton (?), Lord, 504.
Norumbeage river, 384–5, 532, 536.
Norwich, 276.
Note, Arthur, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Nottinghamshire, description of, 610.
Noue, la, "Bras-de-fer," 15; capture of, 34, 93.
Nouvélle, M. de la, 346.
Nova Zembla, 76.
Nuñez, Dr. Hector, 321–2.
Nutz, storming of, 598, 611, 652.

O.

Oatlands, 501.
Oberholtzer, Hans, 334–5, 336, 515.
Obi river, 20.
Ochiltree, Lord, 688.
Octrung river, 365.
Oen, Hugo, 670.
Ogilvy, Lord, 98, 258, 688.
Olivares, Count de, Spanish Ambassador to the Pope, letters from, to Philip II., 525, 528, 560, 593, 613, 619.
....., ..., letters to, from Philip II., 517, 527, 541, 657.
....., ..., Spanish Ambassador to the Pope, 397, 408.
....., ..., his negotiations with the Pope respecting the English invasion, 541, 560–9, 593–5, 613, 618–22, 657–60.
O'More, the, 96.
O'Neil, Tirlough Lenough, 44, 53, 64, 72, 85, 86, 89, 121, 153, 163.
Oporto, 64.
....., Don Antonio defeated at and flight from, 69.
Orange, Prince of, 4, 15, 19, 34, 40, 42, 44, 47, 52, 67, 70, 77, 83, 93, 105, 128, 135, 149, 172, 248, 253, 256, 264–5, 275–6, 281–2, 295–6, 299, 308, 311, 347, 430, 434, 441–2, 445, 454, 456, 462, 487, 498, 512, 602.

Orange, Prince of, attempted assassination by Jauregui, 320, 325–9, 333–4, 336, 339, 342, 346, 348, 358, 359, 361, 377.

....., ..., marriage with the daughter of Coligny, 456.

....., Princess of, death of, 377.

Ore, castle of, Smerwick, fort occupied by the Papal forces, 59, 69.

Orkney and Shetland, anciently pledged to Scotland, their re-cession requested by Denmark, 546.

Orkney, Earl of, 688.

Orleans, 270.

Ormond, Earl of, 19, 53, 58, 63, 72, 86, 89, 96, 140, 319, 413, 421, 461, 557.

Oro, Pedro de, 409.

Osburton, Sebastian, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Ostend, French expelled from, 435.

Otombo, tower of, deposit of the Portuguese State Archives, 72, 143.

Oudenarde, 380, 386.

Oxford, Earl of, 172, 246, 533, 545, 546, 547.

P.

Pacheco, Captain Vasco Duarte, 559; his attempted assassination of Sir Edward Stafford, 585.

Padilla, Don Sancho de, 67.

Paget, Charles, his secret mission to England, 505–6, 510.

....., ..., an English Catholic refugee in France, 540; condemned for high treason, 547. 550, 576, 577, 587, 589, 627, 629, 641, 645, 664, 690.

....., Lord, his flight from England on the discovery of Throgmorton's plot, 511, 540, 541; condemned for high treason, 547, 550, 577, 582, 690.

....., William, a refugee in France, 109, 184; sent by Mary Queen of Scots to Mendoza, 581, 587, 596.

Pallavicini, Horatio, a Genoese banker in London, 180, 257, 545.

Panama, 341.

Pardin, Captain, *see* Perrin.

Parker, Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

Parliament, meetings of, 79, 81, 90, 208, 221, 256, 466, 531, 536, 537, 655, 673.

....., prorogation of, 10, 15, 531.

....., Acts against the Catholics in, 51, 70, 90, 106, 152–3, 531, 537, 538, 655.

....., condemns the Queen of Scots to death, 669, 675–6, 680.

....., Scots, 199–200, 207, 216, 237, 247, 288, 408, 418, 421, 495.

Parma, Duke of, letters to, from Mendoza, 635, 664.

Parma, Duke of, letters from, to Mendoza, 665.

....., ..., 5, 62, 67, 103–5, 126, 198, 239, 294, 296, 308, 324, 398, 403 406, 435, 441, 443, 445, 454, 466, 487, 504, 539, 559, 570, 584, 587, 591, 629, 643, 653–4, 656, 662, 670, 681, 690.

....., ..., his attitude towards the Scottish Catholic enterprise, 635–8, 665, 682–8.

....., ..., his marriage suggested with the Queen of Scots, 688.

....., ..., to co-operate with the Babington conspirators, 607–8, 615–16, 639.

Parry, Dr. William, arrest of, 533–4; beheaded, 535.

Passages in Biscay, 179.

Pasquier, 664.

Paulet, Sir Amyas, 538, 541, 547, 610, 625, 645–6, 681.

....., Hampden, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Peckham, Sir George, imprisoned in the Tower, 627.

Pei-choi, 76.

Pelham, —, 53, 168.

Pelican, the, Drake's ship 95; *see also* Deptford.

Pembroke, Earl of, 92, 552.

Peri-Jacome, of Terceira, 201–2.

Perreira, Gonzalo, of Fayal, 338, 360.

Perrin, Edward, Captain, an Englishman, born in the Azores, 82, 93, 569, 632, 650, 674.

Persia, trade with, 20, 365–7.

Persons, Father Robert, 195–7, 236, 242, 265, 276, 285–9, 320, 322–3, 351–2, 362–3, 372, 377–8, 383–4, 392, 485, 562, 621–2, 660.

....., William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

Perth, 491.

Philip II., letters from, to Mendoza, 29, 29, 49, 65, 67, 69, 78, 83, 86, 87, 88, 102, 102, 118, 149, 159, 160, 161, 164, 164, 172, 181, 181, 182, 202, 220, 221, 240, 242, 254, 255, 278, 278, 294, 294, 342, 358, 359, 373, 397, 403, 405, 499, 506, 519, 520, 539, 540, 543, 544, 544, 553, 573, 580, 590, 614, 614, 616, 630, 638, 639, 639, 656, 671, 679.

....., ..., to Juan de Vargas Mejia, 30.

....., ..., to J. B. Tassis, 379, 401, 436, 475.

....., ..., to Count Olivares, 517, 527, 593, 657.

....., ..., to Queen Elizabeth, 159.

....., ..., to Duke of Guise, 631.

....., letters to, from Mendoza, 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 27, 30, 33, 34, 35, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 47, 49, 51, 52, 54, 59, 60, 62, 63, 63, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 88, 89, 91, 93, 95, 97, 100, 101, 103, 106, 107, 110, 111, 113, 114, 116, 117, 119, 121, 125, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 132, 134, 136, 137, 138,

Philip II., letters to, from Mendoza—*cont.* 139, 140, 142, 145, 147, 148, 149, 151, 152, 152, 153, 155, 158, 161, 163, 164, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 177, 180, 182, 184, 185, 190, 192, 194, 197, 199, 201, 203, 206, 208, 209, 211, 216, 217, 218, 221, 222, 224, 225, 226, 229, 231, 232, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238, 238, 239, 242, 246, 249, 251, 255, 255, 260, 263, 264, 265, 266, 269, 272, 273, 276, 279, 280, 281, 283, 285, 289, 295, 297, 299, 300, 301, 303, 306, 310, 312, 313, 316, 317, 319, 320, 321, 322, 324, 326, 329, 329, 333, 335, 336, 336, 339, 340, 344, 346, 347, 349, 349, 352, 355, 356, 358, 360, 362, 364, 365, 375, 377, 379, 380, 384, 387, 389, 394, 395, 398, 400, 405, 406, 406, 408, 410, 412, 414, 416, 417, 418, 420, 421, 425, 428, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 441, 442, 445, 449, 452, 452, 455, 456, 458, 459, 460, 462, 465, 470, 471, 472, 477, 486, 492, 495, 496, 497, 499, 510, 512, 513, 515, 530, 531, 533, 534, 536, 536, 537, 538, 539, 541, 545, 546, 547, 549, 549, 550, 551, 552, 552, 556, 557, 557, 558, 559, 559, 569, 570, 571, 572, 574, 577, 577, 579, 582, 583, 584, 586, 591, 595, 595, 598, 599, 601, 603, 610, 612, 617, 618, 623, 624, 627, 639, 641, 643, 644, 644, 646, 648, 660, 660, 662, 666, 666, 667, 669, 670, 679, 681, 689.

....., ..., from Count Olivares, 525, 528, 541, 560, 613, 619.

....., ..., from J. B. Tassis, 444, 461, 463, 479, 487, 507, 511.

....., ..., from James VI., 690.

....., his relations with Mary Queen of Scots, 23, 30, 31, 34, 98–100, 103, 109, 123, 149–50, 160, 169, 205–6, 221, 241, 258–60, 289, 330, 343, 358–9, 362, 382–4, 392–4, 395–6, 404, 407, 447–8, 465–70, 476, 491–2, 529–30, 574, 589, 590, 597, 679.

..... grants of money to Mary Queen of Scots, 574, 587–8, 589, 590–1, 597, 598, 629.

....., is appealed to by the Scots Catholics, 4, 5, 6, 13, 26, 77, 100, 286–9, 289–93, 309, 314, 317, 330–3, 343, 349–52, 368, 370–3, 377–9, 382–3, 427, 475–6, 491–2, 521–5.

....., his claim to the English Crown, 563–4, 581, 587, 590–1, 644, 646, 647, 660, 670.

....., his reasons for the intended invasion of England, 562–4, 576, 613, 619, 657.

....., his opinions on the Babington plot, 603–7, 614–16, 627–8.

....., his anxiety for the Queen of Scots, 679.

....., the conditions of his marriage with Mary of England, 417.

Piblac, M. de, 50.

Picton, John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.

Pinart, Claude, Secretary, 91, 110, 119, 137, 229–31, 232, 238, 252, 256, 261, 271, 273, 276, 279–80, 316, 317–18, 411, 556, 560, 572.

....., Pinart, son of, is sent to England respecting the Alençon match, 260–1.

Pinto, Juan, of Rio-de-la-Plata, captured by the England, 496–7.

Piracy, 3, 11, 32, 44, 47, 55, 94, 115, 125, 138, 157, 162, 171, 178, 186, 199, 202, 203, 210, 225, 255, 263, 264, 284, 297, 298, 302, 305, 329, 365, 406, 410, 433, 507, 511, 537, 542, 557, 576, 578, 584, 599–600, 603, 624, 633–4, 643–4, 652–3, 661, 666, 671, 677–8.

Plessy, 34, 35, 38.

Plunkett, —, an Irish priest hanged at Smerwick, 69.

Plymouth, 3, 51, 55, 62–3, 144, 149, 162, 174, 199, 202, 283, 285, 297, 313, 319, 326, 334, 414, 433, 511, 545–7, 547–52, 572, 610–11.

....., arrival of a French ship in, with arms for the Portuguese rebels, 35.

....., port of, to be secured for the Babington conspirators by Sir William Courtney, 604.

Pointz, Anthony, an English Catholic proposes to serve the Spaniards secretly, 570–1, 574, 662, 689.

....., Nicholas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Poland, King of, 368–70.

Poley, —, a Catholic spy in the house of Walsingham, 592.

Pope, *see* Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.

Porter, Giles, an Englishman in Spanish pay, 456.

Porto Rico, Drake's attack upon, 584.

Portsmouth, 43, 199.

Portugal, Regents of, 27, 31, 48.

....., trade with, 10, 64, 654–5.

....., Philip's succession to the Crown of, 10, 16, 20, 24, 28, 38, 39, 40, 43, 45, 47, 49, 214.

Portuguese Ambassador, *see* Castillo.

Portuguese Jews in London, 113.

Price, Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Primrose, the ship, 414, 537; kidnaps the Lieutenant-Governor of Biscay, 543.

Prince, Saint, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

Privateers, *see* Piracy.

Proclamation against the Queen of Scotland, 676, 678.

Protestant powers, proposed league of, *see* Northern confederation.

Protestant propaganda in Spain, 177, 219.

Prunart, M. de, 222.

Pruneaux, M. de, 347.

Puritanism, growth of, in England, 496.

Q.

Quinsé, M. de, 269, 271.

R.

Raleigh, Sir Walter, 501, 520; knighted, 532. 538, 661, 668–9.
....., ..., expeditions fitted out by him, 520, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 539, 543, 552, 599, 661, 666.
....., ..., alleged complicity in the Babington plot, 623.
....., ..., his approaches to the Spaniards, 669.
Ramequin, 406.
Randolph, Sir Thomas, Master of the Posts, his embassy to Scotland, 77, 79, 81, 96; his flight from Scotland, 100. 107, 108, 148; again sent to Scotland, 573. 578, 583.
Recalde, Juan, Martinez de, sails to encounter Hawkin's fleet, 643, 649.
Red Lion (ship), 537.
Redshanks, Scotch soldiers in Ireland, 53, 85.
Reprisals suggested by the Spaniards for Drake's depredations, 94–5, 138, 173, 190, 192, 208, 210, 241.
Revolving cannon, invention of, by Baron Schomberg, 368–9.
Riario, Cardinal, Nuncio at Madrid, 135.
Ribaut, Jean, his expedition to Florida, 349, 361, 385.
Richmond, 176, 186, 198, 203.
Rimini, Bishop of, Castelli, Nuncio in France, 505.
Rinaldo, Biagio, a Genoese merchant in London, 158.
Ripplemond, the Archives, of, 181, 200, 220.
Rivero, Antonio de, 346.
Robert, Captain, 255, 264, 273, 284, 301.
Roche, de la, 381.
Rochelle, 297, 307, 360, 386, 538, 624, 642, 649.
Rochester, 178, 280.
....., warlike stores sent to, 35, 49.
Rodriguez, Amador, a Portuguese silversmith in London, 157–8.
Rodriguez, de Souza, Juan, envoy from Don Antonio, 47, 48, 50, 52, 55, 64, 68, 77, 81, 82, 90, 93, 101, 115, 125, 138–9, 142, 146, 147, 149, 156, 177–8, 178, 183.
Rogers, Daniel, English envoy to the Emperor at Nuremberg, captured by the Spaniards, 62, 296.
Romero, Julian, Colonel, 570.
Rosa Antonio, of Coutrai, 181, 200, 220.
Rose, Lord, 688.
Ross, Bishop of, 587, 664.
Rothes, Earl of, 489, 688.
Rothesay Castle, 413.
Rouen, 322–3, 359, 399–400, 584.
Royal Exchange, document against Spain posted on the pillars of, 419.
Ruggiero, Cosmé, 584, 551, 552.
Russell, Lord, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, killed in a riot on the Scotch border, 545.
....., Captain William, 435, 441, 442.
....., Sir William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Rusticucci, Cardinal, 640.
Ruthven, Lord, 407, 412, 426, 431, 439, 451; resigns his office of treasurer, 460. 486, 489, 490–1, 503; his unsuccessful rising against the Catholic lords, 526.
Rutland, Earl of, 504, 583, 602.

S.

Saddler, Sir Ralph, in charge of the Queen of Scots, 530.
Sakers, cannon for Terceira, 297.
St. Aignan, 222.
St. Aldegonde, 93, 203, 207, 218, 222, 241, 248, 256, 257, 264, 268, 283, 335, 572.
St. Andrew, flight of James VI. to, 490.
St. Bernard, near Antwerp, 381, 442.
St. Goard, French Ambassador in Spain, 13, 23.
St. Helena, Island of, 297.
St. Jean de Luz, 152.
St. John's Town, *see* Perth.
St. Mary's Port, 21.
St. Michael, Azores, 71, 144, 201, 229, 338, 397, 414–15, 419, 501, 649, 653.
St. Nicholas, 365, 387, 395.
St. Omer, 432.
St. Ubes, 77, 142–143, 145.
St. Vincent, Cape, 302, 306.
St. Vincent Port, 496.
Salamona, ship belonging to Alderman Bond, 152, 179.
Salazar, Cristobal de, Spanish Ambassador in Venice, 367, 433, 465.
Salcedo, Captain, his plot to assassinate Orange and Alençon, 402, 412.
Salisbury, —, executed for the Babington Plot, 641*n*.
Salt, export from Spain, 83, 421, 432, 576, 662.
Saltash, Drake's plunder deposited there, 59.

Saltoun, Lord, 688.
Salvariccia, Bartolomé, a Genoese agent of Mendoza expelled from England for complicity in a plot to poison Orange, 478.
Sampson (Antonio de Escobar), a Portuguese spy in Paris, 537, 551–2, 579, 611–12, 648, 650, 667, 671.
Sampson's advices from England, 592, 599, 602, 611, 632, 670.
San Antonio, Azores, 415.
Sancerre, Count de, 91.
San Clemente, Don Guillen, 370.
Sanders, Doctor, 17, 44, 59, 69–70, 97; his death, 97*n*. 118, 119, 211, 278, 301.
Sandwich, 198, 247.
Sandys, Archbishop of York, *see* York.
San Giuseppe, Colonel Sebastian, commands the Papal forces in Ireland, 58–9, 443.
San Julian, Port of, Brazil, 75, 340.
San Juan, Spanish ship plundered by Drake, 80.
San Lorenzo, Island of, 75.
San Lucar, 424.
Sanquhar, Lord, 688.
San Sebastian, 152, 283, 419.
....., Castle of, Azores, 415.
Santa Catalina, Azores, 415.
Santa Cilia, Captain, 17.
Santa Cruz, Marquis of, 36, 183, 338, 397, 414, 419, 501, 574, 580.
....., ..., Morocco, 277.
Santa Maria, Azores, 415.
Santander, 40.
San Thomé, 678.
Santo Domingo, Azores, 76, 202, 337, 511.
....., (West Indies) Drake's attack upon, 573–4, 576, 578, 580, 583–4, 586, 600, 626, 651.
Sanzio, Cardinal, 541, 560, 569, 613.
Sarmiento de Gamboa, Pedro de, captured by the English, 651, 654, 661, 666–7, 668, 672, 673–4, 677.
Savage, —, executed for the Babington Plot, 641*n*.
Savello, Cardinal, 532.
Savona, M. de, proposed Nuncio to France, 505.
Savoy, Duke of, Charles Emmanuel, 78, 391.
Saxony, Duke of, writes a book against the doctrines of Luther, 362.
Scilly Isles, 166, 182.
Schismatics, 603, 629–630.
Schomberg, Baron Gaspar, 248, 283, 366–9, 380, 386.
....., ..., his information regarding the diversion of the East Indian Trade through Russia, 365–8.
....., ..., his invention of a revolving cannon, &c., 368–9.
....., Marshal, 248, 281.
Schornau, Hans, Swiss Captain of Alençon's guard, 248, 253–4, 265.
Scotch Councillors to be bribed by Spain, 293, 310, 383, 451, 489.
Scotland, English plots in, 77, 79, 81, 96, 100, 107, 108, 148, 320, 324, 352, 388, 395, 397, 400, 401–3, 405, 407, 408, 408, 412–13, 418, 420–1, 422–3, 426, 434, 455, 488, 524, 535, 552–3, 683.
....., Catholic conspiracy in, 169, 170.
....., relations with France, 420, 422–5, 426–33, 437, 489, 520.
....., Spanish intrigues in, 5, 6, 7, 184, 193–7.
Scottish aid to the Flemish Insurgents, 536, 543, 573, 578, 583, 595, 627, 661.
Scottish border, fatal riot upon the, 545.
Scottish Catholics, attacks upon, 216–217, 224, 385, 396–7, 400, 520, 526.
....., ..., money aid from Spain and the Pope to, 436.
Scottish Catholic nobles act against the English faction, 405, 412, 489–91.
Scottish nobles solicit the aid of foreign forces, 286–9, 291–4, 309, 314, 317, 330–3, 343, 349–52, 363, 370–3, 377–9, 382–4, 428, 436, 448, 487–8, 494, 521–5.
Scottish Catholic nobles appeal to Philip for aid, 487–8, 589–90, 595–7, 630–1, 635–8, 639–640, 656, 665–6, 667–8, 681–9.
Scottish Nobility, statement of, 688.
Searider of Ampsteede (ship), 554.
Sebastian, Henry, 146.
....., Paul, 146.
Sedan, Prince of, 110.
Selby, Captain, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
....., Rowland, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Seminary Priests, 38, 538.
Semple, Lord, 688.
Sendye, Arthur, sent to Denmark, 466.
Sennet, Mr., 457.
Seton, Alexander, 323, 331, 351; arrested, 458.
....., John, 216, 323, 331, 351, 399; sent to Spain, 487.
....., ..., sent by James VI. to England, 107; his return, 108. 123, 194.
....., Lady, 289.
....., Lord, 123, 194, 216, 287, 288, 292, 399, 517, 531, 688.
Serradas, Manuel, Governor of Madeira, 377.
Seville, merchants of, demand restitution of Drake's plunder, 61, 65–6, 73, 83, 94, 107, 164, 189–90, 208.
Sherwin, —, execution of, 231.
Shipping, English, 8, 9, 19, 155, 162, 199, 212, 237, 238, 246, 264, 268, 278, 297, 306, 357, 432–3, 434, 520, 532, 537, 572, 578, 582, 583, 584, 585, 599–601, 610–1, 624, 627, 632–4, 652–3, 673–4.
Shirley, Sir Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 553, 554.
Shrewsbury, Countess of, 426, 451–2, 455, 471, 473, 495, 546, 602, 688.

Shrewsbury, Earl of, 10, 43, 77, 79, 300–1, 332, 471, 495, 504; alleged attempt to poison, 542. 546, 602.
Sidney, Sir Henry, his death, 582.
....., Philip, 172, 178, 384, 547, 548, 550, 582, 585; his death, 650.
....., Robert, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554; commands the English troops at Flushing, 680.
Silva, Manuel de, 145, 149, 166, 232, 337, 338, 345, 346, 360, 419, 467, 487.
....., Commander of St. John, 158.
....., Jeronimo de, 158.
Silvio, 592.
Simier, Jehan de, his quarrel with Leicester, 1, 2, 244*n*.
....., ..., 1, 26, 44, 243–4, 245, 260–2; in disgrace with Alençon, 262. 265–9, 272; is ostensibly restored to favour, 390–1. 459, 641.
Sinclair, Lord, 547, 688.
Sion House, near Richmond, prepared for Alençon's reception, 185, 198.
Sixtus V., Pope, 539, 541, 640.
....., his participation in the plans for the invasion of England, 539, 541, 560–9, 593–5, 613, 618–22, 657–60, 685–6.
....., his Bull against the Bourbons, 556*n*, 647.
....., to be kept in ignorance of the Scottish enterprise, 640.
Skille, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Skipworth, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Sluys, the, 409, 421, 435.
Smerwick, 59, 69.
Smith, —, Custom House officer, Don Antonio lodges in his house near Dover, 178.
....., Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 556.
Snede, William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Soissons, Count de, Charles de Bourbon, 91.
Solwood, John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Somers, 172, 458; in charge of the Queen of Scots, 530.
Somersetshire, description of, 610.
Somerville, —, his alleged intention to kill the Queen, 511.
....., Lord, 688.
Sosa, Count de, envoy from the Duke of Savoy, 78, 80.
Souza, Francisco, Antonio de, *see* Souza.
....., Jeronimo de, an adherent of Don Antonio, appeals for pardon to Philip, 499, 507.
Southampton, 156, 179, 414, 417, 432, 433, 626, 642.
Southampton, Earl of, 50.
Sound, the, passage of English ships through, 366, 409.
Southward, Sir John, joins in the Babington plot, 605.
Southwell, —, his arrest, 78.
Souza, Francisco Antonio de, 247, 255, 298, 360, 377.
Spain, Queen of, *see* Anne of Austria.
Spain, trade with, 8, 11, 19, 24, 29, 36, 40, 43, 47, 64, 67, 68, 72, 106, 130, 148, 152, 155, 174, 179, 192, 208–9, 219, 235, 263, 283–4, 303, 308, 385, 599–600, 636, 652, 654–5.
Spaniards in England, expulsion of, 557.
Spanish strength at sea, 56–7.
Spanish war preparations, 10, 11, 21, 24, 88, 107, 130, 150, 160, 557, 573, 580, 585, 588, 592, 629.
Spes, Don Guerau de, formerly Spanish Ambassador in England, 188–9.
Spice trade, proposed diversion of, to England through Russia, 365–8, 433, 465.
Staferton, Thomas, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Stafford, Sir Edward, 1, 2, 10, 15, 38, 39, 52, 68, 71, 76, 203, 211, 311.
....., ..., appointed English Ambassador in France, 500, 528, 538, 548–9, 556, 559, 560, 623, 629, 641, 648, 680.
....., ..., English Ambassador in France, bribed by Spain, 528, 575–6, 648.
....., ..., English Ambassador in France, attempted assassination of, by Captain Vasco Duarte Pacheco, 585.
....., ..., intercedes with Henry III. for the Queen of Scots, 641, 648, 660.
Stafford, Edward, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
....., Humphrey, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
....., Lady, Mistress of the Robes, 274, 416, 457, 496.
Staffordshire, description of, 610.
Stanley, Sir William, deserts to the Spaniards and betrays Deventer, 689.
....., ..., to accompany Leicester to Holland in command of a regiment, 553.
....., ..., joins in the Babington plot, 604, 607.
....., ..., treachery of, 604, 607.
Stapleton, Sir Robert, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554, 670.
Star Chamber, 210.
Stelan, William (?) Bond's agent in Seville, 184.
Stewart, James, *see* Arran, Earl of.
....., Esmé D'Aubigny, *see* Lennox.
Stirling, Convention at, 23, 32.
....., 526, 553.
....., plot to burn, 107.
Storey, Dr., kidnapped in the Netherlands, 189.
Stourton, Lord, joins in the Babington plot, 604.

Strange, Lord, joins in the Babington plot, 604.
Strozzi, —, his expeditions to the Azores in the interests of Don Antonio, 214, 306; his defeat at St. Michaels, 397–8.
Stuart, Arabella, her marriage suggested to a son of the Duke of Parma, 688.
....., Colonel, colonel of the King's Guard, 458, 460, 489, 525.
....., ..., proposal for his desertion from the service of the states to the Spaniards, 27, 184.
....., ..., is sent by James VI. to England, 451, 458, 460–1, 471–4, 477, 478, 489, 495.
....., ..., his mission to Mendoza from the Scotch Catholic Nobles, 681–2, 689.
....., Sir William, Constable of Dumbarton Castle, 50, 81.
Stubbs, 1.
Stukeley, his expedition to Florida, 349.
Suarez, Manuel Martinez de, of St. Michael's, 336.
Suctrabam (?), Russia, 365.
Suffolk, description of, 609.
Sumner, Edward, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Surrey, Earl of, restored in blood, Earl of Arundel, 90.
Susannah (ship), 414.
Sussex, Earl of, 16, 31, 40, 42, 54, 59, 75, 78, 84, 102, 110, 114, 116, 131, 134, 140, 154, 175, 185, 186, 188, 191, 206, 211, 222, 223, 230, 234, 246, 249, 252 260–1, 263, 267–8, 272, 274–6, 303, 307, 310–12, 317–18, 327, 346, 352, 358, 364, 375, 390, 412.
....., ..., quarrels with Leicester, 275–6.
Sussex, description of, 609.
Sutherland, Earl of, 688.
Swan, of Berel (ship), 554.
Sweden, King of, suggested election to the throne of Poland, 380, 386.
Sympcote, John (or Jan), an English merchant trading with Barbary, 277, 424–5.
Syria, 456.

T.

Tantallon Castle, 148.
Tassis, Juan Bautista de, letters from, 98, 204, 370, 377, 400, 426, 444, 461, 463, 479, 487, 507, 511, 521, 521, 526.
....., ..., letters to, from Philip II., 436, 475, 525, 527, 528.
....., ..., Spanish ambassador in France, 32, 66, 116, 361, 446, 478, 498, 500, 519.
Tassis, Juan Bautista, his remonstrance to Catherine de Medici against Alençon's action, 86.
....., ..., his negotiations with the Scotch Catholics, 98–9, 100, 234–6, 330, 370–3, 377–9, 392, 395, 401–2, 405, 426–8, 436, 440, 461–2, 463–4, 475–6, 479–86, 487–8, 494, 507–10, 521–5, 526–7.
....., ..., is distrusted by Mary Queen of Scots, 448.
....., ..., his views on the proposed invasion of England, 521–5.
Teligny, Sieur de, Odet de la Noue, 18.
Terceira, Isle of, Azores, in favour of Don Antonio, 111, 114, 145, 225, 234, 246, 255, 334, 336, 337, 338, 346, 414; proposal to betray to Philip, 415–6, 419, 467, 478, 487, 653.
...., ... expedition for the relief of, 115, 116, 125, 128, 129, 137, 144, 147, 149, 157, 160, 161, 163, 166, 181, 191, 199, 201, 208, 228, 232, 255, 304, 306, 307, 312–13, 334, 337, 339, 361, 391, 409, 417, 419, 421, 432, 433, 459, 478, 501, 507, 643, 649.
....., ..., ..., specie and goods from, 225, 234, 246, 255, 263, 264, 273, 279, 284, 285, 295, 297, 301–2, 307, 312–13, 325, 345, 391, 414.
....., ..., refugees from, 414–19, 421, 432, 433, 443.
....., ..., base money to be coined at, for Don Antonio, 417.
Terremonde, 442, 453.
Texel, 421.
Thomas (or Thom) of Lyun (ship), 554.
Thomas, Captain William, 226.
Thornax, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Throgmorton, Francis, his plot against the Queen, 502, 510–12, 513.
....., George, his incarceration in the Tower, 512, 513.
....., Thomas, 540; condemned for high treason, 547. 550, 690.
Throgmortons, the, of Shropshire, join in the Babington plot, 605.
Tichborne, Master, 547; executed for the Babington plot, 641*n*.
Tierra del Fuego, discovered to be an island, 340–2.
Tilney, —, executed for the Babington plot, 641*n*.
Todos los Santos, 302.
Toulouse, 270.
Tooke, Walter, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Torpichen, Lord, 688.
Torres Vedras, Count of, *see* Silva.
Tournai, surrender of, 239, 324.
....., 642.
Travers, —, executed for the Babington plot, 641*n*.

Treasurer, *see* Knollys.
....., Lord, *see* Cecil.
Trentham, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Tresham, Thomas, 236, 364, 547.
....., Sir Thomas, joins in the Babington plot, 604.
....., William, 236, 364.
Tricll, M. de la, *see* Estrelle.
Tripoli, 433, 456, 465.
Turbervil, George, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Turenne, Marquis de, 163.
....., Viscount de, 660.
Turk, the, threatened descent of, upon Italy, 65.
....., ambassador from, 65, 70, 107, 431.
Turkey, ambassador from, in France opposed by the Pope, 256.
....., English ambassador to, 425, 432, 532.
....., trade with, 10, 65, 72, 107, 138, 366–7, 414, 456.
Tyrell, George, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.

U.

Ughtred (ship), 357, 410.
Ughtred, Henry, 410, 432.
Umpton, —, to accompany Leicester to Holland, 554; *see also* Unton.
Unton, Sir Edward, arrested by the Inquisition at Milan, 443.

V.

Vaez, Baltazar, 675.
....., Pedro, 183.
Valdez, Don Francisco, 201.
....., Don Pedro de, Spanish admiral, 29, 36, 77, 150, 160.
Valette, La, 280; *see also* Epernon.
Valois, Marguerite de, Princess of Bearn, 592.
Van Erpe Joost, a Flemish banker in London, 106.
Vargas Mejia, Juan de, letters from, 4, 12, 23, 26, 32.
....., ..., letters to, from Secretary Idiaquez, 22.
Vargas Mejia, Juan de, his negotiations with the Scots Catholics, 4, 12, 13, 22–3, 26, 30; death of, 32. 100, 293.
Vasquez, Secretary Mateo, letter from, 321.
....., Mateo, secretary, 479.
Vaughan, Lord, 688.
....., a privateer captain, 162, 178.
Vaux, Lord, joins in the Babington plot, 604.
Vega, Antonio de, letter from, to Philip II., 672, 678.
....., ..., a Portuguese spy, 202, 210, 232, 339, 639; proposes the murder of Don Antonio in England, 675–7.
Velutelli, —, Lucchese banker in London, 18, 162.
Venice, 107, 368.
...., proposed ambassador in London from, 474.
Ventidal (Uvedale ?), an English resident at St. Vincent, 74.
Verde, Cape de, 137.
Verdugo, Spanish General in Flanders, 247.
Very, Abbé de, attends Protestant service at Westminster, 276.
Viana, town of, captured by Don Antonio, 63, 89.
...., 313.
Vigo, 313.
Villa Real, P. de, 651, 653–4.
Villars, 44.
Villeroy, Secretary, 549, 556, 574, 626, 629, 632, 667, 689.
....., ..., proposes co-operation with Spain against England, 539–40, 544.
Vilvorde, 442, 453.
Vimioso, Count, adherent of Don Antonio, 101, 115, 116, 125, 139, 145, 158.
....., Countess, banished from Portugal, 164, 183.
Visante, Martin, 32.
Viteaux, Baron, 381.
Volga River, 365–7.
Vray, Jacques de, Alençon's secretary, 26, 31, 34, 91, 110, 116, 119, 121, 138, 151.

W.

Waad, —, *see* Wade.
Wade, Sir William, to be sent to Spain respecting Mendoza's expulsion, 516; his arrival, 520. 521.
....., ..., 533, 534–5; sent to France to demand the surrender of Morgan, 535. 536.
....., ..., examines papers of Mary Queen of Scots on the discovery of the Babington plot, 625–6.

Waigatz, 76.
Waigthes, William, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Wake, John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Walcheren, Isle of, 103.
Wales, description of, 610.
Walsingham, Sir Francis, letter from, to Mendoza, 534.
....., ..., 2, 15, 16, 18, 34, 40, 42, 47, 52, 55, 68, 74, 85, 93, 101, 110, 115, 121, 127, 128, 130, 135, 136, 140–1, 144, 145–6, 148, 151, 174, 179, 185, 193, 198, 201, 202, 206, 208, 209, 211, 218, 221, 226, 228, 232, 234, 247, 249, 255, 263, 267–8, 281, 285, 296, 297, 298, 305, 311, 313, 316, 320, 324–5, 327, 329, 331, 334, 345, 346, 353, 364, 374, 375–6, 384, 388, 389, 698, 404, 407–8, 410, 418, 425, 430, 445, 451, 452, 455, 457, 459, 466, 471, 472–3, 477, 478, 496–9, 513, 515, 520, 532, 534, 542, 573, 592, 602, 623, 625, 627, 646, 650, 653–4, 655, 673, 680, 689.
....., ..., his mission to France, 151–2, 155–6, 158–9, 164–6, 172, 175, 178, 180, 185.
....., ..., refuses the mission to Scotland, 499; accepts, 499.
....., ..., his opinion of the gravity of the Babington plot, 623.
....., ..., Mendoza recommends the Babington conspirators to kill him, 607.
Walsingham's wife, 166.
Ward, Richard, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Warwick, Countess of, 325.
Waterford, 62.
Watson, Edward, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Wattes, John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Westmoreland, description of, 609.
Westmoreland, Earl of, letters from, to Philip II., 597, 632.
....., ..., 19, 372, 485, 504, 521, 523, 608, 616, 630, 632, 690.
....., ..., to join the Babington rising, 606.
Weston, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 554.
Wheat, export of, from England, 117–18.
Whetstone, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
White Bear (ship), 319, 326, 329.
White Falcon (ship), 71.
Whittinghame, —, a brother of Archibald Douglas, 107, 122.
Whittington (?), John, intelligence from England brought by, 520.
Wight, Isle of, 65, 178, 187, 199, 218, 235, 263, 306, 360, 432, 543, 618.
Wilkes, Clerk of the Council, 191, 511.
Willebroeck, 442.
Willoughby d'Eresby, Lord, 381, 409; sent to Germany to raise troops for Henry of Navarre, 547; *see also* Bertie.
Wilson, Secretary, 37, 47, 50, 52, 54, 93, 146, 183.
Wiltshire, description of, 610.
Windsor, Lord, joins in the Babington plot, 604, 606.
Windsor's, Lord, brother, one of the Babington conspirators, escapes, 623.
Winter, Captain, 17, 51, 71, 101, 144, 357, 385.
....., —, his return from Magellan, 3*n*, 340–1, 357.
Woad from the Azores, 71, 73, 88, 116, 125, 337, 345, 478.
Woodrowe, Sir Nicholas, Lord Mayor of London, 144.
Worcester, Earl of, 50, 504.
Wotton, Edward, English Ambassador in Scotland, 546; dismissed by the King, 552.
....., Sir Edward, to be sent to Spain respecting the expulsion of Mendoza, 515.
....., Henry (?), sent to Henry III. with proofs of the complicity of the Queen of Scots with the Babington plot, 644–6, 660, 666.
....., John, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Wright, Christopher, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555,

Y.

Yañez, Martin, a Biscayner, 419.
York, Archbishop of (Edwin Sandys), 14, 92.
Yorke, Edward, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Yorkshire, description of, 609.
....., Catholic gentry of, arrested for complicity in the Babington plot, 670, 680–1.

Z.

Zante, 138.
Zayas, Secretary, 239, 284, 293, 322.

Zeeland, 273, 421, 442, 462, 487, 538, 543, 545, 570–1, 679–80.
Zouch, Captain, an English officer in Ireland, 83, 265.
Zouche, —, accompanies Leicester to Holland, 555.
Zubiaur, Pedro de, 32, 65–6, 73, 78, 83, 87, 94, 107, 118, 164, 209, 535.
Zubiaur, Pedro de, is arrested in London for complicity in the attempted murder of Orange, 325; negotiations for his release, 534; re-arrested and sent to the Tower, 539. 542, 549; is exchanged and sent to Holland, 655–6.
Zutphen, the battle of, 651.

ERRATA.

Page 93, line 15 from bottom, *for* "Sr. Aldegonde" *read* "St. Aldegonde."
„ 144, line 20 from top, *for* "St. Michael" *read* "St. Michaels."
„ 194, line 22 from bottom, *for* "Eglington" *read* "Eglinton.'
„ 206, line 24 from top, *for* "gallaries" *read* "galleries."
„ 266, line 5 from bottom, *for* "Leicaster" *read* "Leicester."
„ 339, line 7 from top, *for* "Dominician" *read* "Dominican."
„ 454, line 6 from top, *for* "Flaners" *read* "Flanders."
„ 533, line 16 from top, *for* "of" *read* "to."

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

Page 79, Sir James Bedford mentioned on this page is called Bedfort in the origina deciphering, but doubtless the person referred to was Sir James Balfour.

CATALOGUE

(*Revised to 30th December* 1895)

OF

ENGLISH, SCOTCH, AND IRISH RECORD PUBLICATIONS,

REPORTS OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION,

AND

ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE DEPUTY KEEPERS OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS, ENGLAND AND IRELAND,

Printed for

HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,

And to be purchased,

Either directly or through any Bookseller, from

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE, EAST HARDING STREET, FLEET STREET, E.C.; or

JOHN MENZIES & Co., 12, HANOVER STREET, EDINBURGH, and 90, WEST NILE STREET, GLASGOW; or

HODGES, FIGGIS, & Co., LIMITED, 104, GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

CONTENTS.

Page

Calendars of State Papers, &c. - - - - - 3

Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes - - - - 8

Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages - - - - - - - 9

Publications of the Record Commissioners, &c. - - - 20

Works Published in Photozincography - - - - 22

Historical Manuscripts Commission - - - - 24

Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records - - 29

Scotch Record Publications - - - - - - 33

Irish Record Publications - - - - - - 34

Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Ireland - 35

ENGLAND.

CALENDARS OF STATE PAPERS, &c.

[IMPERIAL 8VO., cloth. *Price* 15*s*. each Volume or Part.]

As far back as the year 1800, a Committee of the House of Commons recommended that Indexes and Calendars should be made to the Public Records, and thirty-six years afterwards another Committee of the House of Commons reiterated that recommendation in more forcible words; but it was not until the incorporation of the State Paper Office with the Public Record Office that the Master of the Rolls found himself in a position to take the necessary steps for carrying out the wishes of the House of Commons.

On 7 December 1855, he stated to the Lords of the Treasury that although "the Records, State Papers, and Documents in his charge constitute the most complete and perfect series of their kind in the civilized world," and although "they are of the greatest value in a historical and constitutional point of view, yet they are comparatively useless to the public, from the want of proper Calendars and Indexes."

Their Lordships assented to the necessity of having Calendars prepared and printed, and empowered the Master of the Rolls to take such steps as might be necessary for this purpose.

The following Works have been already published in this Series:—

CALENDARIUM GENEALOGICUM; for the Reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. *Edited by* CHARLES ROBERTS, Secretary of the Public Record Office. 2 Vols. 1865.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. Vol. I.—1066–1377. *(Out of print.)* Vol. II.—1377–1654. Vol. III., Appendix and Index. 1869–1885.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT DEEDS, preserved in the Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. 1890–1894.

CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD I. preserved in the Public Record Office, prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Vol. II. 1281–1292. Vol. III. 1292–1301. 1893–1895.

CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II. preserved in the Public Record Office, prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Vol. I. 1307–1313. 1894.

CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD III. preserved in the Public Record Office, prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1891–1895.

Vol. I.—1327–1330.
Vol. II.—1330–1334.
Vol. III.—1334–1338.

CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II. preserved in the Public Record Office, prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Vol. I. 1377–1381. 1895.

CALENDAR OF THE CLOSE ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II. preserved in the Public Record Office, prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1892–1894.

Vol. I.—1307–1313.
Vol. II.—1313–1318.
Vol. III.—1318–1323.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, and elsewhere in England. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London (Vols. I.–IV.); and *by* JAMES GAIRDNER, an Assistant Record Keeper (Vols. V.–XII.). 1862–1894.

Vol. I.—1509–1514. (*Out of print.*)
Vol. II. (in two Parts)—1515–1518. (*Part I. out of print.*)
Vol. III. (in two Parts)—1519–1523.
Vol. IV.—Introduction.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—1524–1526.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—1526–1528.
Vol. IV., Part 3.—1529–1530.
Vol. V.—1531–1532.
Vol. VI.—1533.
Vol. VII.—1534.
Vol. VIII.—1535, to July.
Vol. IX.— 1535, Aug. to Dec.
Vol. X.— 1536, Jan. to June.
Vol. XI.—1536, July to Dec.
Vol. XII., Part 1.—1537, Jan. to May.
Vol. XII., Part 2.—1537, June to Dec.
Vol. XIII., Part 1.—1538, Jan. to July.
Vol. XIII., Part 2.—1538, Aug. to Dec.
Vol. XIV., Part 1.—1539, Jan. to July.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI., MARY, ELIZABETH, and JAMES I., preserved in the Public Record Office. *Edited by* ROBERT LEMON, F.S.A. (Vols. I. and II.), *and by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN (Vols. III.–XII.). 1856–1872.

Vol. I.— 1547–1580.
Vol. II.— 1581–1590.
Vol. III.—1591–1594. (*Out of print.*)
Vol. IV.—1595–1597.
Vol. V.— 1598–1601.
Vol. VI.— 1601–1603, with Addenda, 1547–1565.
Vol. VII.— Addenda, 1566–1579.
Vol. VIII.—1603–1610.
Vol. IX.— 1611–1618.
Vol. X.— 1619–1623.
Vol. XI.— 1623–1625, with Addenda, 1603–1625.
Vol. XII.— Addenda, 1580–1625.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I., preserved in the Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOHN BRUCE, F.S.A. (Vols. I.–XII.); *by* JOHN BRUCE, F.S.A., and WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, F.S.A. (Vol. XIII.); and *by* WILLIAM DOUGLAS HAMILTON, F.S.A. (Vols. XIV.–XXII.). 1858–1893.

Vol. I.— 1625–1626.
Vol. II.— 1627–1628.
Vol. III.— 1628–1629.
Vol. IV.— 1629–1631.
Vol. V.— 1631–1633.
Vol. VI.— 1633–1634.
Vol. VII.— 1634–1635.
Vol. VIII.—1635.
Vol. IX.— 1635–1636.
Vol. X.— 1636–1637.
Vol. XI.— 1637.
Vol. XII.— 1637–1638.
Vol. XIII.— 1638–1639.
Vol. XIV.— 1639.
Vol. XV.— 1639–1640.
Vol. XVI.— 1640.
Vol. XVII.— 1640–1641.
Vol. XVIII.—1641–1643.
Vol. XIX.— 1644.
Vol. XX.— 1644–1645.
Vol. XXI.— 1645–1647.
Vol. XXII.— 1648–1649.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in the Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. 1875–1885.

Vol. I.— 1649–1650.
Vol. II.— 1650.
Vol. III.— 1651.
Vol. IV.— 1651–1652.
Vol. V.— 1652–1653.
Vol. VI.— 1653–1654.
Vol VII.—1654.
Vol. VIII.—1655.
Vol. IX.— 1655–1656.
Vol. X.— 1656–1657.
Vol. XI.— 1657–1658.
Vol. XII.— 1658–1659.
Vol. XIII.—1659–1660.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS:—COMMITTEE FOR THE ADVANCE OF MONEY, 1642–1656. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Parts I.–III., 1888.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS:—COMMITTEE FOR COMPOUNDING, &c., 1643–1660 *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Parts I.–V., 1889–1892.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. preserved in the Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. 1860–1895, *and by* F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL, M.A., 1895.

Vol. I.— 1660–1661.
Vol. II.— 1661–1662.
Vol. III.—1663–1664.
Vol. IV.— 1664–1665.
Vol. V.— 1665–1666.
Vol. VI.— 1666–1667.
Vol. VII.— 1667.
Vol. VIII.—1667–1668.
Vol. IX.— 1668–1669.
Vol. X.—1670 and Addenda 1660–1670.
Vol. XI.—1671.

CALENDAR OF HOME OFFICE PAPERS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., preserved in the Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, an Assistant Record Keeper, 1878–1879. Vol. III. *Edited by* RICHARD ARTHUR ROBERTS, Barrister-at-Law. 1881.

Vol. I.—1760 (25 Oct.)–1765.
Vol. II.—1766–1769.
Vol. III.—1770–1772.

CALENDAR OF TREASURY PAPERS, preserved in the Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH REDINGTON, an Assistant Record Keeper. 1868–1889.

Vol. I.— 1557–1696.
Vol. II.— 1697–1702.
Vol. III.—1702–1707.
Vol. IV.—1708–1714.
Vol. V.— 1714–1719.
Vol. VI.—1720–1728.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to SCOTLAND, preserved in the Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARKHAM JOHN THORPE. 1858.

Vol. I., the Scottish Series, 1509–1589.
Vol. II., the Scottish Series, 1589–1603; an Appendix to the Scottish Series, 1543–1592; and the State Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots.

CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS relating to IRELAND, in the Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* HENRY SAVAGE SWEETMAN, B.A., Barrister-at-Law (Ireland); *continued by* GUSTAVUS FREDERICK HANDCOCK. 1875–1886.

Vol. I.— 1171–1251.
Vol. II.— 1252–1284.
Vol. III.—1285–1292.
Vol. IV.—1293–1301.
Vol. V.— 1302–1307.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., MARY, and ELIZABETH, preserved in the Public Record Office. *Edited by* HANS CLAUDE HAMILTON, F.S.A. 1860–1890, *and by* E. G. ATKINSON, 1893–1895.

Vol. I.— 1509–1573.
Vol. II.— 1574–1585.
Vol. III.—1586–1588.
Vol. IV.—1588–1592.
Vol. V.— 1592–1596.
Vol. VI.—1596–1597.
Vol. VII.—1598–1599.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I., preserved in the Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* the Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., and JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Barrister-at-Law. 1872–1880.

Vol. I.— 1603–1606.
Vol. II.— 1606–1608.
Vol. III.—1608–1610.
Vol. IV.—1611–1614.
Vol. V.— 1615–1625.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN. 1867–1873.

Vol. I.— 1515–1574. (*Out of print.*)
Vol. II.— 1575–1588.
Vol. III.—1589–1600.
Vol. IV.—1601–1603.
Vol. V.— Book of Howth Miscellaneous.
Vol. VI.—1603–1624.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, late an Assistant Record Keeper. 1860–1894.

Vol. I.—America and West Indies, 1574–1660.
Vol. II.—East Indies, China, and Japan, 1513–1616. (*Out of print.*)
Vol. III.— ,, ,, ,, 1617–1621. (*Out of print.*)
Vol. IV.— ,, ,, ,, 1622–1624.
Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661–1668.
Vol. VI.—East Indies, 1625–1629.
Vol. VII.—America and West Indies, 1669–1674.
Vol. VIII.—East Indies and Persia, 1630–1634.
Vol. IX.—America and West Indies, 1675–1676, and Addenda, 1574–1674.

These volumes deal with Colonial Papers in the Public Record Office, the India Office, and the British Museum.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI., preserved in the Public Record Office. 1547–1553. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF MARY, preserved in the Public Record Office. 1553–1558. *Edited by* W. B. TURNBULL, Barrister-at-Law, &c. 1861.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, preserved in the Public Record Office, &c. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, M.A. (Vols. I.–VII.), and ALLAN JAMES CROSBY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law (Vols. VIII.–XI.). 1863–1880.

Vol. I.— 1558–1559.
Vol. II.— 1559–1560.
Vol. III.—1560–1561.
Vol. IV.— 1561–1562.
Vol. V.— 1562.
Vol. VI.— 1563.
Vol. VII.— 1564–1565.
Vol. VIII.—1566–1568.
Vol. IX.— 1569–1571.
Vol. X.— 1572–1574.
Vol. XI.— 1575–1577.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. BERGENROTH (Vols. I. and II.) 1862–1868, *and* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS (Vols. III. to VI.) 1873–1895.

Vol. I.— 1485–1509.
Vol. II.—1509–1525.
Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.
Vol. III., Part 1.—1525–1526.
Vol. III., Part 2.—1527–1529.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—1529–1530.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—1531–1533.
Vol. IV., Part 2.—1531–1533. *continued.*
Vol. V., Part 1.— 1534–1535.
Vol. V., Part 2.— 1536–1538.
Vol. VI., Part 1.— 1538–1542.
Vol. VI., Part 2.— 1542–1543.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND STATE PAPERS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved principally in the Archives of Simancas. *Edited by* MARTIN A. S. HUME, F.R.Hist.S. 1892–1894.

Vol. I. 1558–1567.
Vol. II. 1568–1579.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN. 1864–1884, *by* RAWDON BROWN and the Right Hon. G. CAVENDISH BENTINCK, M.P., 1890, *and by* HORATIO F. BROWN, 1895.

Vol. I.— 1202–1509.
Vol. II.— 1509–1519.
Vol. III.—1520–1526.
Vol. IV.—1527–1533.
Vol. V.— 1534–1554.
Vol. VI., Part I.— 1555–1556.
Vol. VI., Part II.— 1556–1557.
Vol. VI., Part III.—1557–1558.
Vol. VII.— 1558–1580.
Vol. VIII.— 1581–1591.

CALENDAR of entries in the PAPAL REGISTERS, illustrating the history of Great Britain and Ireland. *Edited by* W. H. BLISS, B.C.L., Papal Letters. 1893–1895.

Vol. I.—1198–1304.
Vol. II.—1305–1342.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE RECORDS AND THE REV. J. S. BREWER upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE RECORDS upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2*s*. 6*d*.

GUIDE TO THE PRINCIPAL CLASSES OF DOCUMENTS IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. *By* S. R. SCARGILL BIRD, F.S.A. 1891. [*New edition in the press.*]

ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND, New Series. *Edited by* JOHN ROCHE DASENT, C.B., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1890–95. *Price* 10*s*. *each*.

Vol. I. —1542–1547.
Vol. II. —1547–1550.
Vol. III.—1550–1552.
Vol. IV.—1552–1554.
Vol. V. —1554–1556.
Vol. VI.—1556–1558.
Vol. VII. —1558–1570.
Vol. VIII.—1571–1575.
Vol. IX. —1575–1577.
Vol. X. —1577–1578.
Vol. XI. —1578–1580.

In the Press.

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF ANCIENT DEEDS, preserved in the Public Record Office. Vol. III.

CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD I. Vol. IV. 1301–1307.

CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II. Vol. II. 1381, &c.

CALENDAR OF THE PATENT ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD IV. Vol. I.

CALENDAR OF THE CLOSE ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD II. Vol. IV. 1323–1327.

CALENDAR OF THE CLOSE ROLLS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD III. Vol. I.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, late an Assistant Record Keeper. Vol. XIV. Part 2.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* HORATIO F. BROWN. Vol. IX.

CALENDAR of entries in the PAPAL REGISTERS, illustrating the history of Great Britain and Ireland. *Edited by* W. H. BLISS, B.C.L. Papal Letters. Vol. III. 1343, &c.

CALENDAR of entries in the PAPAL REGISTERS, illustrating the history of Great Britain and Ireland. *Edited by* W. H. BLISS, B.C.L. Petitions to the Pope.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES I. Vol. XXIII. Addenda.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES II. *Edited by* F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM III. Vols. I. & II. *Edited by* W. J. HARDY.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES. Vol. X. *Edited by* the late W. NOEL SAINSBURY and the Hon. J. W. FORTESCUE.

CALENDAR OF INQUISITIONES POST MORTEM, Henry VII.

ACTS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND, New Series, Vol. XII. *Edited by* JOHN ROCHE DASENT, C.B., M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

In Progress.

CALENDAR OF ANCIENT CORRESPONDENCE preserved in the Public Record Office.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

LISTS AND INDEXES.

The object of these publications is to make the contents of the Public Record Office more easily available. In conjunction with the Calendars, they will, in course of time, form a catalogue of the National Archives, as explained in the Fifty-first Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Records (page 10).

No. I. Index of Ancient Petitions of the Chancery and the Exchequer. 1892. Price 9*s.* 6*d.*

No. II. List and Index of Declared Accounts from the Pipe Office and the Audit Office. 1893. Price 15*s.*

No. III. List of volumes of State Papers (Great Britain and Ireland), Part I., A.D. 1547–1760. 1894. Price 6*s.* 6*d.*

No. IV. List of Plea Rolls. 1894. Price 7*s.*

No. V. List and Index of Ministers' Accounts. Part I. 1894. Price 16*s.*

In the Press.

No. VI. List and Index of Court Rolls.

No. VII. Index of Chancery Proceedings, Series II., A.D. 1558–1579.

List of Sheriffs.

In Progress.

Index of Early Chancery Proceedings.

List of Ancient Accounts.

List of Enrolled Accounts.

List of Surveys, Rentals, &c.

List and Index of Ministers' Accounts. Part II.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[Royal 8vo. *Price* 10*s.* each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published "under His Majesty's royal sanction, would be an undertaking honour- "able to His Majesty's reign, and conducive to the advancement of "historical and constitutional knowledge; that the House therefore "humbly besought His Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased to "give such directions as His Majesty, in His wisdom, might think fit, "for the publication of a complete edition of the ancient historians "of this realm."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. The Chronicle of England, by John Capgrave. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A. 1858.

   Capgrave's Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

   This Chronicle traces the history of the monastery from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I. The author had access to the title deeds of the house, and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom.

3. Lives of Edward the Confessor. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

   The first is a poem in Norman French, probably written in 1245. The second is an anonymous poem, written between 1440 and 1450, which is mainly valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written between 1066 and 1074.

4. Monumenta Franciscana. Vol. I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vol. II.—De Adventu Minorum; re-edited, with additions. Chronicle of the Grey Friars. The ancient English version of the Rule of St. Francis. Abbreviatio Statutorum, 1451, &c. *Edited by* Richard Howlett, Barrister-at-Law. 1858, 1882.

   The first volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of St. Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers. The second volume contains materials found since the first volume was published.

5. Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico. Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

This work gives the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards.

6. The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece; by William Stewart. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this version.

7. Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A. 1858.

The first part relates only to the history of the Empire from the election of Henry I. the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, from the accession of Henry I. in 1100, to 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

8. Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191.

9. Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis): Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366; a monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. Haydon, B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of Malmesbury, about the year 1367. A continuation carries the history of England down to the year 1413.

10. Memorials of Henry the Seventh: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* James Gairdner. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet Laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest are given in an appendix.

11. Memorials of Henry the Fifth. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* Charles A. Cole. 1858.

12. Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III., Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* Henry Thomas Riley, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and early part of the 15th centuries. The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled in the early part of the 14th century during the reign of Edward II. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the 12th, 13th, and early part of the 14th centuries.

13. Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes. *Edited by* Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa, it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and comes down to 1292. It is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the Kingdom.

14. A Collection of Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, from the Accession of Edward III. to the Reign of Henry VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, M.A. 1859–1861.

15. The "Opus Tertium," "Opus Minus," &c. of Roger Bacon. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

16. Bartholomæi de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana; 449–1298; necnon ejusdem Liber de Achiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1859.

17. Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

This work, written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. His work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards, and it has great value for the philologist.

20. Annales Cambriæ. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commenced in 447, and come down to 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster.

21. The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V.–VII. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. Vol. VIII. *Edited by* George F. Warner, M.A., of the Department of MSS., British Museum. 1861–1891.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable for the anecdotes which they contain.

The *Topographia Hibernica* (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland the first in 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. The *Expugnatio Hibernica* was written about 1188, and may be regarded rather as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. Vol. VI. contains the *Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ*; and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh. Vol. VIII. contains the Treatise *De Principum Instructione*, and an Index to Vols. I.–IV. and VIII.

22. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

23. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several Original Authorities. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* Benjamin Thorpe, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography.

24. LETTERS AND PAPERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGNS OF RICHARD III. AND HENRY VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER. 1861–1863.

The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III., correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. LETTERS OF BISHOP GROSSETESTE. *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The letters of Robert Grosseteste range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF MANUSCRIPTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. (*Out of Print*). Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which original portions are distinguished from mere compilations. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. ROYAL AND OTHER HISTORICAL LETTERS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

28. CHRONICA MONASTERII S. ALBANI.—1. THOMÆ WALSINGHAM HISTORIA ANGLICANA; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. WILLELMI RISHANGER CHRONICA ET ANNALES, 1259–1307. 3. JOHANNIS DE TROKELOWE ET HENRICI DE BLANEFORDE CHRONICA ET ANNALES 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. GESTA ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, A THOMA WALSINGHAM, REGNANTE RICARDO SECUNDO, EJUSDEM ECCLESIÆ PRÆCENTORE, COMPILATA; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. JOHANNIS AMUNDESHAM, MONACHI MONASTERII S. ALBANI, UT VIDETUR, ANNALES; Vols. I. and II. 6. REGISTRA QUORUNDAM ABBATUM MONASTERII S. ALBANI, QUI SÆCULO XV^mo^ FLORUERE; Vol. I., REGISTRUM ABBATIÆ JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, ABBATIS MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, ITERUM SUSCEPTÆ; ROBERTO BLAKENEY, CAPELLANO, QUONDAM ADSCRIPTUM: Vol. II., REGISTRA JOHANNIS WHETHAMSTEDE, WILLELMI ALBON, ET WILLELMI WALINGFORDE, ABBATUM MONASTERII SANCTI ALBANI, CUM APPENDICE, CONTINENTE QUASDAM EPISTOLAS, A JOHANNE WHETHAMSTEDE CONSCRIPTAS. 7. YPODIGMA NEUSTRIÆ A THOMA WALSINGHAM, QUONDAM MONACHO MONASTERII S. ALBANI, CONSCRIPTUM. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans.

In the 3rd volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I.: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291-1292, also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300, by an unknown hand: a short Chronicle Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the 4th volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the 15th century.

The 5th, 6th, and 7th volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham: with a Continuation.

The 8th and 9th volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The 10th and 11th volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford.

The 12th volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamliæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from about 690 to 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

Richard of Cirencester's history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. It gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book ii. c. 3.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35 Edw. I; and 11–12 Edw. III. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Barrister-at-Law. Years 12–13, 13–14, 14, 14–15, and 15, Edward III. *Edited and translated by* Luke Owen Pike, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1891.

The "Year Books" are the earliest of our Law Reports. They contain matter not only of practical utility to lawyers in the present day, but also illustrative of almost every branch of history, while for certain philological purposes they hold a position absolutely unique.

32. Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy, 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. 1863.

33. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. Hart, F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

34. Alexandri Neckam de Naturis Rerum libri duo; with Neckam's Poem, De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, M.A. 1863.

In the *De Naturis Rerum* are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century.

35. Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. Oswald Cockayne, M.A. 1864–1866.

36. Annales Monastici. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297. Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia, 1042–1432. Vol. IV.:—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V.:—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection embraces chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432.

37. Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work is valuable, not only as a biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs.

38. Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard the First. Vol. I.:—Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi. Vol. II.:—Epistolæ Cantuarienses; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London.

In letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury.

39. Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne a present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. *Edited by* William Hardy, F.S.A. 1864–1879. Vol. IV., 1431–1447. Vol. V., 1447–1471. *Edited by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, F.S.A. 1884–1891.

40. A Collection of the Chronicles and ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England, by John de Waurin. Vol. I., Albina to 668. Vol. II., 1399–1422. Vol. III., 1422–1431. (Translations of the preceding Vols. I., II., and III.) *Edited and translated by* Sir William Hardy, F.S.A., and Edward L. C. P. Hardy, F.S.A. 1864–1891.

41. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge Vols. III.–IX. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1886.

This chronicle begins with the creation, and is brought down to the reign of Edward III. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth.

42. Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livere de Reis de Engletere. *Edited by* the Rev. John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treaties are valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians. Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonised French.

43. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa ab anno 1150 usque ad annum 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* Edward Augustus Bond, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country.

44. Matthæ Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir Frederick Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Manuscript Department of British Museum. 1866–1869.

45. Liber Monasterii de Hyda: a Chronicle and Chartulary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, 455–1023. *Edited by* Edward Edwards. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde

Chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify the statements, which, in substance, he adopts.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and mediæval English.

46. CHRONICON SCOTORUM: A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, from the earliest times to 1135; and SUPPLEMENT, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, M.R.I.A. 1866.

47. THE CHRONICLE OF PIERRE DE LANGTOFT, IN FRENCH VERSE, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE DEATH OF EDWARD I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first, is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum;" in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, to the death of Henry III.; in the third, a history of the reign of Edward I. The language is a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL, OR THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES AND OTHER NORSEMEN. *Edited, with a Translation, by* the Rev. JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an ancient original. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas.

49. GESTA REGIS HENRICI SECUNDI BENEDICTI ABBATIS. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGNS OF HENRY II. AND RICHARD I., 1169–1192, known under the name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the REV. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

50. MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds to some extent with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49). From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

54. THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1041 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, M.R.I.A. 1871.

55. MONUMENTA JURIDICA. THE BLACK BOOK OF THE ADMIRALTY, WITH APPENDICES, Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* SIR TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy.

56. MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.:—OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS BEKYNTON, SECRETARY TO HENRY VI., AND BISHOP OF BATH AND WELLS. *Edited by* the Rev. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

57. Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. Vol. V. A.D. 1248 to A.D. 1259. Vol. VI. Additamenta. Vol. VII. Index. *Edited by* the Rev. Henry Richards Luard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1884.

58. Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria.—The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872–1873.

The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable.

59. The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century. Vols. I. and II. *Collected and edited by* Thomas Wright, M.A., Corresponding Member of the National Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). 1872.

60. Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII., from original Documents preserved in the Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. William Campbell, M.A., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. 1873–1877.

61. Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers. *Edited by* the Rev. James Raine, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1873.

62. Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense. The Register of Richard de Kellawe, Lord Palatine and Bishop of Durham; 1311–1316. Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1873–1878.

63. Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1874.

64. Chronicon Angliæ, ab Anno Domini 1328 usque ad Annum 1388, Auctore Monacho quodam Sancti Albani. *Edited by* Edward Maunde Thompson, Barrister-at-Law, Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum. 1874.

65. Thómas Saga Erkibyskups. A Life of Archbishop Thomas Becket, in Icelandic. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with English Translation, Notes, and Glossary by* M. Eiríkr Magnússon, M.A., Sub-Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge. 1875–1884.

66. Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. 1875.

67. Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Vols. I.–VI. *Edited by* the Rev. James Craigie Robertson, M.A., Canon of Canterbury. 1875–1883. Vol. VII. *Edited by* Joseph Brigstocke Sheppard, LL.D. 1885.

The first volume contains the life of that celebrated man, and the miracles after his death, by William, a monk of Canterbury. The second, the life by Benedict of Peterborough; John of Salisbury; Alan of Tewkesbury; and Edward Grim. The third, the life by William Fitzstephen; and Herbert of Bosham. The fourth, anonymous lives, Quadrilogus, &c. The fifth, sixth, and seventh, the Epistles, and known letters.

68. Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica. The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1876.

The abbreviationes Chronicorum extend to 1147 and the Ymagines Historiarum to 1201.

69. Roll of the Proceedings of the King's Council in Ireland, for a Portion of the 16th Year of the Reign of Richard II. 1392–93. *Edited by* the Rev. James Graves, A.B. 1877.

70. Henrici de Bracton de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ Libri Quinque in Varios Tractatus Distincti. Vols. I.–VI. *Edited by* Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.C.L. 1878–1883.

71. The Historians of the Church of York, and its Archbishops. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* the Rev. James Raine, M.A., Canon of York, and Secretary of the Surtees Society. 1879–1894.

72. Registrum Malmesburiense. The Register of Malmesbury Abbey; Preserved in the Public Record Office. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. J. S. Brewer, M.A., Preacher at the Rolls, and Rector of Toppesfield; *and* Charles Trice Martin, B.A. 1879–1880.

73. Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, D.D.; Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; &c. 1879, 1880.

74. Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum. The History of the English, by Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, from A.D. 55 to A.D. 1154, in Eight Books. *Edited by* Thomas Arnold, M.A. 1879.

75. The Historical Works of Symeon of Durham. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Arnold, M.A. 1882–1885.

76. Chronicle of the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. William Stubbs, D.D., Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, London; Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, &c. 1882, 1883.

The first volume of these Chronicles contains the *Annales Londonienses* and the *Annales Paulini:* the second I.—*Commendatio Lamentabilis in Transitu magni Regis Edwardi.* II.—*Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi.* III.—*Monachi cujusdam Malmesberiensis Vita Edwardi II.* IV.—*Vita et Mors Edwardi II., conscripta a Thoma de la Moore.*

77. Registrum Epistolarum Fratris Johannis Peckham, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* Charles Trice Martin, B.A., F.S.A., 1882–1886.

78. Register of S. Osmund. *Edited by* the Rev. W. H. Rich Jones, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Salisbury, Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon. Vols. I. and II. 1883, 1884.

This Register derives its name from containing the statutes, rules, and orders made or compiled by S. Osmund, to be observed in the Cathedral and diocese of Salisbury.

79. Chartulary of the Abbey of Ramsey. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* William Henry Hart, F.S.A., and the Rev. Ponsonby Annesley Lyons. 1884–1893.

80. Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, with the Register of its House at Dunbrody, County of Wexford, and Annals of Ireland, 1162–1370. *Edited by* John Thomas Gilbert, F.S.A., M.R.I.A. Vols. I. and II. 1884, 1885.

81. Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia, et opuscula duo de Vita Sancti Anselmi et quibusdam Miraculis ejus. *Edited by* the Rev. Martin Rule, M.A. 1884.

82. Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I. Vols. I.–IV. *Edited by* Richard Howlett, Barrister-at-Law. 1884–1890.

Vol. I. contains Books I.–IV. of the *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* of William of Newburgh. Vol. II. contains Book V. of that work, the continuation of the same to A.D. 1298, and the *Draco Normannicus* of Etienne de Rouen.

Vol. III. contains the *Gesta Stephani Regis*, the Chronicle of Richard of Hexham, the *Relatio de Standardo* of St. Aelred of Rievaulx, the poem of Jordan Fantosme, and the Chronicle of Richard of Devizes.
Vol. IV. contains the Chronicle of Robert of Torigni.

83. CHRONICLE OF THE ABBEY OF RAMSEY. *Edited by* the Rev. WILLIAM DUNN MACRAY, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Ducklington, Oxon. 1886.

84. CHRONICA ROGERI DE WENDOVER, SIVE FLORES HISTORIARUM. Vols. I.–III. *Edited by* HENRY GAY HEWLETT, Keeper of the Records of the Land Revenue. 1886–1889.

This edition gives that portion only of Roger of Wendover's Chronicle which can be accounted an original authority.

85. THE LETTER BOOKS OF THE MONASTERY OF CHRIST CHURCH, CANTERBURY, *Edited by* JOSEPH BRIGSTOCKE SHEPPARD, LL.D. Vols. I.–III., 1887–1889.

The Letters printed in these volumes were chiefly written between 1296 and 1333.

86. THE METRICAL CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER. *Edited by* WILLIAM ALDIS WRIGHT, M.A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Parts I. and II., 1887.

The date of the composition of this Chronicle is placed about the year 1300. The writer appears to have been an eye witness of many events which he describes. The language in which it is written was the dialect of Gloucestershire at that time.

87. CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF BRUNNE. *Edited by* FREDERICK JAMES FURNIVALL, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Parts I. and II. 1887.

Robert of Brunne, or Bourne, co. Lincoln, was a member of the Gilbertine Order established at Sempringham. His Chronicle is described by its editor as a work of fiction, a contribution not to English history, but to the history of English.

88. ICELANDIC SAGAS AND OTHER HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS relating to the Settlements and Descents of the Northmen on the British Isles. Vol. I. Orkneyinga Saga, and Magnus Saga. Vol. II. Hakonar Saga, and Magnus Saga. *Edited by* GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON, M.A. 1887. Vols. III. and IV. Translations of the above by Sir GEORGE WEBBE DASENT, D.C.L.

89. THE TRIPARTITE LIFE OF ST. PATRICK, with other documents relating to that Saint. *Edited by* WHITLEY STOKES, LL.D., D.C.L., Honorary Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; and Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. Parts I. and II. 1887.

90. WILLELMI MONACHI MALMESBIRIENSIS DE REGUM GESTIS ANGLORUM LIBRI V.; ET HISTORIÆ NOVELLÆ, LIBRI III. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Bishop of Oxford. Vols. I. and II. 1887–1889.

91. LESTORIE DES ENGLES SOLUM GEFFREI GAIMAR. *Edited by* the late Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records; *continued and translated by* CHARLES TRICE MARTIN, B.A., F.S.A. Vols. I. and II. 1888–1889.

92. CHRONICLE OF HENRY KNIGHTON, Canon of Leicester. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity. Vols. I. and II. 1889–1895.

93. CHRONICLE OF ADAM MURIMUTH, with the CHRONICLE OF ROBERT OF AVESBURY. *Edited by* EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, LL.D., F.S.A. Principal Librarian and Secretary of the British Museum. 1889.

94. CHARTULARY OF THE ABBEY OF ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR, DUBLIN. *Edited by* JOHN THOMAS GILBERT, F.S.A., M.I.R.A. 1889.

95. FLORES HISTORIARUM. *Edited by* the Rev. H. R. LUARD, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. Vol. I. The creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067-1264. Vol. III. A.D. 1265–1326. 1890.

96. MEMORIALS OF ST. EDMUND'S ABBEY. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A., Fellow of the Royal University of Ireland. Vols. I. and II. 1890.—1892.

97. CHARTERS AND DOCUMENTS, ILLUSTRATING THE HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL AND CITY OF SARUM, 1100–1300; forming an Appendix to the Register of S. Osmund. *Selected by* the late Rev. W. H. RICH JONES, M.A., F.S.A., *and edited by* the Rev. W. D. MACRAY, M.A., F.S.A., Rector of Ducklington. 1891.

98. MEMORANDA DE PARLIAMENTO, 25 Edward I. 1305. *Edited by* F. W. MAITLAND, M.A. 1893.

In the Press.

YEAR BOOKS OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD III. *Edited and translated by* LUKE OWEN PIKE, M.A., Barrister-at-Law.

RANULF DE GLANVILL; TRACTATUS DE LEGIBUS ET CONSUETUDINIBUS ANGLIÆ, &c. *Edited and translated by* Sir TRAVERS TWISS, Q.C., D.C.L.

THE RED BOOK OF THE EXCHEQUER. *Edited by* HUBERT HALL, F.S.A., of the Public Record Office. Parts I., II., and III.

MEMORIALS OF ST. EDMUND'S ABBEY. *Edited by* THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A. Vol. III.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE RECORD COMMISSIONERS, &c.

[In boards or cloth. Volumes not mentioned in this list are out of print.]

ROTULORUM ORIGINALIUM IN CURIÂ SCACCARII ABBREVIATIO. Hen. III.-Edw. III. *Edited by* HENRY PLAYFORD. 2 Vols. folio (1805–1810). 12*s.* 6*d.* each.

LIBRORUM MANUSCRIPTORUM BIBLIOTHECÆ HARLEIANÆ CATALOGUS. Vol. 4. *Edited by* the Rev. T. HARTWELL HORNE. Folio (1812), 18*s.*

ABBREVIATIO PLACITORUM. Richard I.—Edward II. *Edited by* the Right Hon. GEORGE ROSE and W. ILLINGWORTH. 1 Vol. folio (1811), 18*s.*

LIBRI CENSUALIS vocati DOMESDAY-BOOK, INDICES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS. Folio (1816), (Domesday-Book, Vol. 3). 21*s.*

LIBRI CENSUALIS vocati DOMESDAY-BOOK, ADDITAMENTA EX CODIC. ANTIQUISS. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS. Folio (1816), (Domesday-Book, Vol. 4). 21*s.*

STATUTES OF THE REALM. *Edited by* Sir T. E. TOMLINS, JOHN RAITHBY, JOHN CALEY and WM. ELLIOTT. Vols. 10 and 11, folio (1824–1828). Indices, 30*s.* each.

VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS, temp. Hen. VIII., Auctoritate Regia institutus. *Edited by* JOHN CALEY, Esq., and the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER. Vols. 5 to 6, folio (1825–1834). 25*s.* each. The Introduction, separately, 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

FŒDERA, CONVENTIONES, LITTERÆ, &c.; or, RYMER'S FŒDERA, New Edition, folio. *Edited by* JOHN CALEY and FRED. HOLBROOKE. Vol. 4, 1377–1383 (1869). 6*s.*

DUCATUS LANCASTRIÆ CALENDARIUM INQUISITIONUM POST MORTEM, &c. Part 3. Calendar to Pleadings, &c., Hen. VII.—13 Eliz. Part 4, Calendar to Pleadings, to end of Eliz. (1827–1834.) *Edited by* R. J. HARPER, JOHN CALEY, and WM. MINCHIN. Folio. Part 4 (or Vol. 3), 21*s.*

CALENDARS OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN CHANCERY, ELIZ.; with Examples of Proceedings from Ric. II. *Edited by* JOHN BAYLEY. Vol. 3 (1832), folio, 21*s.*

ROTULI LITTERARUM CLAUSARUM IN TURRI LONDINENSI ASSERVATI. 2 Vols. folio (1833, 1844). *Edited by* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, Esq. Vol. 2, 1224–1227. 18*s.*

PROCEEDINGS AND ORDINANCES OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF ENGLAND. 10 Ric. II.—33 Hen. VIII. *Edited by* Sir NICHOLAS HARRIS NICOLAS. 7 Vols. royal 8vo. (1834–1837). 14*s.* each. (*Vol.* 1 *out of print.*)

ROTULI LITTERARUM PATENTIUM IN TURRI LOND. ASSERVATI. 1201–1216. *Edited by* T. DUFFUS HARDY. 1 Vol. folio (1835), 31*s.* 6*d.* The Introduction, separately, 8vo. 9*s.*

ROTULI CURIÆ REGIS. Rolls and Records of the Court held before the King's Justiciars or Justices. 6 Richard I.—1 John. *Edited by* Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. Vol. 2 royal 8vo. (1835). 14*s.*

ROTULI NORMANNIÆ IN TURRI LOND. ASSERVATI. 1200–1205; 1417–1418. *Edited by* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY. 1 Vol. royal 8vo. (1835). 12*s.* 6*d.*

ROTULI DE OBLATIS ET FINIBUS IN TURRI LOND. ASSERVATI, temp. Regis Johannis. *Edited by* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY. 1 Vol. royal 8vo. (1835). 18*s.*

EXCERPTA E ROTULIS FINIUM IN TURRI LONDINENSI ASSERVATIS. Henry III., 1216–1272. *Edited by* CHARLES ROBERTS. 2 Vols. royal 8vo. (1835, 1836); Vol. 1, 14*s.* Vol. 2, 18*s.*

FINES, SIVE PEDES FINIUM; SIVE FINALES CONCORDIÆ IN CURIÂ DOMINI REGIS. 7 Richard I.—16 John, 1195—1214. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER. In Counties. 2 Vols. royal 8vo. (1835–1844); Vol. 1, 8*s.* 6*d.*; Vol. 2, 2*s.* 6*d.*

ANCIENT KALENDARS AND INVENTORIES OF THE TREASURY OF HIS MAJESTY'S EXCHEQUER; with Documents illustrating its History. *Edited by* Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. 3 Vols. royal 8vo. (1836). 42*s.*

DOCUMENTS AND RECORDS illustrating the History of Scotland, and Transactions between Scotland and England; preserved in the Treasury of Her Majesty's Exchequer. *Edited by* Sir FRANCIS PALGRAVE. 1 Vol. royal 8vo. (1837).

ROTULI CHARTARUM IN TURRI LONDINENSI ASSERVATI. 1190–1216. *Edited by* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY. 1 Vol. folio (1837). 30*s.*

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE RECORD COMMISSIONERS, 1831–1837. 1 Vol. fol. (1837). 8*s.*

REGISTRUM vulgariter nuncupatum "The Record of Caernarvon," e codice MS. Harleiano, 696, descriptum. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS. 1 Vol. folio (1838). 31*s.* 6*d.*

ANCIENT LAWS AND INSTITUTES OF ENGLAND; comprising Laws enacted under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, with Translation of the Saxon; the Laws called Edward Confessor's; the Laws of William the Conqueror, and those ascribed to Henry I.; Monumenta Ecclesiastica Anglicana, from 7th to 10th century; and Ancient Latin Version of the Anglo-Saxon Laws. *Edited by* BENJAMIN THORPE. 1 Vol. folio, 40*s*. 2 Vols. royal 8vo., 30*s*. (*Vol. 1 is out of print.*)

ANCIENT LAWS AND INSTITUTES OF WALES; comprising Laws supposed to be enacted by Howel the Good, modified by Regulations prior to the Conquest by Edward I.; and anomalous Laws, principally of Institutions which continued in force. With translation. Also, Latin Transcripts, containing Digests of Laws, principally of the Dimetian Code. *Edited by* ANEURIN OWEN. 1 Vol. folio (1841), 44*s*. 2 Vols. royal 8vo., 36*s*.

ROTULI DE LIBERATE AC DE MISIS ET PRÆSTITIS, Regnante Johanne. *Edited by* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY. 1 Vol. royal 8vo. (1844). 6*s*.

THE GREAT ROLLS OF THE PIPE, 2, 3, 4 HEN. II., 1155–1158. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER. 1 Vol. royal 8vo. (1844). 4*s*. 6*d*.

THE GREAT ROLL OF THE PIPE, 1 RIC. I., 1189–1190. *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER. 1 Vol. royal 8vo. (1844). 6*s*.

DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ENGLISH HISTORY in the 13th and 14th centuries, from the Records of the Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer. *Edited by* HENRY COLE. 1 Vol. fcp. folio (1844). 45*s*. 6*d*.

MODUS TENENDI PARLIAMENTUM. An Ancient Treatise on the Mode of holding the Parliament in England. *Edited by* THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY. 1 Vol. 8vo. (1846). 2*s*. 6*d*.

REGISTRUM MAGNI SIGILLI REG. SCOT. in Archivis Publicis asservatum. Vol. 1, 1306–1424. (*For continuation see p.* 33.) *Edited by* THOMAS THOMSON. Folio (1814). 10*s*. 6*d*.

ACTS OF THE PARLIAMENTS OF SCOTLAND. Folio (1814–1875). *Edited by* THOMAS THOMSON and COSMO INNES. Vol. 1, 42*s*. Vols. 5 and 6 (in three Parts), 21*s*. each Part; Vols. 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, 10*s*. 6*d*. each; Vol. 12 (Index), 63*s*. Or, 12 Volumes in 13, 12*l*. 12*s*.

ACTS OF THE LORDS AUDITORS OF CAUSES AND COMPLAINTS (ACTA DOMINORUM AUDITORUM). 1466–1494. *Edited by* THOMAS THOMSON. Fol. (1839). 10*s*. 6*d*.

ACTS OF THE LORDS OF COUNCIL IN CIVIL CAUSES (ACTA DOMINORUM CONCILII). 1478–1495. *Edited by* THOMAS THOMSON. Folio (1839). 10*s*. 6*d*.

ISSUE ROLL OF THOMAS DE BRANTINGHAM, Bishop of Exeter, Lord High Treasurer, containing Payments out of the Revenue, 44 Edw. III., 1376. *Edited by* FREDERICK DEVON. 1 Vol. royal 8vo., 25*s*.

ISSUES OF THE EXCHEQUER, James I.; from the Pell Records. *Edited by* FREDERICK DEVON, Esq. 1 Vol. 4to. (1836), 30*s*. Or, royal 8vo., 21*s*.

ISSUES OF THE EXCHEQUER, Henry III.—Henry VI.; from the Pell Records. *Edited by* FREDERICK DEVON. 1 Vol. royal 8vo., 30*s*.

HANDBOOK TO THE PUBLIC RECORDS. *By* F. S. THOMAS, Secretary of the Public Record Office. 1 Vol. royal 8vo. (1853). 12*s*.

HISTORICAL NOTES RELATIVE TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Henry VIII.—Anne (1509–1714). A Book of Reference for ascertaining the Dates of Events. *By* F. S. THOMAS. 3 Vols. 8vo. (1856). 40*s*.

STATE PAPERS, DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH: with Indices of Persons and Places. 11 Vols. 4to. (1830–1852), 10*s*. 6*d*. each.

Vol. I.—Domestic Correspondence.
Vols. II. & III.—Correspondence relating to Ireland.
Vols. IV. & V.—Correspondence relating to Scotland.
Vols. VI. to XI.—Correspondence between England and Foreign Courts.

REPORTS ON THE UTRECHT PSALTER.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED IN CONNEXION WITH THE UTRECHT PSALTER; being a Report to the Right Honourable Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, on a Manuscript in the University of Utrecht, by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1872. 4to. 44 pp. 2 fac-similes half bound. *Price* 20*s*.

FURTHER REPORT ON THE UTRECHT PSALTER; in answer to the Eight Reports made to the Trustees of the British Museum, and edited by the Dean of Westminster. By Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 1874. 4to. 80 pp. half bound. *Price* 10*s*.

WORKS PUBLISHED IN PHOTOZINCOGRAPHY.

DOMESDAY BOOK, or the GREAT SURVEY OF ENGLAND OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, 1086; fac-simile of the Part relating to each county, separately (with a few exceptions of double counties). Photozincographed at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, by Colonel Sir HENRY JAMES, R.E., F.R.S., &c., DIRECTOR-GENERAL of the ORDNANCE SURVEY, under the Superintendence of W. BASEVI SANDERS, an Assistant Record Keeper. 35 Parts, imperial quarto and demy quarto (1861–1863), boards.

Domesday Survey is in two parts or volumes. The first in folio, contains the counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Chester, and Lancaster, Cornwall, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Gloucester, Hants, Hereford, Herts, Huntingdon, Kent, Leicester and Rutland, Lincoln, Middlesex, Northampton, Nottingham, Oxford, Salop, Somerset, Stafford, Surrey, Sussex, Warwick, Wilts, Worcester, and York. The second volume, in quarto, contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk.

Domesday Book was printed *verbatim et literatim* during the last century, in consequence of an address of the House of Lords to King George III. in 1767. It was not, however, commenced until 1773, and was completed early in 1783. In 1860, Her Majesty's Government with the concurrence of the Master of the Rolls, determined to apply the art of photozincography to the production of a fac-simile of Domesday Book.

Title.	Price.		
	£	*s.*	*d.*
In Great Domesday Book.			
Bedfordshire	0	8	0
Berkshire	0	8	0
Buckingham	0	8	0
Cambridge	0	10	0
Cheshire and Lancashire	0	8	0
Cornwall	0	8	0
Derbyshire	0	8	0
Devonshire	0	10	0
Dorsetshire	0	8	0
Gloucestershire	0	8	0
Hampshire	0	10	0
Herefordshire	0	8	0
Hertfordshire	0	10	0
Huntingdonshire	0	8	0
Kent (*out of print*)	0	8	0
Lancashire (*see* Cheshire and Lancashire)	—		
Leicestershire and Rutlandshire	0	8	0
Lincolnshire	1	1	0
Carried forward	7	17	0

Title.	Price.		
	£	*s.*	*d.*
Brought forward	7	17	0
Middlesex	0	8	0
Nottinghamshire	0	10	0
Northamptonshire	0	8	0
Oxfordshire	0	8	0
Rutlandshire (bound with Leicestershire)	—		
Shropshire (*out of print*)	0	8	0
Somersetshire	0	10	0
Staffordshire	0	8	0
Surrey	0	8	0
Sussex	0	10	0
Warwickshire	0	8	0
Wiltshire	0	10	0
Worcestershire	0	8	0
Yorkshire	1	1	0
In Little Domesday Book.			
Norfolk	1	3	0
Suffolk	1	2	0
Essex	0	16	0
Total	£17	3	0

FAC-SIMILES OF NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS, from WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR to QUEEN ANNE, selected under the direction of the Master of the Rolls and Photozincographed, by Command of Her Majesty, by Colonel Sir HENRY JAMES, R.E., F.R.S., DIRECTOR-GENERAL of the ORDNANCE SURVEY, and edited by W. BASEVI SANDERS, an Assistant Record Keeper. *Price*, each Part, with translations and notes, double foolscap folio, 16*s*.

Part I. (William the Conqueror to Henry VII.). 1865. (*Out of print.*)

Part II. (Henry VII. and Edward VI.). 1866.

Part III. (Mary and Elizabeth). 1867.

Part IV. (James I. to Anne). 1868.

The first Part extends from William the Conqueror to Henry VII., and contains autographs of the kings of England, as well as of many other illustrious personages famous in history, and some interesting charters, letters patent, and state papers. The second Part for the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., consists principally of holograph letters, and autographs of kings, princes, statesmen, and other persons of great historical interest, who lived during those reigns. The third Part contains similar documents for the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth, including a signed bill of Lady Jane Grey. The fourth Part concludes the series, and comprises a number of documents taken from the originals belonging to the Constable of the Tower of London; also several records illustrative of the Gunpowder Plot, and a woodcut containing portraits of Mary Queen of Scots and James VI., circulated by their adherents in England, 1580–3.

FAC-SIMILES OF ANGLO-SAXON MANUSCRIPTS. Photozincographed, by Command of Her Majesty, upon the recommendation of the Master of the Rolls, by the DIRECTOR-GENERAL of the ORDNANCE SURVEY, Lieut.-General J. CAMERON, R.E., C.B., F.R.S., and edited by W. BASEVI SANDERS, an Assistant Record Keeper. Part I. *Price* 2*l.* 10*s.*

The Anglo-Saxon MSS. represented in this volume from the earlier portions of the collection of archives belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and consist of a series of 25 charters, deeds, and wills, commencing with a record of proceedings at the first Synodal Council of Clovestho in 742, and terminating with the first part of a tripartite chirograph of the sixth year of the reign of Edward the Confessor.

FAC-SIMILES OF ANGLO-SAXON MANUSCRIPTS. Photozincographed, by Command of Her Majesty, upon the recommendation of the Master of the Rolls, by the DIRECTOR-GENERAL of the ORDNANCE SURVEY, Major-General A. COOKE, R.E., C.B., and collected and edited by W. BASEVI SANDERS, an Assistant Record Keeper. Part II. *Price* 3*l.* 10*s.*

(Also, separately. Edward the Confessor's Charter. *Price* 2*s.*)

The originals of the Fac-similes contained in this volume belong to the Deans and Chapters of Westminster, Exeter, Wells, Winchester, and Worcester; the Marquis of Bath, the Earl of Ilchester, Winchester College, Her Majesty's Public Record Office, Bodleian Library, Somersetshire Archæological and National History Society's Museum in Taunton Castle, and William Salt Library at Stafford. They consist of charters and other documents granted by, or during the reigns of, Baldred, Æthelred, Offa, and Burgred, Kings of Mercia; Uhtred of the Huiccas, Ceadwalla and Ini of Wessex; Æthelwulf, Eadward the Elder, Æthelstan, Eadmund the First, Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar, Eadward the Second, Æthelred the Second, Cnut, Eadward the Confessor, and William the Conqueror, embracing altogether a period of nearly four hundred years.

FAC-SIMILES OF ANGLO-SAXON MANUSCRIPTS. Photozincographed, by Command of Her Majesty, upon the recommendation of the Master of the Rolls, by the DIRECTOR-GENERAL of the ORDNANCE SURVEY, Colonel R. H. STOTHERD, R.E., C.B., and collected and edited by W. BASEVI SANDERS, an Assistant Keeper of Her Majesty's Records. Part III. *Price* 6*l.* 6*s.*

This volume contains fac-similes of the Ashburnham collection of Anglo-Saxon Charters, &c., including King Alfred's Will. The MSS. represented in it, range from A.D. 697 to A.D. 1161, being charters, wills, deeds, and reports of Synodal transactions during the reigns of Kings Wihtred of Kent, Offa, Eardwulf, Coenwulf, Cuthred, Beornwulf, Æthelwulf, Ælfred, Eadward the Elder, Eadmund, Eadred, Queen Eadgifu, and Kings Eadgar, Æthelred the Second, Cnut, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. In addition to these are two belonging to the Marquis of Anglesey, one of them being the Foundation Charter of Burton Abbey by Æthelred the Second with the testament of its great benefactor Wulfric.

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

REPORTS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO INQUIRE WHAT PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS BELONGING TO PRIVATE FAMILIES AND INSTITUTIONS ARE EXTANT WHICH WOULD BE OF UTILITY IN THE ILLUSTRATION OF HISTORY, CONSTITUTIONAL LAW, SCIENCE AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Date.	——	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.
				s. d.
1870 (Reprinted 1874.)	First Report, with Appendix - - Contents:— England. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Abingdon and other Corporations, &c. Scotland. Advocates' Library, Glasgow Corporation, &c. Ireland. Dublin, Cork, and other Corporations, &c.	f'cap	[C. 55]	1 6
1871	Second Report, with Appendix and Index to the First and Second Reports - - - - - - Contents:— England. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Oxford Colleges; Monastery of Dominican Friars at Woodchester, Duke of Bedford, Earl Spencer, &c. Scotland. Aberdeen and St. Andrew's Universities, &c. Ireland. Marquis of Ormonde; Dr. Lyons, &c.	„	[C. 441]	3 10
1872 (Reprinted 1895.)	Third Report, with Appendix and Index - - - - - - Contents:— England. House of Lords; Cambridge Colleges; Stonyhurst College; Bridgewater and other Corporations; Duke of Northumberland, Marquis of Lansdowne, Marquis of Bath &c. Scotland. University of Glasgow; Duke of Montrose, &c. Ireland. Marquis of Ormonde; Black Book of Limerick, &c.	„	[C. 673]	6 0
1873	Fourth Report, with Appendix. Part I. - - - - - - Contents:— England. House of Lords; Westminster Abbey; Cambridge and Oxford Colleges; Cinque Ports, Hythe, and other Corporations, Marquis of Bath, Earl of Denbigh, &c. Scotland. Duke of Argyll, &c. Ireland. Trinity College, Dublin; Marquis of Ormonde.	„	[C. 857]	6 8

Date.	——	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.
				s. *d.*
1873	FOURTH REPORT. PART II. INDEX -	f'cap	[C.857i.]	2 6
1876	FIFTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. - Contents:— ENGLAND. House of Lords; Oxford and Cambridge Colleges; Dean and Chapter of Canterbury; Rye, Lydd, and other Corporations, Duke of Sutherland, Marquis of Lansdowne, Reginald Cholmondeley, Esq., &c. SCOTLAND. Earl of Aberdeen, &c.	„	[C.1432]	7 0
„	DITTO. PART II. INDEX - - -	„	[C. 1432 i.]	3 6
1877	SIXTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. Contents:— ENGLAND. House of Lords; Oxford and Cambridge Colleges; Lambeth Palace; Black Book of the Archdeacon of Canterbury; Bridport, Wallingford, and other Corporations; Lord Leconfield, Sir Reginald Graham, Sir Henry Ingilby, &c. SCOTLAND. Duke of Argyll, Earl of Moray, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde.	„	[C.1745]	8 6
(Reprinted 1893.)	DITTO. PART II. INDEX - - -	„	[C.2102]	1 10
1879 (Reprinted 1895.)	SEVENTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX. PART I. - - - - - - Contents:— House of Lords; County of Somerset; Earl of Egmont, Sir Frederick Graham, Sir Harry Verney, &c.	„	[C.2340]	7 6
(Reprinted 1895.)	DITTO. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX - Contents:— Duke of Athole, Marquis of Ormonde, S. F. Livingstone, Esq., &c.	„	[C. 2340 i.]	3 6
1881	EIGHTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX. PART I. - - - - Contents:— List of collections examined, 1869–1880. ENGLAND. House of Lords; Duke of Marlborough; Magdalen College, Oxford; Royal College of Physicians; Queen Anne's Bounty Office; Corporations of Chester, Leicester, &c. IRELAND. Marquis of Ormonde, Lord Emly, The O'Conor Don, Trinity College, Dublin, &c.	„	[C.3040]	8 6
1881	DITTO. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX - Contents:— Duke of Manchester.	„	[C. 3040 i.]	1 9
1881	DITTO. PART III. APPENDIX AND INDEX Contents:— Earl of Ashburnham.	„	[C. 3040 ii.]	1 4

Date.	——	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.
				s. d.
1883 (Reprinted 1895.)	NINTH REPORT, WITH APPENDIX AND INDEX. PART I. - - - - Contents:— St. Paul's and Canterbury Cathedrals; Eton College; Carlisle, Yarmouth, Canterbury, and Barnstaple Corporations, &c.	f'cap	[C.3773]	5 2
1884 (Reprinted 1895.)	DITTO. PART II. APPENDIX AND INDEX Contents:— ENGLAND. House of Lords, Earl of Leicester; C. Pole Gell, Alfred Morrison, Esqs., &c. SCOTLAND. Lord Elphinstone, H. C. Maxwell Stuart, Esq., &c. IRELAND. Duke of Leinster, Marquis of Drogheda, &c.	„	[C.3773 i.]	6 3
1884	DITTO. PART III. APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - - - Contents:— Mrs. Stopford Sackville.	„	[C.3773 ii.]	1 7
1883 (Reprinted 1895.)	CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G. (or CECIL MSS.). PART I. - - - -	8vo.	[C.3777]	3 5
1888	DITTO. PART II. - - -	„	[C.5463]	3 5
1889	DITTO. PART III. - - -	„	[C.5889 v.]	2 1
1892	DITTO. PART IV. - - -	„	[C.6823]	2 11
1894	DITTO. PART V. - - -	„	[C.7574]	2 6
	DITTO. PART VI. - - - -	*In the Press.*		
1885	TENTH REPORT - - - - This is introductory to the following:—	8vo.	[C.4548]	0 3½
1885 (Reprinted 1895.)	(1.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - Earl of Eglinton, Sir J. S. Maxwell, Bart., and C. S. H. D. Moray, C. F. Weston Underwood, G. W. Digby, Esqs.	„	[C.4575]	3 7
1885	(2.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - The Family of Gawdy.	„	[C.4576 iii.]	1 4
1885	(3.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - Wells Cathedral.	„	[C.4576 ii.]	2 0
1885	(4.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - Earl of Westmorland; Capt. Stewart; Lord Stafford; Sir N. W. Throckmorton; Sir P. T. Mainwaring, Lord Muncaster, M.P., Capt. J. F. Bagot, Earl of Kilmorey, Earl of Powis, and others, the Corporations of Kendal, Wenlock, Bridgnorth, Eye, Plymouth, and the County of Essex; and Stonyhurst College.	„	[C.4576]	3 6
1885 (Reprinted 1895.)	(5.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - The Marquis of Ormonde, Earl of Fingall, Corporations of Galway, Waterford, the Sees of Dublin and Ossory, the Jesuits in Ireland.	„	[4576 i.]	2 10

Date.	——	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.
				s. *d.*
1887	(6.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - Marquis of Abergavenny, Lord Braye, G. F. Luttrell, P. P. Bouverie, W. Bromley Davenport, R. T. Balfour, Esquires.	8vo.	[C.5242]	1 7
1887	ELEVENTH REPORT - - - - - This is introductory to the following:—	„	[C. 5060 vi.]	0 3
1887	(1.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - H. D. Skrine, Esq., Salvetti Correspondence.	„	[C.5060]	1 1
1887	(2.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - House of Lords. 1678–1688.	„	[C. 5060 i.]	2 0
1887	(3.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - Corporations of Southampton and Lynn.	„	[C. 5060 ii.]	1 8
1887	(4.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - Marquess Townshend.	„	[C. 5060 iii.]	2 6
1887	(5.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - Earl of Dartmouth.	„	[C. 5060 iv.]	2 8
1887	(6.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - Duke of Hamilton.	„	[C. 5060 v.]	1 6
1888	(7.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - Duke of Leeds, Marchioness of Waterford, Lord Hothfield, &c.; Bridgwater Trust Office, Reading Corporation, Inner Temple Library.	„	[C.5612]	2 0
1890	TWELFTH REPORT - - - - - This is introductory to the following:—	„	[C.5889]	0 3
1888	(1.) APPENDIX - - - - - Earl Cowper, K.G. (Coke MSS., at Melbourne Hall, Derby). Vol. I.	„	[C.5472]	2 7
1888	(2.) APPENDIX - - - - - Ditto. Vol. II.	„	[C.5613]	2 5
1889	(3.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - Ditto. Vol. III.	„	[C. 5889 i.]	1 4
1888	(4.) APPENDIX - - - - - The Duke of Rutland, G.C.B. Vol. I.	„	[C.5614]	3 2
1891	(5.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - Ditto. Vol. II.	„	[C. 5889 ii.]	2 0
1889	(6.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - House of Lords, 1689–1690.	„	[C. 5889 iii.]	2 1
1890	(7.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - S. H. le Fleming, Esq., of Rydal.	„	[C. 5889 iv.]	1 11
1891	(8.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - The Duke of Athole, K.T., and the Earl of Home.	„	[C.6338]	1 0
1891	(9.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - - The Duke of Beaufort, K.G., the Earl of Donoughmore, J. H. Gurney, W. W. B. Hulton, R. W. Ketton, G. A. Aitken, P. V. Smith, Esqs.; Bishop of Ely; Cathedrals of Ely, Gloucester, Lincoln, and Peterborough; Corporations of Gloucester, Higham, Ferrers, and Newark; Southwell Minster; Lincoln District Registry.	„	[C. 6338 i.]	2 6

Date.	——	Size.	Sessional Paper.	Price.
				s. *d.*
1891	(10.) APPENDIX - - - - - The First Earl of Charlemont. Vol. I. 1745–1783.	8vo.	[C. 6338 ii.]	1 11
1892	THIRTEENTH REPORT - - - - This is introductory to the following:—	„	[C.6827]	0 3
1891	(1.) APPENDIX - - - - - The Duke of Portland. Vol. I.	„	[C.6474]	3 0
	(2.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. Ditto. Vol. II. - - -	„	[C. 6827 i.]	2 0
1892	(3.) APPENDIX. J. B. Fortescue, Esq., of Dropmore. Vol. I. - - - - -	„	[C.6660]	2 7
1892	(4.) APPENDIX AND INDEX - - Corporations of Rye, Hastings, and Hereford. Capt. F. C. Loder-Symonds, E. R. Wodehouse, M.P., J. Dovaston, Esqs., Sir T. B. Lennard, Bart., Rev. W. D. Macray, and Earl of Dartmouth (Supplementary Report).	„	[C.6810]	2 4
1892	(5.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. House of Lords, 1690–1691 - -	„	[C.6822]	2 4
1893	(6.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. Sir W. Fitzherbert, Bart. The Delaval Family, of Seaton Delaval; The Earl of Ancaster; and General Lyttelton-Annesley.	„	[C.7166]	1 4
1893	(7.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. The Earl of Lonsdale - -	„	[C.7241.]	1 3
1893	(8.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. The First Earl of Charlemont. Vol. II. 1784–1799.	„	[C.7424.]	1 11
	FOURTEENTH REPORT. This will be introductory to the following:—	*In the Press.*		
1894	(1.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. The Duke of Rutland, G.C.B. Vol. III.	„	[C.7476.]	1 11
1894	(2.) APPENDIX. The Duke of Portland. Vol. III. -	„	[C.7569]	2 8
1894	(3.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. The Duke of Roxburghe; Sir H. H. Campbell, Bart.; The Earl of Strathmore; and the Countess Dowager of Seafield.	„	[C.7570]	1 2
1894	(4.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. Lord Kenyon - - - -	„	[C.7571]	2 10
1895	(5.) APPENDIX. J. B. Fortescue, Esq., of Dropmore. Vol. II.	*In the Press.*		
1895	(6.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. House of Lords, 1692–1693 - -	„	[C.7573.]	1 11
1895	(7.) APPENDIX. The Marquess of Ormonde - -	„	[C.7678]	1 10
1895	(8.) APPENDIX AND INDEX. Lincoln, Bury St. Edmunds, Hertford, and Great Grimsby Corporations; The Dean and Chapter of Worcester, and of Lichfield; The Bishop's Registry of Worcester.	„	[C.7881]	1 5

ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

REPORTS Nos. 1-22, IN FOLIO, PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1840 AND 1861, ARE NO LONGER ON SALE. SUBSEQUENT REPORTS ARE IN OCTAVO.

Date.	Number of Report.	Chief Contents.	Sessional No.	Price.
				s. d.
1862	23	Proceedings - - - -	C. 2970	0 4
1863	24	Proceedings - - - -	C. 3142	0 7½
1864	25	Calendar of Crown Leases, 33–38 Hen. VIII.—Calendar of Bills and Answers, &c., Hen. VIII.–Ph. & Mary, for Cheshire and Flintshire.—List of Lords High Treasurers and Chief Commissioners of the Treasury, from Hen. VII.	C. 3318	[*Out of print.*]
1865	26	List of Plans annexed to Inclosure Awards, 31 Geo. II.–7 Will. IV.—Calendar of Privy Seals, &c., for Cheshire and Flintshire, Hen. VI.–Eliz.—Calendar of Writs of General Livery, &c., for Cheshire, Eliz.–Charles I.—Calendar of Deeds, &c., on the Chester Plea Rolls, Hen. III. and Edw. I.	C. 3492	[*Out of print.*]
1866	27	List of Awards of Inclosure Commissioners.—References to Charters in the Cartæ Antiquæ and the Confirmation Rolls of Chancery, Ethelbert of Kent–James I.—Calendar of Deeds, &c., on the Chester Plea Rolls, Edw. II.	C. 3717	[*Out of print.*]
1867	28	Calendar of Fines, Cheshire and Flintshire, Edw. I.—Calendar of Deeds, &c., on the Chester Plea Rolls, Edw. III. Table of Law Terms, from the Norman Conquest to 1 Will IV.	C. 3839	[*Out of print.*]
1868	29	Calendar of Royal Charters.—Calendar of Deeds, &c., on the Chester Plea Rolls Richard II.–Henry VII.—Durham Records, Letter and Report.	C. 4012	[*Out of print.*]
1869	30	Duchy of Lancaster Records, Inventory.—Durham Records, Inventory.—Calendar of Deeds, &c. on the Chester Plea Rolls, Hen. VIII.—Calendar of Decrees of Court of General Surveyors, 34–38 Hen. VIII.—Calendar of Royal Charters.—State Paper Office, Calendar of Documents relating to the History of, to 1800.—Tower of London. Index to Documents in custody of the Constable of.—Calendar of Dockets, &c., for Privy Seals, 1634–1711.—Report of the Commissioners on Carte Papers.—Venetian Ciphers.	C. 4165	[*Out of print.*]

Date.	Number of Report.	Chief Contents.	Sessional No.	Price.
				s. d.
1870	31	Duchy of Lancaster Records, Calendar of Royal Charters.—Durham Records, Calendar of Chancery Enrolments; Cursitors' Records.—List of Officers of Palatinate of Chester, in Cheshire and Flintshire, and North Wales.—List of Sheriffs of England, 31 Hen. I. to 4 Edw. III.	[C. 187]	[*Out of print.*]
1871	32	Part I.—Report of the Commissioners on Carte Papers.—Calendarium Genealogicum, 1 & 2 Edw. II.—Durham Records, Calendar of Cursitor's Records, Chancery Enrolments.—Duchy of Lancaster Records, Calendar of Rolls of the Chancery of the County Palatine.	[C. 374]	[*Out of print.*]
1871	—	Part II.—Charities; Calendar of Trust Deeds enrolled on the Close Rolls of Chancery, subsequent to 9 Geo. II.	[C. 374 I.]	5 6
1872	33	Duchy of Lancaster Records, Calendar of Rolls of the Chancery of the County Palatine.—Durham Records, Calendar of the Cursitor's Records, Chancery Enrolments.—Report on the Shaftesbury Papers.—Venetian Transcripts.—Greek copies of the Athanasian Creed.	[C. 620]	1 10
1873	34	Durham Records, Calendar of the Cursitors' Records, Chancery Enrolments.—Supplementary Report on the Shaftesbury Papers.	[C. 728]	1 9
1874	35	Duchy of Lancaster Records, Calendar of Ancient Charters or Grants.—Palatinate of Lancaster; Inventory and Lists of Documents transferred to the Public Record Office.—Durham Records, Calendar of Cursitors' Records, Chancery Enrolments.—Second Supplementary Report on the Shaftesbury Papers.	[C. 1043]	1 6
1875	36	Durham Records, Calendar of the Cursitor's Records, Chancery Enrolments.—Duchy of Lancaster Records; Calendar of Ancient Charters or Grants.—Report upon Documents in French Archives relating to British History.—Calendar of Recognisance Rolls of the Palatinate of Chester, to end of reign of Hen. IV.	[C. 1301]	4 4
1876	37	Part I.—Durham Records, Calendar of the Cursitor's Records, Chancery Enrolments.—Duchy of Lancaster Records, Calendar of Ancient Rolls of the Chancery of the County Palatine.—List of French Ambassadors, &c., in England, 1509–1714.	[C. 1544]	[*Out of print.*]

Date.	Number of Report.	Chief Contents.	Sessional No.	Price.
				s. *d.*
1876	—	Part II.—Calendar of Recognizance Rolls of the Palatinate of Chester; Hen. V.–Hen. VII.	[C. 1544 I.]	4 4
1877	38	Exchequer Records, Catalogue of Special Commissions, 1 Eliz. to 10 Vict., Calendar of Depositions taken by Commission, 1 Eliz. to end of James I.—List of Representative Peers for Scotland and Ireland.	[C. 1747]	[*Out of print.*]
1878	39	Calendar of Recognizance Rolls of the Palatinate of Chester, 1 Hen. VIII.–11 Geo. IV. — Exchequer Records, Calendar of Depositions taken by Commission, Charles I.—Duchy of Lancaster Records; Calendar of Lancashire Inquisitions post Mortem, &c.—Third Supplementary Report on the Shaftesbury Papers.—List of Despatches of French Ambassadors to England, 1509–1714.	[C. 2123]	[*Out of print.*]
1879	40	Calendar of Depositions taken by Commission, Commonwealth–James II.—Miscellaneous Records of Queen's Remembrancer in the Exchequer.—Durham Records, Calendar of the Cursitor's Records, Chancery Enrolments.—Calendar of Duchy of Lancaster Patent Rolls, 5 Ric. II.–21 Hen. VII.	[C. 2377]	[*Out of print.*]
1880	41	Calendar of Depositions taken by Commission, William and Mary to George I.—Calendar of Norman Rolls, Hen. V., Part I.—List of Calendars, Indexes, &c. in the Public Record Office on 31st December 1879.	[C. 2658]	4 8
1881	42	Calendar of Depositions taken by Commission, George II.—Calendar of Norman Rolls, Hen. V., Part II. and Glossary.—Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1 Edw. I. Transcripts from Paris.	[C. 2972]	4 0
1882	43	Calendar of Privy Seals, &c., 1–7 Charles I.—Duchy of Lancaster Records, Inventory of Court Rolls, Hen. III.–Geo. IV., Calendar of Privy Seals, Ric. II.—Calendar of Patent Rolls, 2 Edw. I.—Fourth Supplementary Report on the Shaftesbury Papers.—Transcripts from Paris.—Report on Libraries in Sweden.—Report on Papers relating to English History in the State Archives, Stockholm.—Report on Canadian Archives.	[C. 3425]	3 10
1883	44	Calendar of Patent Rolls, 3 Edw. I.—Durham Records, Cursitors' Records, Inquisitions post Mortem, &c.—Calendar of French Rolls, 1–10 Hen. V.—Report from Venice.—Transcripts from Paris.—Report from Rome.	[C. 3771]	3 6

Date.	Number of Report.	Chief Contents.	Sessional No.	Price.
				s. d.
1884	45	Duchy of Lancaster Records, Inventory of Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts, Edw. I.-Geo. III.—Durham Records, Cursitors' Records, Inquisitions post Mortem, &c.—Calendar of Diplomatic Documents.—Transcripts from Paris.—Reports from Rome and Stockholm.—Report on Archives of Denmark, &c.—Transcripts from Venice.—Calendar of Patent Rolls, 4 Edw. I.	[C. 4425]	4 3
1885	46	Presentations to Offices on the Patent Rolls, Charles II.—Transcripts from Paris. Reports from Rome.—Second Report on Archives of Denmark, &c.—Calendar of Patent Rolls, 5 Edw. I.—Catalogue of Venetian Manuscripts bequeathed by Mr. Rawdon Brown to the Public Record Office.	[C. 4746]	2 10
1886	47	Transcripts from Paris.—Third Report on Archives of Denmark, &c.—List of Creations of Peers and Baronets, 1483–1646.—Calendar of Patent Rolls, 6 Edw. I.	[C. 4888]	2 2
1887	48	Calendar of Patent Rolls, 7 Edw. I.—Calendar of French Rolls, Henry VI.—Calendar of Privy Seals, &c., 8–11 Charles I.—Calendar of Diplomatic Documents.—Schedules of Valueless Documents.	[C. 5234]	3 0
1888	49	Calendar of Patent Rolls, 8 Edw. I.—Index to Leases and Pensions (Augmentation Office).—Calendar of Star Chamber Proceedings.	[C. 5596]	3 3
1889	50	Calendar of Patent Rolls, 9 Edw. I. -	[C. 5847]	1 2
1890	51	Proceedings - - - -	[C. 6108]	0 2
1891	52	Proceedings - - - -	[C. 6528]	0 1½
1892	53	Proceedings - - - -	[C. 6804]	0 2½
1893	54	Proceedings - - - -	[C. 7079]	0 1½
1894	55	Proceedings - - - -	[C. 7444]	0 1½
1895	56	Proceedings - - - -	[C. 7841]	0 1½
		Indexes to Printed Reports, viz.:—		
		Reports 1–22 (1840–1861) - -	—	4 0
		„ 23–39 (1862–1878) - -	—	2 0

SCOTLAND.

CATALOGUE OF SCOTTISH RECORD PUBLICATIONS
PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF
THE LORD CLERK REGISTER OF SCOTLAND.

[OTHER WORKS RELATING TO SCOTLAND WILL BE FOUND AMONG THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE RECORD COMMISSIONERS, *see* pp. 21–22.]

1. CHRONICLES OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS, AND OTHER EARLY MEMORIALS OF SCOTTISH HISTORY. Royal 8vo., half bound (1867). *Edited by* WILLIAM F. SKENE, LL.D. (*Out of print.*)
2. LEDGER OF ANDREW HALYBURTON, CONSERVATOR OF THE PRIVILEGES OF THE SCOTCH NATION IN THE NETHERLANDS (1492–1503); TOGETHER WITH THE BOOKS OF CUSTOMS AND VALUATION OF MERCHANDISES IN SCOTLAND, *Edited by* COSMO INNES. Royal 8vo., half bound (1867). *Price* 10*s*.
3. DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND FROM THE DEATH OF KING ALEXANDER THE THIRD TO THE ACCESSION OF ROBERT BRUCE, from original and authentic copies in London, Paris, Brussels, Lille, and Ghent. In 2 Vols. royal 8vo., half bound (1870). *Edited by* the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON. (*Out of print.*)
4. ACCOUNTS OF THE LORD HIGH TREASURER OF SCOTLAND. Vol. I., A.D. 1473–1498. *Edited by* THOMAS DICKSON. 1877. *Price* 10*s*.
5. REGISTER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND. *Edited and arranged by* J. H. BURTON, LL.D. Vol. I., 1545–1569. Vol. II., 1569–1578. Vol. III., A.D. 1578–1585. Vol. IV., A.D. 1585–1592. Vol. V., 1592–1599. Vol. VI., 1599–1604. Vol. VII., 1604–1607. Vol. VIII., 1607–1610. Vol. IX., 1610–1613. Vol. X., 1613–1616. Vol. XI., 1616–1619. Vol. XII., 1619–1622. Vol. XIII. (*In the press.*) *Edited by* DAVID MASSON, LL.D., 1877–1895. *Price* 15*s*. *each*.
6. ROTULI SCACCARII REGUM SCOTORUM. THE EXCHEQUER ROLLS OF SCOTLAND. Vol. I., A.D. 1264–1359. Vol. II., A.D. 1359–1379. *Edited by* JOHN STUART, LL.D., and GEORGE BURNETT, Lyon King of Arms. 1878–1880. Vol. III., A.D. 1379–1406. Vol. IV., A.D. 1406–1436. Vol. V., A.D. 1437–1454. Vol. VI., 1455–1460. Vol. VII., 1460–1469. Vol. VIII., A.D. 1470–1479. Vol. IX., 1480–1487, Addenda, 1437–1487. Vol. X., 1488–1496. Vol. XI., 1497–1591. Vol. XII., 1502–1507. Vol. XIII., 1508–1513. Vol. XIV., 1513–1522. Vol. XV., 1523–1529. Vol. XVI. (*in the press*). *Edited by* GEORGE BURNETT, 1878–1895. *Price* 10*s*. *each*.
7. CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SCOTLAND, preserved in the Public Record Office. *Edited by* JOSEPH BAIN. Vol. I. (1881). Vol. II., 1272–1307 (1884). Vol. III., 1307–1357 (1887). Vol. IV., 1357–1509 (1888). *Price* 15*s*. *each*.
8. REGISTER OF THE GREAT SEAL OF SCOTLAND. Vol. I., A.D., 1306–1424 (*see p.* 21). Vol. II., A.D. 1424–1513. Vol. III., A.D. 1513–1546. Vol. IV, A.D. 1546–1580. Vol. V., A.D. 1580–1593. Vol. VI., A.D. 1593–1609. Vol. VII., A.D. 1609–1620. Vol. VIII., A.D. 1620–1623. Vol. IX. (*In the press.*) *Edited by* JAMES BALFOUR PAUL and J. M. THOMSON, 1882–1894. *Price* 15*s*. *each*.
9. THE HAMILTON PAPERS. Letters and Papers illustrating the Political Relations of England and Scotland in the XVIth century. Formerly in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, now in the British Museum. *Edited by* JOSEPH BAIN, F.S.A. Scot. Vol. 1, A.D. 1532–1543 (1890). Vol. 2, A.D. 1543–1590. *Price* 15*s*. *each*.
10. BORDERS OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND. Calendar of. Letters and Papers relating to the Affairs of the. Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* JOSEPH BAIN. Vol. I., A.D. 1560–1594. Vol. II., A.D. 1595–1603. *Price* 15*s*. *each*.

FAC-SIMILES OF THE NATIONAL MSS. OF SCOTLAND. Parts I., II., and III. (*Out of print.*)

IRELAND.

CATALOGUE OF IRISH RECORD PUBLICATIONS.

1. CALENDAR OF THE PATENT AND CLOSE ROLLS OF CHANCERY IN IRELAND. HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., MARY, AND ELIZABETH, AND FOR THE 1ST TO THE 7TH YEAR OF CHARLES I. *Edited by* JAMES MORRIN. Royal 8vo. (1861–3). Vols. I. II, and III. *Price* 11*s. each.*

2. ANCIENT LAWS AND INSTITUTES OF IRELAND.
Senchus Mor. (1865–1880.) Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Price* 10*s. each.* Vol. V. and VI. *in progress.*

4. Abstracts of the Irish Patent Rolls of James I. Unbound. *Price* 25*s.*
" " " With Supplement. Half morocco. *Price* 35*s.*

5. ANNALS OF ULSTER. Otherwise Annals of Senat; a Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 431–1131, 1155–1541. With a translation and Notes. Vol. I., A.D. 431–1056. Vol. II., A.D. 1057–1131; 1155–1378. Vol. III., A.D. 1379–1541. Half morocco. *Price* 10*s. each.*

6. CHARTÆ, PRIVILEGIA ET IMMUNITATES, being transcripts of Charters and Privileges to Cities Towns Abbeys and other Bodies Corporate. 18 Henry II. to 18 Richard II. (1171 to 1395). Printed by the Irish Record Commission, 1829–1830. Folio, 92 pp. Boards (1889). *Price* 5*s.*

FAC-SIMILES OF NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE EARLIEST EXTANT SPECIMENS TO A.D. 1719. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A. *Part* I. *is out of print.* Parts II. and III. *Price* 42*s. each.* Part IV. 1. *Price* 5*l.* 5*s.* Part IV. 2. *Price* 4*l.* 10*s.*

This work forms a comprehensive Palæographic Series for Ireland. It furnishes characteristic specimens of the documents which have come down from each of the classes which, in past ages, formed principal elements in the population of Ireland, or exercised an influence in her affairs. With these reproductions are combined fac-similes of writings connected with eminent personages or transactions of importance in the annals of the country to the early part of the eighteenth century.

The specimens have been reproduced as nearly as possible in accordance with the originals, in dimensions, colouring, and general appearance. Characteristic examples of styles of writing and caligraphic ornamentation are, so far as practicable, associated with subjects of historic and linguistic interest. Descriptions of the various manuscripts are given by the Editor in the Introduction. The contents of the specimens are fully elucidated and printed in the original languages, opposite to the Fac-similes—line for line—without contractions—thus facilitating reference and aiding effectively those interested in palæographic studies.

In the work are also printed in full, for the first time, many original and important historical documents.

Part I. commences with the earliest Irish MSS. extant.
Part II.: From the Twelfth Century to A.D. 1299.
Part III.: From A.D 1300 to end of reign of Henry VIII.
Part IV. 1.: From reign of Edward VI. to that of James I.
In Part IV. 2.—the work is carried down to the early part of the eighteenth century, with Index to the entire publication.

ACCOUNT OF FAC-SIMILES OF NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND. In one Volume; 8vo., with Index. *Price* 10*s.* Parts I. and II. together. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.* Part II. *Price* 1*s.* 6*d.* Part III. *Price* 1*s.* Part IV. 1. *Price* 2*s.* Part IV. 2. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS, IRELAND.

Date.	Number of Report.	Chief Contents of Appendices.	Sessional No.	Price.
				s. d.
1869	1	Contents of the principal Record Repositories of Ireland in 1864.—Notices of Records transferred from Chancery Offices.—Irish State Papers presented by Philadelphia Library Company.	[C. 4157]	2 3
1870	2	Notices of Records transferred from Chancery, Queen's Bench, and Exchequer Offices.—Index to Original Deeds received from Master Litton's Office.	[C. 137]	1 0
1871	3	Notices of Records transferred from Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer Offices.—Report on J. F. Furguson's MSS.—Exchequer Indices, &c.	[C. 329]	2 0
1872	4	Records of Probate Registries - -	[C. 515]	0 2½
1873	5	Notices of Records from Queen's Bench Calendar of Fines and Recoveries of the Palatinate of Tipperary, 1664–1715.—Index to Reports to date.	[C. 760]	0 8
1874	6	Notices of Records transferred from Chancery, Queen's Bench, and Common Pleas Offices.—Report respecting "Facsimiles of National MSS. of Ireland."—List of Chancery Pleadings (1662–1690) and Calendar to Chancery Rolls (1662–1713) of Palatinate of Tipperary.	[C. 963]	[*Out of print.*]
1875	7	Notices of Records from Exchequer and Admiralty Offices.—Calendar and Index to Fiants of Henry VIII.	[C. 1175]	[*Out of print.*]
1876	8	Calendar and Index to Fiants of Edward VI.	[C. 1469]	[*Out of print.*]
1877	9	Index to the Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ.—Calendar and Index to Fiants of Philip and Mary.	[C. 1702]	[*Out of print.*]
1878	10	Index to Deputy Keeper's 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th Reports.	[C. 2034]	0 3½
1879	11	Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth (1558–1570)	[C. 2311]	[*Out of print.*]
1880	12	Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth, continued (1570–1576).	[C. 2583]	1 3
1881	13	Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth, continued (1576–1583).	[C. 2929]	1 5
1882	14	Report of Keeper of State Papers containing Catalogue of Commonwealth Books transferred from Bermingham Tower.	[C. 3215]	0 6½

Date.	Number of Report.	Chief Contents of Appendices.	Sessional No.	Price.
				s. *d.*
1883	15	Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth, continued (1583–1586).—Index to Deputy Keeper's 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th Reports.	[C. 3676]	1 0
1884	16	Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth, continued (1586–1595).	[C. 4062]	1 6
1885	17	Report on Iron Chest of attainders following after 1641 and 1688.—Queen's Bench Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth, continued (1596–1601).	[C. 4487]	1 6
1886	18	Calendar to Fiants of Elizabeth, continued (1601–1603).—Memorandum on Statements (1702) and Declarations (1713–14) of Huguenot Pensioners.	[C. 4755]	1 1
1887	19	Notice of Records of Incumbered and Landed Estates Courts.—Report of Keeper of State Papers, containing Table of Abstracts of Decrees of Innocence (1663), with Index.	[C. 5185]	0 6
1888	20	Calendar to Christ Church Deeds in Novum Registrum, 1174–1684. Index to Deputy Keeper's 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th Reports.	[C. 5535]	0 8½
1889	21	Index to Calendars of Fiants of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Letters A—C.	[C. 5835]	1 0
1890	22	Catalogue of Proclamations, 1618–1660 -	[C. 6180]	0 2½
		Index to Fiants of Elizabeth. D—Z. -	[C. 6180 i.]	2 0
1891	23	Catalogue of Proclamations, 1661–1767.—Calendar to Christ Church Deeds, 1177–1462.—Schedule of Places of Custody of Parish Registers.	[C. 6504]	1 1
1892	24	Catalogue of Proclamations, 1767–1875. Contents of the Red Book of the Exchequer. Calendar to Christ Church Deeds, 1462–1602.	[C. 6765]	0 9½
1893	25	Regulations respecting State Papers. Instructions for Parochial Custodians. Index to Twenty-first to Twenty-fifth Reports.	[C. 7170]	0 3
1894	26	Abstract of Antrim Inquisition, 3 James I., Bankruptcy Records, 1857–1872; Early Plea Rolls to 51 Edward III.	[C. 7488]	0 3½
		Index to the Act or Grant Books, and to Original Wills, of the Diocese of Dublin to the year 1800.	[C. 7488 i.]	4 4
1895	27	Records from Courts and Offices transferred to, and deposited at the Public Record Office in Ireland.	[C. 7802]	0 2½
		An Index to Calendars of Christ Church Deeds (1174–1684) will be printed separately as an Appendix to the 27th Report.	[*In the press.*]	

38689

Gov.Doc
G.B.
Pub

Great Britain. Public Record Office
[Publications. I.G. Calendars, etc. Researches in foreign archives]. b.2.- Spain. Calendar of Letters and State Papers.

University of Toronto
Library

DO NOT
REMOVE
THE
CARD
FROM
THIS
POCKET

Acme Library Card Pocket
LOWE-MARTIN CO. LIMITED